Aberdeen, Lord, English statesman

Private papers, never published, in British Museum; a nearly complete set in Harvard College Library; portions in the Library of Congress and the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan.

Abolitionism Mary S. Locke,

Anti-Slavery in America.....(1619-1808), Boston, 1901; Alice D. Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, Boston and London, 1908; Lorenzo D. Turner, Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature Prior to 1865, Washington, 1929; Sir John Harris, A Century of Emancipation, London, 1933, etc., etc.

Abraham, Negro-Indian warrior

Kenneth Porter, "Relations between Negroes within the Present Limits of the United States," Journal of Negro History, XVII (July, 1932)

40-56-1

Abu Ishak Ibrahim el Kononir, black poet of Spain

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Abyssinia

Ernest Work, Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy, New York, 1935; Johannes Lepsius and others, comps., Die grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette (1871-1914), 40 vols., Berlin, 1922-1926; G. P. Gooch and H. W. Temperley, eds., British Official Documents on the Origin of the World War, London, 1926--; Ministere des affaires etrangeres, comps., Documents diplomatiques francais, Paris, 1929--; for the action of the League of Nations, see Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications.

Adams, Charles Francis, American statesman D. A. B.

Charles Francis Adams, A cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865, ed. by W. C. Ford, Boston and New York, 1920, 2 v.

Adams, John, President of the United States D. A. B.

John Adams, The Works of John Adams, etc., ed. by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1850-1856, 10 v.

Adams, John Quincy, President of the United States D. A. B.

John Quincy Adams, Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, etc., ed. by Charles

Aberdeen, Lord, English statesman

Private papers, never published, in British Museum; a nearly complete set in Harvard College Library; portions in the Library of Congress and the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan.

Abolitionism Mary S. Locke,

Anti-Slavery in America.....(1619-1808), Boston, 1901; Alice D. Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, Boston and London, 1908; Lorenzo D. Turner, Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature Prior to 1865, Washington, 1929; Sir John Harris, A Century of Emancipation, London, 1933, etc., etc.

Abraham, Negro-Indian warrior

Kenneth Porter, "Relations between Negroes within the Present Limits of the United States," Journal of Negro History, XVII (July, 1932)

40-56-1

Abu Ishak Ibrahim el Kononir, black poet of Spain

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Abyssinia

Ernest Work, Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy, New York, 1935; Johannes Lepsius and others, comps., Die grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette (1871-1914), 40 vols., Berlin, 1922-1926; G. P. Gooch and H. W. Temperley, eds., British Official Documents on the Origin of the World War, London, 1926--; Ministere des affaires etrangeres, comps., Documents diplomatiques francais, Paris, 1929--; for the action of the League of Nations, see Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications.

Adams, Charles Francis, American statesman D. A. B.

Charles Francis Adams, A cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865, ed. by W. C. Ford, Boston and New York, 1920, 2 v.

Adams, John, President of the United States D. A. B.

John Adams, The Works of John Adams, etc., ed. by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1850-1856, 10 v.

Adams, John Quincy, President of the United States D. A. B.

John Quincy Adams, Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, etc., ed. by Charles

Francis Adams, Philadelphia, 1874-1877, 12 V.

2 Adowa, Abyssinia Victory over Italians March 1, 1896

Francesco Crispi, La Prima guerra d'Africa, Milan, 1914;---Memoirs of Francesco Crispi, London and New York, 1912-1914, 3 V. George F. H. Berkeley, The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik, London, 1902.

2 Aegean civilisation

Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos. London, 1921---. Grace Beardsley, The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization. Baltimore, 1929.

2 Aesop, compiler of fables (?)

J. Jacobs, The Fables of Aesop, London, 1889.

✓ Africa

40-56-2

General descriptions: Herodotus, ed. by G. Rawlinson, 4 vols., London, 1880; Leo Africanus, The History and Description of Africa, 3 vols., London, 1896; Geography, etc: A-Knox, Notes on the Geology of the Continent of Africa, London, 1906; see also the current issues of Africa, London and the Geographical Journal, London; Ethnology, H. Frobenius, Die Heiden - Neger des agyptischen Sudan, Berlin, 1893; Maurice Delafosse, Negroes of Africa, Washington, 19 ; Archaeology and art: D. Randall - MacIver, Medieval Rhodesia, London, 1906; Travel and Explorations, Mungo Park, Travels into the Interior Districts of Africa, London, 1799. Modern Imperialism; J. S. Keltie, The Partition of Africa, London, 1895; Linguistics, Africa, London; see also Evans Lewin, comp. Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. I, London, 1930.

✓ African Kingdoms.

Abderrahman es-Dadi, Tarikh-es- Soudan, (Houdas translation), Paris, 1898-1900; Mahmoud Kati, Tarikh- el-Fettach (Houdas and Delafasse translation), Paris, 1913. Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905; Carter G. Woodson, The African Background Outlined, Washington, 1936; J. L. Monod, Historie de L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, Paris, 1931; Stephane Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord (8 vols.), Paris, 1928-1930.

✓ Ages of Man

John L. Avebury, Prehistoric Times, 7th ed., London and New York, 1913. Henry F. Osborn, Men of the Old Stone Age, New York, 1918; E. A. Hooton, Up from the Ape, New York, 1931. Social Science Abstracts, 1929-1932.

/ Aggrey, James E. K., Negro Educator

James E. K. Aggrey, The Basis of Interracial Comity in Africa (PH. D. Thesis, Columbia University), N. Y., 1925;

24

Agriculture

John R. Commons and others, ed., Documentary History of American Industrial Society, II vols., Cleveland, 1910-1911; ----, History of Labour in the United States, 2 vols., New York, 1918; Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, Washington, 1933; etc., etc.

Agricultural Schools

Thomas M. Campbell, The Movable School goes to the Negro Farmer, Tuskegee, 1936. Arthur D. Writht, The Rural Negro School Fund, Inc., Anna T. Jeanes Foundation 1907-1933, Washington, 1933; Federal Board for Vocational Education, Report of Progress in Vocational Education in Agriculture in the Negro Schools of the South for the Year 1928-1929, Washington, 1929; United States Department of Agriculture, Status of Organization and Administration of Agricultural Education among Negroes, Washington, 1932; Arthur J. Klein, Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities, Washington, 1929.

40-56-3

2 Akeley, Carl Ethan, 1864-1926, explorer writer and sculptor D. A. B.

Carl E. Akely, In Brightest Africa, Garden City, New York, 1923; Mentor (January, 1926); Natural History (March-April, 1927)

3 Albino

E. A. Hooton, Up from the Ape, New York, 1931

Aldridge, Ira, Negro Actor D.A.B.

"Ira F. Aldridge", Opportunity, III (March, 1925), pp. 88-90.

Algeria

Victor Piquet, Les civilizations de l'Afrique du Nord, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1917; Maurice Wahl, L'Algerie, 5th rev. ed., by A. Bernard, Paris, 1908.

Allain, Theophile T., State senator of Louisiana.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 208-230.

Allen, Richard, founder of A. M. E. Church D.A.B.

C. H. Wesley, Richard Allen, Wahington, 1936.

Allensworth, Allen, Chaplain, United States Army.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 843-839; Office of the Adjutant-General, War Department.

34

1 **Almohades, African Mohammedans**

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

1 **Almoravides, African Mohammedans**

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

1 **Alves, Castro**

"The Poet of the Slaves" Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

✓ **American Colonization Society,**

Reports of the American Colonization Society, 1818-1832.

40-5b-4

1 **American Convention, Abolitionist Society**

Minutes of the American Convention, etc. 1809-1829; Alice Dana Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America (1808-1831), Boston and London, 1908.

1 **American Missionary Association, Pioneer Philanthropists aiding Education of American Freedmen.**

Annual Reports of the American Missionary Association and the Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, New York, 1864- 1891.

3 **Amistad, The**

Senate Document 51, 2nd sess., 27th cong.

2 **Amo, Antown W., Negro classicist.**

William J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 617-619.

3 **Andaman, (India), Negroes in**

Social Science Abstracts, No. 2 577, 1929

✓ **Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.**

Horald A. MacMichael, History of the Arabs in the Sudan, etc., 2 v., Cambridge, England, 1922; Earl Cromer, Modern Egypt, London and New York, 2 V., 1908; Rayford W. Logan, "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan", Journal of Negro History, XVI (October, 1931), pp. 371-381.

Andrada, Jose Bonifacio da, Brazilian Statesman.

Paul V. Shaw, "José Bonifario and Brazilian History", H. A. H. R., VIII, pp. 527-550.

Andrew, John A., Governor of Massachusetts

George W. Williams, History of the Negro Race in America, 2 vols., New York, 1883.

Angola, Portuguese Colony in Africa

Angel Marvand, Le Portugal it ses colonies, étude politique et économique, Paris, 1912; Ernesto J. de Vasconcellos, As Colonias Portuguezas, etc. rev. ed., Lisbon, 1921.

Anguilla, B ritish West Indies

Lady K. J. Burdon, A Handbook of St. Kitts - Nevis, London, 1920; A. J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth, eds., The Oxford Survey of the British Empire, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1914.

Animism

Crawford H. Toy, Introduction to the History of Religions, Boston, 1913; James G. Frazer, Golden Bough, 1 v. ed., New York, 1922.

Antar, Negro poet of Arabia

Antarah ibn Shaddad, The Adventures of Antar, Bulak, 1896.

Anthony, Susan, Nineteenth Century Liberal, February 15, 1820 - March 13, 1906. D. A. B.

Ida H. Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, 3 vols. 1899-1908; M. A. De Wolfe Howe, Causes and Their Champions, New York, 1926, etc., etc.

Antigua, British West Indies

J. Luffman, Brief Account of the Island of Antigua... As Well White as Black... London, 1789. J. Johnson, Historical and Descriptive Account of Antigua, London, 1830; A. J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth, eds., The Oxford Survey of the British Empire, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1914.

Anti-slavery Societies

Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America,...(1619-1808), Boston, 1909; Alice D. Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America (1808-1831), Boston and London, 1908.

1 Antoine, C. C., Negro State Senator and Lieutenant-governor of Louisiana

Henry Clay Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, New York, 1930, Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, New York and London, 1918.

2 Antoine Simon, President of Haiti.

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, N. Y., 1928.

3 Appleton, Nathaniel, Eighteenth-century Anti-slavery Advocate. D.A.B

Nathaniel Appleton, Considerations on Slavery, Boston, 1867; Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America, Boston, 1901.

40-5b-6

2 Arabia

Harold F. Jacob, Kings of Arabia, etc., London, 1923; Harry St. B. Philby, Heart of Arabia, 2 vols., London, and New York, 1922.

2 Archer, William, Negro mayor of Battersea (England)

1 Ardouin, Beaubrun, Haitian historian.

Beaubrun Ardouin, Etudes sur l'historie d'Haiti, Paris, 1853-1855; -- Geographie de l'isle d'Haiti, Portan Prince, 1832.

3 Ardouin, Celigni, Haitian historian

Dantès Bellegarde will write article.

2 Argentina (See attached bibliography)
Allow space (additional) for five biographies

2 Argyll, Duke of, English statesman

George Douglass, Eighth Duke of Argyll, K. G., K. T. (1823-1900), Autobiography a nd Memoirs, ed. by Dowager Duchess of Argyll, London, 1906, 2 v., "Letters of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner", ed. by H. G. Pearson, Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XLVII (1914) pp. 66-106.

✓ Armstrong, Samuel Chapman, (January 30, 1839 - May 11, 1893), educator, founder of Hampton Institute D. A. B.

Ideas on Education Expressed by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton, 1908. Edith Armstrong Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, New York, 1904; F. G. Peabody, Education for Life, New York, 1918.

2 Arneaux, J. A., Actor.

63

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 484-490.

3 Arnett, Benjamin W., State Legislator and bishop.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 883-891.

3 Arthur, Chester Allen, President of the United States. D. A. B.

George Frederick Howe, Chester A. Arthur, A Quarter-Century of Machine Politics, New York, 1934.

40-567

2 Artigas, José, Revolutionary Patriot of Banda Oriental (Uruguay)

Alberto Lasplaces, José Artigas, Protector de los Pueblos Libres, Madrid, 1933.

2 Aruba, Dutch colony in the Caribbean

H. D. Benjamins and J. F. Snellaman, Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, 's gravenhage, 1914-1917. A. Vandenbosch, "Dutch Problems in the West Indies," Foreign Affairs, IX, (January, 1931), pp. 350-352.

2 Aryan, term used in racial classification. En. S. S.

Issaac Taylor, The Origin of the Aryans, London, 1902; Frank H. Hawkins, The Racial Basis of Civilization; New York, 1926; E. A. Hooton, Up from the Ape, New York, 1931; Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf.

3 Asbury, Francis (Bishop) D.A.B.

Francis Asbury, Journals, 3 vols. New York, 1852.

3 Asiento, contract to supply slaves, especially the assiento of the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

Elizabeth Donnan, comp., Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, 4 vols., Washington, 1930-1936.

2 Ashmun, Jehudi, agent of American colonization Society. D. A. B.

Lott Carey, Life of Jehudi Ashmun, Washington, 1835.

2 Asia

Harold M. Vinacke, History of the Far East in Modern Times, New York, 1928. Rene Grousset, Historie de l'Asie, 3 v., Paris, 1921-1922.

72

2 **Association**, Policy of close participation by natives in colonial administration

M. M. Knight, "French Colonial Policy----the Decline of Association", Journal of Modern History, V (June, 1933), pp. 208-224.

2 **Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.**

Annual Reports; "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting" in various issues of the Journal of Negro History; W. Sherman Savage, "Twenty years of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History", J. N. H., XX (October, 1935); pp. 379-384. Luther P. Jackson, "The Work of the Association and the People," ibid., pp. 385-396.

40-56-8

3 **Atlantis**, A. legendary island in the Atlantic Ocean. (?)

Journal of Hellenistic Studies, XXXIII (1913) "Atlantis, Minoa, Crete.

✓ **Attucks, Crispus, Negro leader in the "Boston Massacre".** D. A. B.

J. B . Fisher, "Who Was Crispus Attucks", American Historical Record, I, 1872; New England Historical and Genealogical Record, XIII, pp 300; J. H. Semple, History of Framingham, Massachusetts, 1887, etc., etc.

3 **Augusta**, Alexander T., Lieutenant-colonel and Surgeon, U. S. C. T.,7th Regt.

Office of the Adjutant-general, War Department, Washington, D. C.

3 **Auguste**, Tancrède, President of Haiti

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, New York, 1928.

3 **Austin**, Stephen, pioneer colonizer in Texas D.A.B.

Eugene C. Barker, "The Austin Papers", A. R. A. H. A. 1919 and 1922.

✓ **Australia**

Arthur W. Jose, History of Australasia, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, rev. ed., Sydney, 1926; J. Holland Rose, and others, eds., The Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol. VII, Part I: Australia, Cambridge, England, 1933, see Evans Lewin, comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. II., London, 1931, pp. 1-383, for bibliography.

2 **Aycock, Charles B., Liberal governor of North Carolina** D. A. B.

Connor and Poe, The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, 1912; Howard W. Odum, ed., Southern Pioneers, New York, 1925, etc., etc.

80

3 Ayers, Eli, Agent of the American Colonization Society in Liberia

Reports of the American Colonization Society, 1918-1932.

3 Ayllon, Luis Vasquez de, Early Spanish explorer in America D. A. B.

Oviedo, Historical general y natural de las Indias, 4 vols., 1851-1855, lib. XXXVIII. Woodbury Lowery, Spanish Settlements 1513-1561, New York and London, 1901, etc., etc.

✓ Baez, Buenaventura Mulatto President of the Dominican Republic.

J. G. Garcia, Compendio de la historia de Santo Domingo, Santo Domingo, 1896, 3 v. (3 rd. ed. evl. and rev.);
Sumner Welles, Naboths Vineyard; the Dominican Republic, 1844-1924, New York, 1928.

2 Bahamas, British Island possessions off the coast of the United States.

J. Graves, A Memorial or Short Account of the Bahama-Islands, London, 1708; A. D. Defries, The Fortunate Islands: Being Adventures with the Negro in the Bahamas, London, 1929; see also Evans Lewin, comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. III, London 1932, pp. 572-572 for bibliography.

40-56-9

3 Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de Early Spanish Explorer

Manuel Jose Quintana, Vidas de Espanoles celebres, see also Justin Winsor ed., Narrative and Critical History of America, 8 vols., Boston and New York, 1884-1889, Vol. II, pp. 210-211.

3 Baldwin, Maria H., Negro principal of Agassiz School, Cambridge, Massachusetts

3 Baldwin, William H., American philanthropist. D. A. B.

John Graham Brooks, An American Citizen -- Life of William Henry Baldwin, Jr., New York, 1910.

2 Bandeirantes, Brazilian frontiersmen

Affonso de Exoragnolles Taunay, Historia geral das Banderiaias Paulistas, 6 vols. Sao Paulo, 1925-1930; Alfredo Ellis, Jr., O. Banderismo Paulista e o Recuo do Meridiano, Sao Paulo, 1935, Basilio de Magalliaes, Expanisao Geographica do Brasil Colonial, Sao Paulo, 1935.

88

Banks, Negro

Abram Harris, The Negro as Capitalist, Philadelphia, 1936.

Banks, Gen. N. P., American Politician. D. A. B.

Banks Papers, Essex Institute, Salem Massac husetts

Banneker, Benjamin, Mathematician, Clock-maker, and compiler of Almanachs.

M. D. Conway, "Benjamin Banneker, The Negro Astronomer", Atlantic Monthly, XI, (January, 1863), pp. 79-84; Henry E. Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, The Negro Mathematician and Astronomer", Journal of Negro History, III, (April, 1918), pp. 99-118.

40-56-10-04

B annister, E. M., Painter

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 1127-1131.

Bantu, So-called African tribes

W. H. Tooke, Bantu in the Tenth Century; African Monthly I (1906), pp. 13-24, and ff- ; B. L. Haarhoff, Die Bantustamme Sud-Africas, Leipzig, 1890; J. F. Van Oordt, Origin of the Bantu, Capetown, 1907; C. McC. Theal, Yellow and Dark-skinned people of Africa South of the Zambesi....Particularly the Bantu, London, 1910, etc., etc.

Barbados, British Caribbean possession

Sir H. Colt, Voyage... to the Islands of the Antilles. MSS. in University Library, Cambridge, Eng., J. Poyer, History of Barbados from the First Discovery...till the Accession of Lord Seaforth, London, 1808; see also Evans Lewin, comp. Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. III., London, 1932, pp. 575-581 for bibliography.

Barbados, Code, slave code

Barbados, Report of a committee of the Council of Barbados appointed to Inquire into the Actual Conditions of the Slaves in This Island, Barbados, 1824. See also Evans Lewin, Comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. III, London, 1932, pp. 575-581.

B arbuda, British West Indian possession.

John Oldmixon, British Empire in America 2 v., London, 1708.

Barnato, Barnatt, diamond merchant of South Africa D. N. B.

London Times, June 16, 21, 1897; Cape Times, June 16, 1897; G. McCall Theal, History of South Africa Since September, 1785 (to 1894), 5 vols., London, 1908.

Barth, Heinrich, explorer in Africa

H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 5 V., London, 1857-1858; ———, Sammlung und Bearbertung Central- Afrikanisiher Vokabularien, 3 pts., Gotha, 1862-1866.

Bassett, Ebenzer, American Minister to Haiti and educator

State Department Archines, Hayti, Instructions and Despatches; Foreign Relations of the United States.

Basutoland, British possession in South Africa

E. Casalis, The Basutos; or Twenty-Three years in South Africa, London, 1861; Sir G. Y. Lagden, The Basutos, London, 1909; see also Evans Lewin, comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. I, London, 1930, pp. 444-446, for bibliography.

Beard, Andrew J., inventor

Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention", Journal of Negro History, II (January, 1917), 34.

Beauty culture, important occupation for American Negro women.

Lorenzo Greene and Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Wage Earner, Washington, 1930.

Bechuanaland, British possession in South Africa

P. J. Truter and W. Somerville, Voyage..... au pays des Betjouanas en 1801 in Eyries, abrege des voyages modernes, V. XI, London, 1824, pp. 338-349; Sir S. G. A. Shippard, Bechuanaland, Brit. Emp. Series, Vol. II, pp. 46-68; London, 1899; see also Evans Lewin, comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, I, London, 1930, for bibliography.

Becton, Elder, popular religious leader

Beecher, Henry Ward, reformer, D. A. B.

Sermons by Henry Ward Beecher, 2 vols., New York, 1868; Paxton Hibben,

Barth, Heinrich, Explorer in Africa

H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 5 v., London, 1857-1858; ---- Sammlung und Bearbeitung. Central-Afrikanisiher okabularien, 3 pts., Gotha, 1862-1966

40-56-12

Bassett, Ebenzer, American Minister to Haiti and educator

State Department Archines, Instructions and Despatches, Foreign Relations of the United States

Basutoland, British possession in South Africa

E. Casalis, The Basutos; or Twenty-three Years in South Africa, London, 1861; Sir G. Y. Lagden, The Basutos, London, 1909; see also Evans Lewin, Comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. I., London, 1930, pp. 444-446 for bibliography.

Behn, Mrs. Aphra

Aphra Behm, Abelazer, or the Moor's Revenge (Oronooko), London, 1677; C. G. Woodson, "Some Attitudes in English Literature", Journal of Negro History, XX (January, 1935), pp. 41-42.

Henry Ward Beecher, An American Portrait, New York, 1927; Lyman Abbott, Henry Ward Beecher, New York, 1903.

Behanzin, king of Dahomey, 1844-1906

G. Francois, Notre colonie du Dahomey, saformation son developpement, son avenir, Paris, 1906; has a bibliography; P. Gaffarel, Notre expansion coloniale en Afrique de 1870 a nos jours, Paris, 1918.

Behn, Mrs. Aphra

Aphra Behn, Abelazer, or the Moor's Revenge (Oronooko), London, 1677; C. G. Woodson, "Some attitudes in English Literature", Journal of Negro History, XX (January, 1935), pp. 41-42.

Belgian Congo, Belgian colony in Africa

Sir Henry M. Stanley, Congo and the Founding of Its Free State, London and New York, 1885; Arthur B. Keith, Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act, Oxford, 1919.

Benezet, Anthony, philanthropist, anti-slavery worker, D. A. B.

Anthony Benezet, A Cantion and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies on the Calamitous State of the Enslaved Negroes, 1766; Roberts Vaus, Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet, New York, 1817; etc., etc. Get latest biography

Benin, African medieval kingdom

Felix von Luschan, Die Altertumer von Benin, Berlin, 1912; Pitt Rivers, The Antique Works of Art of Benin, London, 1912.

Berbers, "white" tribes of North Africa

Victor Piquet, Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1917.

Berlin Conference, 1884-1885

Acte generale de la Conference de Berlin, Berlin, 1885; etc., see bibliography in S. F. Bemis and G. G. Griffin, Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, Washington, 1935.

Bermuda, British Island off the coast of the United States

W. F. Williams, Historical and Statistical Account of the Bermudas, London, 1848; W. B. Hayward, Bermuda Past and Present, London, 1923; see also Evans Lewin, comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. I, London, 1930, pp. 631-634.

40-56-14

2 Bethune, Thomas (Blind Tom)

W. S. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 794-797.

3 Biassou, Haitian revolutionary leader

Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti will write article

2 Birney, James G., abolitionist, D. A. B.

William Birney, James G. Birney and His Times, New York, 1890; etc., etc.

1 Blackstone, Sir William (1723-1780), English jurist,

F. T. H. Fletcher, "Montesquien's Influence on Anto-Slavery Opinion in England", Journal of Negro History, XVIII (October, 1933), pp. 414-425.

3 Birth Control

Enc. of Soc. Sc., See S. J. Holmes, A Bibliography of Eugenics, University of California, Publications in Zoology, XXV, Berkeley, 1924.

✓ Birth Rate

3 Black Buddahs

✓ "Black Codes",

W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction, New York, 1936; Green B. Raum, The Existing Conflict between Republican Government and Southern Oligarchy, Washington, 1884; etc., etc.

3 Black Irish of Jamaica

Joseph J. Williams, Whence the "Black Irish" of Jamaica, New York, 1932.

3 Black Virgins

3 Blaine, James G., American politician D. A. B.

David S. Muzzey, James G. Blaine, A Political Idol of other Days, New York, 1934; Rayford W. Logan, A Century of Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Haiti, Unpublished dissertation; Harvard University.

✓ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, Liberian diplomat, scholar, and educator

E. W. Blyden, Africa and the Africans, London, 1903; West Africa before

Europe, London, 1905, etc., etc.

3 Bodin, Jean, French political philosopher opponent of slavery

Jean Bodin, Six livres de la Republique, Paris, 1576; P. Janet, Histoire de la science politique, 3rd. ed., Paris, 1887;

2 Boer War

Sir J. F. Maurice, and Staff, History of the War in South Africa Compiled by Direction of H. of Government, 3 vols., London, 1906-1908; C. R. de Wet Three Years War, 1902; etc., etc.

1 Boers

Jan Hofmeyr, South Africa, New York, 1931; W. M. MacMillan, Bantu, Boer, and Briton, London, 1929; MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, London, 1927; see also Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, London, 1931, pp. 249-454 for bibliography.

Boisneuf, René, Member of the French Chamber of Deputies

2 Boisronde-Canal, president of Haiti

State Dept. Archives, Hayti, Despatches; Foreign Relations of the United States.

1 Bolivar, Simon, South American Revolutionary leader

Columbus Memorial Library (Pan American Union), comp., Bibliography of the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, Washington, 1933.

2 Bolivia

See attached bibliography. Allow space for five bibliographies

3 Bonaire, Dutch Caribbean colony

H. D. Benjamins and J. F. Snelleman, Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West Indie, 's gravenhage, 1914-1917.

2 Bonaparte, Napoleon, French emperor

Correspondance générale de Napoleon, 32 v., Paris, 1858-1870; etc., etc.

Borgu, African kingdom

Ibn Batuta, Voyage dans le Soudan (Slave Translation)

Borku, African kingdom

Ibn Batuta, Voyage dans le Soudan (Slave translation)

2 Borneo, Island of Malay Archipelago

H. Ling Roth, The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo, London, 1896; H. Low, Sarawak, Its Inhabitants and Productions, London, 1848; etc.

Bornu, African kingdom

Flora Shaw, (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905, etc., etc.

3 Botha, General Louis, Boer leader

F. V. Engleburg, General Louis Botha, London, 1929; Sarah G. Millin, General Smuts, 2 V., Boston, 1936, etc., etc.

3 Boukman, Haitian revolutionary leader

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

40-56-16

3 Boulden, Jesse F., Mississippi state legislator

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 707-712.

3 Boy Scouts

Reports and Publications of the Boy Scout Association

2 Boyd, Henry, Manufacturer

George W. Williams, History of the Negro Race in America, New York, 1885, II, pp. 138-140.

Boyer, Jean Pierre, president of Haiti.

Pierre - Eugene de Lespinasse, Gens d'antrefois..vieus souvenirs, Paris, 1926; Beaubrun Ardouin, Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haiti, Paris, 1853-1855.

3 Boyer, Bazelais, Haitian liberal

L. J. Marcellin, Haiti et ses guerres civiles, Paris, 1892.

2 Braga, Francisco, April 15, 1868- Negro Brazilian composer

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

3 Brawley, E. M., college president

W. J. Simmon, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 907-912; private papers.

✓ Brazil

See attached Bibliography

2 Brazza, Pierre de, French explorer of the Congo

D. Neuville and Charles Breard, Les voyages de Savorguan de Brazza, Ogooue et Congo, 1875-1882, Paris, 1884; etc., etc.

3 "Bride Purchase"

Emil Torday, "The Principles of Bantu Marriage", Africa, 2 (July, 1929), pp. 255-290.

40-56-17

3 Bridgetower, George Augustus, violinist, D. N. B.

Grove's Dictionary of Musicians, I, 275, b; A. W. Thayer, Beethovens Leben, 1891-1919, II, pp. 227, 385, etc.

3 Bright, John, English statesman

John Bright, Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, ect. by J. E. T. Rogers, London, 1868, 2 v.; John Bright and the American Civil War, ed. by L. V. Roth, Boston, 1900; etc., etc.

3 Brissot, J. P. (de Warville), French statesman and abolitionist

J. P. Brissot, Nouveau voyage aux etatsunis, Paris, 1791, 3 v.; Eng. tr. Boston and London, 1794 and 1797; Claude Perroud, ed. J. P. Brissot, correspondance et papiers, Paris, 1912

✓ British Cameroons,

G. Hessler, Die deutschen Kolonien, Leipzig, 1908; see also Annual Reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, London, I, 527-535 for bibliography.

British East Africa

Sir H. H. Johnston, "British Interests in Equatorial Africa", Scottish Geographic Magazine, I, (1885), 145-156; J. H. Oldham, Report of the Commission on the Closer Union of the Eastern and Central African Dependencies, Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs, London, 1929, VIII, 227-259; See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 158-228 for bibliography.

British Guiana

See publications of the Hakluyt Society; G. Murray, "Native and Coloured Races of the British West Indies, British Guiana, British Honduras, the Bahamas and Bermuda" in Lagden's, Native Races of the Empire, London, 1924, pp. 297-335; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, London, III, 1932, pp. 608-631.

British Honduras

Nathaniel Uring, History of the Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring, London, 1726; E. L. Page, Notes on a Journey from Belize to Guatemala, Royal Geographic Society Journal, VIII (1838), pp. 317-327; See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, pp. 603-607.

British Somaliland, British protectorate in Africa

K. W. Isenberg and J. L. Krapf, Journal London, 1843; Sir A. E. Pease, "Some Account of the Somali", Scottish Geographic Magazine, XIV (1898) 57-73; see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, 164-167 for bibliography.

British Togoland

C. Hessler, Die deutschen Kolomein; Leipzig, 1908; Annual Reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London 1930, pp. 527-535 for bibliography.

Broken Hill Man

E. A. Hooton, Up from the Ape, New York, 1931.

Brooks, Phillips, Episcopal bishop, D. A. B.

Phillips Brooks, Yale Lectures on Preaching, New York, 1877; Essays and Addresses, New York, 1892; W. Newton Clarke, Huxley and Phillips Brooks, New York, 1903.

Brougham, Lord, English statesman and abolitionist D. N. B.

Lord Brougham, Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham, 3 vols., London,

1871.---, ed., Collected Works, 11 vols., Glasgow, 1855-1861 and Edinburgh, 1872-1873.

3 Brown, Jeremiah A., Ohio state legislator

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 113-117.

✓ Brown, John, abolitionist, and leader of slave insurrection D.A.B.

Oswald G. Villard, John Brown, 1800-1859, Boston, New York, 1910, etc., etc.

40-Sb-19

3 Brown, Solomon G., scientist

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 302-313.

3 Brown, William, Negro sailor in Quasi War, 1798-1800

Capt. Dudley W. Knox, comp. Naval Document, Nov., 1798- March, 1799, Washington, 1935, pp. 337, 338.

✓ Brown, William Wells, Negro historian D.A.B.

W. W. Brown, The Anti-Slavery Harp, Boston, 1849;---, Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave; Boston, 1847;---, The Negro in the American Rebellion, Boston, 1867, etc.

✓ Brown, W. W., founder of True Reformers Bank

Arnett G. Lindsay, "The Negro in Banking", Journal of Negro History, XIV, (April, 1929), pp. 156-201.

3 Brownsville Riot,

H. W. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography, N. Y., 1931.

✓ Bruce, Blanche K., Negro United States Senator from Mississippi D. A. B.

G. David Houston, "A Negro Senator", Journal of Negro History, VII (July, 1922), pp. 243-256; W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887; Washington Evening Star, March 17, 1898.

2 Bruce, John E., ("Grit"), Negro writer

Voice of the Negro

3 Brussels Convention

Sir Edward Hertslet, Map of Africa by Treaty, 3rd. rev. ed., London, 1909;

2 Bryan, Andrew, early Negro preacher

John W. Davis, "George Liele and Andrew Bryan", Journal of Negro History, III (April, 1918),

3 Bryant, William Cullen, liberal poet and publisher D. A. B.

Parke Godwin, A Biography of William Cullen Bryant, 2 vols., New York, 1883; Allan Nevins, The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism, New York, 1922.

3 Buchanan, James, president of the United States

The Works of James Buchanan, ed. by J. B. Moore, 12 V. Philadelphia and London, 1908-1911, etc., etc.

3 Buchmanism (Oxford Movement)

3 Bulwer, Lytton, English abolitionist (?) D.N.B.

Robert, Earl of Lytton, Life of Edward Lord Lytton, 2 vols., London

40-5b-20

3 Burgan, Isaac M., college president

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 1086-1094.

3 Burgess, Ebenezer, agent of the American Colonization Society

Reports of the American Colonization Society, 1818-1832.

3 Burial Societies, African

Daniel Thwaite, The Seething African Pot, London, 1936.

3 Burrus, John H., college president

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 281-287.

Bushmen, African tribe

Lt. Col. J. Sutherland, Memoir Respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans of South Africa, 2 vols., Capetown, 1845-1846; South African

Native Races Committee, Natives of South Africa: Their Economic and Social Condition, Capetown 1901; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, especially, pp. 354-365 for bibliography.

3 Butler, General Benjamin, American Civil War and Reconstruction leader

D. A. B.

Butler's Book, 2 vols. New York, 1892; James Parton, General Butler in New Orleans, New York, 1864; etc., etc.

✓ Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell, English abolitionist

Charles Buxton, et., Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, London, 1872, etc., etc.

3 Byzantium

Charles Drehl, Byzams, Paris, 1919, etc., etc.

40-56-21

3 Cabinda, Portuguese colony in Africa

Ernesto J. de Vasconcellos, As colonias portuguezas, etc., rev. ed., Lisbon, 1921.

2 Cable, George W., author of American Negro life D.A.B.

G. W. cable, Old Creole Days, 2 v., New York, 1883, ---, etc., etc.

3 Cabeza de Vaca, Spanish explorer of America

F. W. Hodge, ed., "The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca" in Spanish; Explorers in the Southern United States, in Original Narratives Series, XVIII, pp. 19-52.

2 Caillié, Rene, explorer in africa

Rene Caillie, Journal d'un voyage a Temboucto, etc., 3 v., Paris, 1830.

✓ Cain, Richard H., "Daddy", South Carolina State legislator, college president, and Congressman D.A.B.

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, Washington, 1928; Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, South Carolina during Reconstruction, Chapel Hill, 1932; Alruthens A. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction, Washington, 1924.

3 Cam

Cain, Diogo, Portuguese explorer of African coast

Luciano Cordeiro, "Diogo Cao" in Boletim of the Lisbon Geographical Society, Lisbon, 1892; E. G. Ravenstein, "Voyages of Diogo Cao", Geographical Journal, XVI (1900)

Camphor, Bishop Alexander P.

Alexander P. Camphor, Missionary Story Sketches, Flok-lore from Africa, New York, 1909.

Canada

William R. Riddell, "The Slave in Canada", Journal of Negro History, V (July, 1920), pp. 261-377; "Additional Notes on Slavery" ibid., (July, 1932), pp. 368-377.

40-56-22

Canary Islands

C. W. Thomas, Adventures amid Observations on the West Coast of Africa and Its Islands, New York, 1860; see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 573-574 for bibliography

Cannibalism
Enc. of Soc. Sc.

W. G. Summer and A. G. Keller, The Science of Society, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1927), Vol. II, Ch. XXXV, Vol. IV, pp. 657-669; etc.

Canning, George, English statesman,

Edward J. Stapleton, Some Official Correspondence of George Canning, 1821-1827, 2 v., London, 1887; Augustus G. Stapleton, Political Life of the Right Honourable George Canning, 1822-1827, London, 1831; Harold Temperley, Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827, London, 1925; etc., etc.

Cape Colony

G. M. Theal, History of South Africa since 1795, 5 vols, 1908-1910; Eric Walker, A History of South Africa; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, for bibliography.

Cape Verde Islands

E. J. de Vasconcellos, As Colonias Portuguezas, Lisbon, 1903, see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, - pp. 565-566 for bibliography

Capitein, James E. J., classic scholar

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1877, pp. 1073-1077.

201

Cardoza, Francis L., reconstruction leader in South Carolina, educator

F. B. Simkins and R. H. Woody, South Carolina during Reconstruction, Chapel Hill, 1932; W. E. B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction, New York, 1935.

Carey, Lott, Baptist preacher and agent of the American Colonization Society D.A.B.

Lott Carey, Life of Jehudi Ashmun, Washington, 1935; Biography in preperation by Rev. Miles Mark Fisher, Pastor of White Rock Baptist Church, Durham

40-5b-23

Caribbean

G. F. de Oviedo y Valdez, Extracts of....His Summaris and Generall Historie of the Indies, 1525, London, (Hakluyt Society), 1926; see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, pp. 503-531 for bibliography.

Caribs

Sieur de la Borde, "Relation de L'origine...de Caraibes" in Recueil de divers voyages, Paris, 1674; Sir W. Young, Account of the Black Caribs in the Island of St. Vincent's, London, 1795; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, especially, pp. 536-537 for bibliography.

Carnegie, Andrew, American philanthropist D. A. B.

John C. Van Dyke, ed., Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie, New York, 1920.

Carpet-baggers

W. E. B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction, New York, 1935, etc., etc.

Carthage

Stephane Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du word, vol. IV., La civilisation carthaginoise, Paris, 1920; see also Gustave Flairbert Salammbo.

Carvalho, Rodriques de, - 1936, Brazilian writer on Negro folk-lore

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Cassell, Nathaniel, president of Liberia College

Castlereagh, Lord

Charles K. Webster, Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-1822, London, 1925; Charles William Stewart, ed., Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagle, 12 v., London, 1848-1853; etc., etc.

3 Catto, W. T.,

William T. Catto, History of the Presbyterian Movement, Philadelphia, 1857.

3 Cervantes,

2 Cespedes, Carlos Manuel de, Cuban revolutionary leader

Dr. Fernando Ortiz, editor of Revista Bimestre Cubana, will write article

✓ Chaka, African warrior

Thomas Mofolo, Chaka, an Historical Romance, London, 1931.

3 Chamberlain, D. H. Reconstruction governor of South Carolina D. A. B.

Daniel H. Chamberlain, Arguments during the Ku-Klux Trials, Columbia, 1872; Sunkins and Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction, Chapel Hill, 1932.

3 Chamberlain, Joseph, English imperialist

James Louis Garvin, The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, London, 6 vols., 1932-1934.

40-56-24

3 Chandler, Henry Wilkins, Florida state senator

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 257-259.

2 Channing, William E., clergyman and abolitionist. D. A. B.

William Henry Cahnning, Life of William Ellery Channing, 1848;
William Ellery Channing, Slavery, 1835; The Abolitionist, 1936, etc.,etc.

2 Chapman, Maria W., abolitionist D. A. B.

Maria W. Chapman, comp. Songs of the Free and Hymns of Christian freedom, Boston, 1836.

3 Charlemagne, Haitian revolutionary leader

M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti will write article

3 Chase, Salmon, P., American Statesman, D. A. B.

Robert B. Warden, Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase, 1874.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 118-132, The Washington Bee

2 Chavannes, Jean Baptiste, Haitian revolutionary leader

M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

1 Chavis, John, Presbyterian minister and ante-bellum teacher of white children D. A. B.

Manuscript Order Book Rockbridge County Court, I, 10; Lexington(Va.) Gazette, November, 27, 1879; J. S. Bassett, Slavery in the State of North Carolina, Baltimore, 1899.

1.2 Crandall, Prudence, educator D. A. B.

S. J. May, Some Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict, 1869; Report of the Arguments of Counsel in the Case of Prudence Crandall, 1834.

2 Cravath, Erastus M., educator and college president D. A. B.

Nashville Banner, Sept. 5, 1900; Materials in the office of the American Association, New York City, and at Fisk University

3 Creole, The,

British and Foreign State Papers, XXX, 181-193; John Bassett Moore, International Arbitrations, I, p. 417.

Creoles,

George W. Cable, "Creole Slave Songs," Century, XXXI, (-1886), pp. 807-828; _____, etc., etc.

1 Crespo, Gonçalves, 1846-1883, Negro poet of Brazil

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

3 Crete,

Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos, London, 1921; Grace Beardsley, The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization, Baltimore, 1929.

3 Crête - à - Pierrot, famous battle in Haitian struggle for liberty

M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

Cheatham, H. P., congressman from North Carolina

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, Washington, 1928, p. 805.

Chesnutt, Charles W., American Negro writer.

Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author, New York, 1931.

3 Chester, T. Morris, American educator in Liberia, scholar, member of English bar, railroad builder.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 671-676.

40-56-26

3 Child, Lydia, abolitionist

Lydia M. Child, An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans called Africans, New York, 1836, _____, etc., etc.

1 Child Labor
Encl. of Soc. Sc.

National Child Labor Committee, Child Labor Fails, 1930, New York, 1930; See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., III, 430 for bibliography.

1 Chile
See attached bibliography.

Christianity

Sir Robert W. Carlyle and Alexander J. Carlyle, History of Medieval Political Theory in the West, 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1903-1928; Charles Howard McIlwain, The Growth of Political Thought in the West, New York, 1932, etc., etc.

2 Christophe, Henri, (Henri I), Haitian revolutionary general and king.

Verguiand Leconte, Christophe dans l'histoire d'Haiti, Paris, 1931, etc., etc.

Churches,

Benjamin Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, The Negro's Chruch, New York, 1933; Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church, Washington, 1921; See Monroe N. Work, A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America, New York, 1928, pp. 405-413.

Cinque, Joseph, Leader of slavemutiny on L'Amistad

Sen., Doc. 51 2nd sess., 27th Cong.

Citadelle, la, of Christophe

Verginand Leconte, Christophe dans l'histoire d'Haiti, Paris, 1931; etc., etc.

Civil Rights,

John R. Lynch, "The Civil Rights Bill", Journal of Negro History XII, (October, 1927) 667-669; see Monroe N. Work, Bibliography pp. 533-542 for bibliography.

Civil Service,

John W. Davis, Geroge Liete and Andrew Bryan, J.N.H., III, (Apr.1918), 119-127.

Civil War, The American

E. Merton Coulter, Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky, Chapel Hill, 1926. W. E. B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction, New York, 1935; See Monroe N. Work, Bibliography, pp. 365-369 and 398-401.

Clarkson, Thomas, English abolitionist.

Thomas Clarkson, An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African, London, 1788; etc., etc.

Clavar, Peter, Catholic missionary among Negroes

Arnold H. M. Lunn, A Saint in the Slave Trade; Peter Clavar, New York, 1935.

Clapperton, Hugh, explorer in Africa

Hugh Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, London, 1829.

Clay, Henry, American Politician, "The Great Compromiser", D.A.B.

Calvin Colton, Works of Henry Clay, 7 vols. 1896.

40-56-28

2 Clemente Pereira, Jose, February 10, 1787 - March 10, 1854, early Brazilian abolitionist.

Article will be written by Dr. Ramos.

3 Cleveland, Grover, president of the United States

Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland the Man and the Statesman 2 vols., N. Y., and London, 1925; AllanNevins, Grover Cleveland; A Study in Courage, New York, 1932.

3 Clifford, J. R., newspaper editor,

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 273- 277.

1 Climate, Enc. of Soc. Sc.

Franklin Thomas, Environmental Basis of Society, New York, 1925; see End. of Soc. Sc. III, pp. 561- 562 for bibliography.

3 Cobden, Richard, English liberal, D. N. B .

John Bright and J. E. Thorold Rogers, eds., Speeches on Question of Public Policy by Richard Cobden, London, 1870.

2 Code noir, French slave code

Recheil d'edits, etc. Paris, 1745; see Monroe N. Work, Bibliography especially pp. 267-291 and 341-347.

3 Codrington, Christopher, founder of Codrington College D. N. B .

See the general sermon by W. Gordon, Barbadoes, 1710.

3 Coffin, Levi, Underground railroad worker,

Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, Cincinnati; 1876.

3 Coker, Daniel, Colonizer in Liberia

Daniel Coker, Journal of Daniel Coker, Baltimore, 1820.

3 Cole, Robert, actor

James Wledon Johnson, Along This Way, New York, 1933.

260

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, English liberal, D. N. B.

See Dictionary of National Biography, IV, pp. 772-773 for bibliography.

Coleridge- Taylor, Samuel, English Negro composer Dn.N. B.

W. C. Berwick Sayers, Samuel Coleridge Taylor, Musician; His Life and Letters, London, 1915.

Colleges, Negro

Journal of Negro Education, "Survey of Negro Higher Education," II (July, 1933); see pp. 423-425 for Bibliography.

Colombia,

See attached bibliography.

Colonization, Enc. of Soc. Sc.

P. Leroy- Beaulieu, De la cononisation chex les peuples' modernes, 2 vols., 6th ed. Paris, 1908; seeEnc. of Soc. Sc. III, p. 663 for bibliography.

40.56-29

Colored Alliance, Populist organization

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929, # 325.

Colored Merchants Association,

Albon Holsey.

Colour Bar in South Africa

W. M. MacMillan, Bantu, B riton, and Boer, London, 1929.

Commission Inter-racial Cooperation

Annual Reports.

Congo Free State

See Evans Lewin, A Subject Catalogue, I, 1930, pp. 536-554 for Bibliography.

Convention Movement, The Negro,

270

John W. Cromwell, The Early Negro Convention Movement, Washington, 1904; et., et.,

Communism,

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc. For bibliography.

3 Comoro Islands,

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, p. 537 for bibliography.

3 Coppin, Fanny J., educator

Levi J. Coppin, Unwritten History, An Autobiography, Philadelphia, 1919.

40-56-30

3 Coppin, Levi

Levi Coppin, Unwritten History, an Autobiography, Philadelphis, 1919.

3 Coolidge, Calvin, president of the United States,

3 Corbin, Joseph C., reconstruction politician and state school superintendent in Arkansas.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887.

3 Coptic religion

A. J. Butler, The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, Oxford, 1884; see Encycl. of Religion and Ethics IV, p. 119 for bibliography.

3 Cornish, Samuel E., newspaper publisher and editor.

Samuel E. Corinish and Theodore W. Wright, The Colonization Scheme Considered, Newark, 1840; Bella Gross, "Freedom's Journal and the Rights of All", Journal of Negro History, XVIII (July, 1932), pp. 241-286.

3 Coronado, Spanish explorer,

F. W. Hodge, ed., "The Expedition of Coronado" in Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States in Original Narratives Series, XVIII, pp. 273- 287.

3 Cortes, Hernando, conqueror of Mexico,

Francisco A. Lorenzana, Historia de Nueva Espana escrita por...cortes, Mexico, 1770; Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Historia de la Conquista de Mejico, trans. by Mandslay, 1928.

Costa Rica,

See attached bibliography.

Council, William Hooper, college president

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887.

Cowper, William, English post,

John Johnson, ed. The Private Correspondence of William Cowper, 2 vols. London, 1824.

Craft, Ellen, famous runaway slave

William and Helen Craft, "The Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom, London, 1860

Craft, William, famous runaway slave

William and Helen Craft, Running A Thousand Miles for Freedom, London, 1860.

285

Crime,

See Work, Bibliography, pp. 543-549; Charles S. Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, New York, 1930.

3 Crogman, W. H., educator

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887.

40-56-32

3 Cromer, Earl, 1841-1917. D. N. B.

Lord Cromer, Modern Egypt, 2 vols., London, 1908; Sir J. Rennell Rodd, Social and Diplomatic Memories, London, 1923, Vols. II.

3 Cromwell, John W., historian and educator,

John W. Cromwell, The Early Negro Convention Movement, Washington, 1904; The Challenge of the Disfranchised, Washington, 1924; "First Negro Chruches in the District of Columbia", J. N. H., VII (Jan., 1922), pp. 64-106; The Negro in American History, Washington, 1914.

2 Crowther, Bishop Samuel Adjar,

Ben N. Azikiwe, "Fragments of Onitsha History", Journal of Negro History, XV, (October, 1930), pp. 474-497.

3 Crum, William D., collectof of port of Charleston,

Papers had been obtained by the association for the Study of Negro Life and History, J. N. H., XVII,. p. 412. They are probably deposited in the Library of Congress.

3 Crummell, Alexander, scholar and educator

John W. Cromwell, The Negro in American History, Washington, 1914, passim.

1 Cruze Souza, ____, March 19, 1878, "The Negro Poet of Brazil"

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Cuba

See attached bibliography Allow space for forty biographies

2 Cudjo,
Cudjoi, one of last slaves brought to the United States

Jora Neal Hurston, "Cudjoe's Own Story of the last African", Journal of Negro History, (October, 1927), pp.648-663.

Cuffe, Paul, Negro skipper, religious leader, pioneer colonizer, advocate of of Negro political rights D. A B.

H. N. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffe", Journal of Negro History, VIII (April, 1923), pp. 152-232; the Papers of Paul Cuffee are in the Public Library of New Bedford, Mass.

Cugoano, Ottobah

Ottobah Cugoana, Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, London, 1787

Cuney, Norris Wright, Texas legislator

Maud Cuney Hare, Norris Wright Cuney, New York, 1930; J. Mason Brewer, Negro Legislators of Texas, Dallas, 1935.

Curacao, Dutch Caribbean island

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, pp. 546-547 for bibliography.

Curtis, James L., minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII, (January, 1937), pp. 50-92.

Dahomey, French colony in West Africa

G. Francois, Notre colonie du Dahomey, sa formation, son developpement, son avenir, Paris, 1906.

Dancy, John, Recorder of Deeds, Washington, D. C.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887

Danton,

Charles Oscar Hardy, The Negro Question in the French Revolution, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1919

Dartiguenave, Sudre, president of Haiti,

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, New York, 1928. Raymond Leslie Buell, The American Occupation of Haiti, Bulletin of the Foreign Policy Association, December, 1929.

Darwin, Charles

See D. N. B., V, p. 534 for bibliography

Davis, Jefferson, president of the confederacy
D. A. B.

William E. Dodd, Jefferson Davis, 1907, etc., etc.

Day, William H., editor,

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 978-984.

Debs, Eugene, American socialist leader
D. A. B.

Eugene Debs, His Life, Writings and Speeches, ed. by Stephen M. Reynolds, 1908; David Karsner, Debs: His Authori,ed Life and Letters, 1919.

Defoe, Daniel, English author,
D. N. B.

See D. N. B., V, pp. 741-743 for bibliography

40-56-34

De Grasse, Dr. John V., surgeon in the United States Army

Office of the Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.

Delany, Martin, colonizer and surgeon, United States Army D. A. B.

Martin R. Delany, The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States Politically Considered, Philadelphia, 1852; _____,

De Large, R. C. Congressman from South Carolina

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, Washington, 1928; Simkins and Woody, South Carolina during Reconstruction, Chapel Hill, 1932.

Delgado, Morua, Cuban political leader, author of bill prohibiting parties based on race

Dr. Fernando Ortez will write article.

Democracy

Ency. of Soc. Sc., V, pp. 76-84; see ibid., pp. 84-84 for bibliography.

Democratic Party,

For bibliography, see Encycl. of Soc. Sc., XI, p. 636.

Demography

For bibliography, see Encycl. of Soc. Sc., V, p. 86.

Deng, cult of

Soc. Sc., Abst., 1929, #5953.

Denominationalism

Benjamin E. May and Joseph W. Nicholson, The Negro's Church, New York, 1933.

40-56-35

Dental Schools

Journal of Negro Education, "Survey of Negro Higher Education", II, (July, 1933), see pp. 423-425 for bibliography.

Derham, James, physician

Benjamin Rush, The American Museum, January, 1789 , Benjamin Rush, MSS in the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Public Library and elsewhere. A Memorial Containing Travels through Life or Sundry Incidents in the Life of Dr. Benjamin Rush....Written by Himself (1905).

De Sable, Jean Baptiste, pioneer settler of Chicago

Mrs. John H. Kinzie, Wan Bun, Milo M. Quaife ed., Chicago, 1932, pp. 219-220; John C. Luttig, Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812, 1813, Stella M. Drumm, ed., St. Louis, 1920, p. 155.

Des Moines Training Camp for Negro Officers during World War

Emmett Jay Scott, Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War, Chicago, 1919; "Training Negroes for Officers", Literary Digest, LV (July 21, 1917), p. 50.

Dessalines, Jean Jacques, Haitian revolutionary general and founder of independence

Richard Pattee, Jean Jacques Dessalines, Fundador de Haiti, Habana, 1937, reprint, from Revista Brimestre Cubana, July - August, 1936; has a partial bibliography.

Detribalization

Union of South Africa, Report of Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932,

Pretoria, 1932.

Diagne, Blaise, Senegalese member of French Cahmber of Deputies

Diaguillo, The Black Corsair

Sir Thomas Gage, The English-American

40-5b-36

Dialects

Africa (London), Quarterly Journal of International Institute of African Languages and Cultures for Articles and bibliography

Diaz, Bartholomew, Portuguese explorer of African coast

A. Galvao, Des Cobrimientos, Hakluyt Society, London, 1862; E. G. Ravenastein, "Voyages of Cao and Dias' in Geographical Journal, XVI (1900)

Diaz, Henrique, leader of revolt against Dutch in Brazil

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Diaz, Goncalvez, Brazilian poet

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Dickinson, Anna, Abolitionist

I. B. Hooker, The Nation, VII (1868), p. 391; E. L. Godkin, Anna Dickinson and the Critics", ibid., XXIV, p. 232; J. R. Dennett and E. L. Godkin, "Anna Dickinson as Writer and Orator", ibid., VII, pp. 346, 388.

Direct rule in Africa

Stephen H. Roberts, History of French Colonial Policy (1870-1925), London, 1929, 2 vols. see especially, Vol. II, appendix for bibliography.

Discrimination

See Work, Bibliography, pp. 528-542.

Disraeli, Benjamin

L. Cleopatra Love, A Reexamination of the Attitude of Certain British Statesmen Toward the American Civil War, unpublished M. A. thesis, Atlanta University.

3 "Dixie Kid", pugilist

3 Dixon, George, pugilist

40-56-37

Dodds, General , French mulatto general

G. Francois, Notre colonie du Dahomey, sa formation, son developpement, son avenir, Paris, 1906.

3 Dominica, British Caribbean possession

For bibliography see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, pp. 585-586.

3 Dominicans

James Hastings, ed., Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, XIII vols., New York, 1926-1927, XI, p. 608.

3 Domingue, Michel, president of Haiti,

State Department Archives, Hayti, Despatches, and Instructions; H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, New York, 1928; Rayford W. Logan, A Century of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Haiti, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.

3 Douglas, Stephen A.,
D. A. B.

George Fort Milton, The Eve of Conflict; Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War, Boston and New York, 1934.

2, Douglass, Frederick,

Frederick Douglass, The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, 1845, My Bondage and Freedom, 1855, etc., etc.

3 Downing, George, business man

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 1003-1007.

4 Dred Scott V. Sandford

Carl Swisher, Roger B. Taney, New York, 1935; Charles Warren, Congress,

the Constitution, and the Supreme Court, Boston, 1935; Andrew C. McLaughlin, A Constitutional History of the United States, New York, 1935.

Dual Control in Africa

Sir Frederick Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, Edinburgh and London, 2nd. ed., 1923; Ralph J. Bunche, "French and British Imperialism in West Africa", Journal of Negro History, XXI (January, 1936), pp. 31-46.

Dubuclet, Antoine, treasurer of Louisiana

Henry C. Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, New York, 1930
Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, New York and London, 1918.

Dumas, Alexandre, fils

Henry S. Schwarz, Alexandre Dumas fils, dramatist, New York, 1927.

Dumas, Alexandre, père

Alexandre Dumas, Mes Memoires, 10 vols., Paris, 1863-1892.

40-56-38

Dumas, Mathieu

Correspondance generale de Napoleon Ier.

Dunbar, Paul Lawrence, American poet
D. A. B.

Benjamin Brawley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936.

Dunbar-Nelson, Alice, poet

Journal of Negro History, XXI (January, 1936), pp. 95-96.

Dunn, Oscar J., lieutenant-governor of Louisiana

Henry C. Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, New York, 1930; W. E. B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction, New York, 1935; Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, New York and London, 1918.

Dutch Guiana

See Evans Lewis, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, pp. 546-547 for bibliography.

Education

Journal of Negro Education, 1932 -

Ecuador

Allow space for three biographies

See attached Bibliography

Edwards, Bryan, English historian of the Caribbean D. N. B.

Bryan Edwards, The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies, 5th ed., 3 v., London, 1819; _____ etc., etc., see D. N. B., VI, p. 531 for bibliography.

Egypt

Lord Lloyd, Egypt since Cromer, 2 vols., London and New York, 1934; see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, p. 37-92 for bibliography.

El Idrisi, African explorer

El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne (Slavic Translation) Paris, 1859.

Eleko

Rayford W. Logan, "The Eleko Case", Southern Workman, LX (November, 1931), pp. 480-482.

Elie-Dubois, Haitian education

Rayford W. Logan, Education in Haiti, Washington, 1930, reprint from Journal of Negro History, XV (October, 1930), pp. 401-460.

Elliott, Robert B., Congressman from South Carolina

Biographical Directory of Congress, Washington, 1928; Alfred B. Williams, Hampton and His Red Shirts, Charleston, 1935.

Embree, Elihu, Abolitionist D.A.B.

Elihu Embree, The Emancipator, ed. by Robert H. White, Nashville, 1932.

Es-Sadi, Abderrahman, historian of Songhay

Aberderrahman Es-Sadi, Tarikh es-Soudan (Houdas translation), Paris, 1898-1900; A. O. Stafford, "The Tarikh - es- Soudan", J. N. H., II, pp. 139-146.

1 **Estevanico, explorer with early Spaniards in America**

F. W. Hodge, ed., "The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca", in Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States in Original Narratives Series XVIII, pp. 19-52 and Hodge, ed., "The Expedition of Coronado", ibid., XVIII, pp. 273-287.

3 **Emerson, Ralph Waldo** D. A. B.

James Elliot Cabot, Memoir, 1887; see D. A. B., VI, p. 141 for bibliography

✓ **Emancipation**

Sir John Harris, A Century of Emancipation, London, 1933, etc., etc.

40-56-40

2 **Endogamy**

J. G. Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, 4 vols., London, 1910; seen Encycl. of Soc. Sc., II, p. 88 for bibliography.

3 **Engels, Friedrich,**

Gustav Mayer, Friedrich Engels: Eine Biographie, 2 vols., The Hague, 1934; has bibliography.

✓ **England,**

Rayford W. Logan, "Great Britain and Race Prejudice", The Crisis, XXXIX (March, 1932); League of Colored Peoples, Journal of Negro History, XVIII, (January, 1933), pp. 92-99.

2 **Equal Rights League**

The Boston Guardian

✓ **Eritica**

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 561-563 for bibliography.

3 **Eugenics**

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., II, p. 557 for bibliography

Europe

Edward Eyre, ed., European Civilization, its Origin and Development, New York, 1935.

Europe, James Reese, band leader

James Weldon Johnson, Along This Way, New York, 1933; Emmett Jay Scott, Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War, Chicago, 1919.

Exogamy

J. G. Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, 4 vols., London, 1910; see Encycl. of Soc. Sc., II, p. 88 for bibliography.

Exorcism

J. G. Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, 4 vols. London, 1910.

Explorations in Africa

See Work's Bibliography, pp. 1-27

Family

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., II, p. 85; IV, 629, V, p. 401 and Social Science Abstracts, 1929-1932 for bibliography.

Farm Tenancy

Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation, Chicago, 1934; Arthur Raper, Preface to Peasantry, Chapel Hill, 1936.

Farmers

See Work's Bibliography, pp. 493-497.

Fashoda,

Ernest Work, Ethiopia, a Pawn in European Diplomacy

Faubert, Pierre, Haitian

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

3 Fee, John G., educator + abolitionist D.A.B.

Edwin R. Embree, Brown America, New York, 1931

3 Féquière, Fleury, Haitian educator

Fleury Fequiere, L'education hathemne, Port au Prince, 1906.

3 Feijo, Father Diogo Antonio, August 17, 1784 - November 9, 1843, regent of Brazil

Article will be written by Dr. Ramos of Brazil

2 Felicio dos Santos, Joaquim, 1828- October, 21, 1895, Brazilian abolitionist

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

3 Fernando Po, Spanish island off coast of Africa

See Evnas Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, p. 575 for bibliography.

2 Ferriera de Menezes, Jose, 1845- June 6, 1881, Brazilian Abolitionist, Co-worker of Jose do Patrocinio (q.v.)

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

40-56-42

3 Ferry, Jules, French statesman

Alfred N. Ramband, Jules Ferry, Paris, 1903.

✓ Fertility, see Demography

✓ Fetishism

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., VI, pp. 201-202 and VII, pp. 575-577, and International Bibliography of Historical Sciences, 1926 , and Social Science Abstracts, 1929-1932 for bibliography.

1 Fifteenth Amendment

John Bascom "The Three Amendments" Annals of the American Academy, XXVII (May, 1906), pp. 597-609.

2 Fifty-fifth Massachusetts

George W. Williams, A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the

392

Rebellion, New York, 1888

2 Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment

George W. Williams, A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, New York, 1888

3 Fillmore, Millard, president of the United States

Millard Fillmore Papers, ed. by F. H. Severance, Buffalo, 1907, 2 v.

2 Fisher, Rudolph, author

Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author, New York, 1931; New York Times, December 27, 1934, 26:3

40-56-43

✓ Folk-lore

See Work's Bibliography, pp. 101-110; Encycl of Soc. Sc, IX, pp. 526-Social Science Abstracts, 1929-1932, and Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc., 1929-for bibliography

3 Follen, Charles, abolitionist
D. A. B.

The Works of Charles Follen, with a Memoir of His Life, 5 vols.

3 Follen, Eliza Lee Cabot, abolitionist, D. A. B.

The Works of Charles Follen, with a Memoir of His Life, 5 vols.

3 Foraker, Joseph B., senator from Ohio D. A. B.

Joseph B. Foraker, Notes on a Busy Life, 2 vols., 1916.

✓ Forced labor

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc. VI, pp. 341-346; II, p 381; Iv, pp. 455-457; VII, p. 611; XII, pp. 69-72; XIII, p. 454; XIV p. 80; Social Science Abstracts, 1929-1932; Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc., 1926—and Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications, Washington, 1930-for bibliography.

1 Forten, James, wealthy free Negro D. A. B.

George W. Williams, History of the Negro Race in America, 2 vols. New York, 1883; Paul Cuffe Papers, New Bedford, Mass.

402

2 Fortune, T. Thomas, editor and author

T. Thomas Fortune, Black and White, Land, Labor, and Politics in the South, New York, 1884---, etc., etc.,

3 Foster, Abby Kelly, abolitionist, D. A. B.,

William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children, 1885-1889

3 Fortier, Alcee, historian of Creole life D. A. B.

L'Athenee Louisianais, Comptes Rendus, April 1, 1914

3 Foster, Stephen Collins, composer D. A. B.

H . V. Milligan, Stephen Collins Foster, 1920

3 Foster, Stephen Symonds, abolitionist D. A. B.

Lillie B. C. Wyman, "Reminiscences of Two Abolitionists", New England Magazine, January, 1903

40-56-44

1 Fourteenth Amendment

John Bascom, "The Three Amendments", annals of the American Academy, XXVII (May, 1906), 597-609.

3 Fox, Charles James, English statesman and abolitionist D. N. B.

See D. N. B., VII, 551-552 for bibliography

V France

Maurice Besson, "La police des noirs sous Louis XVI en France", Revue de l'histoire des colonies francaises, XVI,(July-August, 1928), 433-436; Charles Oscary Hardy, The Negro Question in the French Revolution, Menasha, Wisconsin ; etc., etc.

3 Francis, William T., minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937), 50-92

3 Franciscans,

James Hastings, ed., Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, XI, 608

412

3 Fraternities, college

Charles Wesley, A History of Alpha Phi Alpha, Washington, 1925 and 1935

3 François, Jean, Haitian revolutionary leader

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article

3 Franklin, Benjamin, D. A. B.

Benjamin Franklin, The Works of Benjamin Franklin, ed. by Jared Sparks, 10 vols., Boston, 1836-1840

40-54-45

1 Fraternal Organizations

History of the Mosaic Templars of America; etc.

✓ Free N egroes

See Work, Bibliography, pp. 352-357

1 Free Soil Party

Theodore Clark Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest, New York, 1902

✓ Freedman Aid Societies

See Work, Bibliography, pp. 370-376

✓ Freedmen's Bureau

See Work, Bibliography, 370-376

3 Fremont, General John C. D. A. B.

Allan Nevins, Fremont, the West's greatest adventurer, 2 vols., 1928

✓ French Cameroons

see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue I, London, 1930, pp. 517-521, 527-535; and annual Reports of the Permanent Mandates commission; Raymond L. Buell, The Native Problem in Africa

323

French Equatorial Africa

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue I, London, 1930, 512-517

French Somaliland

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, 522-523

French Togoland

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue I, London, 1930, 505-507, 527-535; annual Reports of the P. M. C.

French West Africa

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue I, London, 1930---, pp. 494-512

3 Frissell, Hollis B., educator D. A. B.

F. C. Peabody, Education for Life

3 Frothingham, Octavius Brooks, abolitionist, "heir of Theodore Parker", D. A. B.

O. B. Frothingham, Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890,1891.

40-56-46

Fugitive Slaves

See Work, Bibliography, pp. 333-341

3 Furniss, H. W. (N), minister to Haiti

State Department, Haiti, Instructions, Despatches; Foreign Relations of the United States

3 Furness, William Henry, abolitionist, D. A. B.

S. A. Eliot, ed., Heralds of a Liberal Faith, vol. III, 1910.

3 Gaines, Wesley John, church leader, D. A. B.

Gaines's African Methodism in the South

3 Gallet, Lucians, June 28, 1893-- October 29, 1931, director of the National Institute of Music, Rio de Janeric

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

334

3 Galvao, Trajano -----, Brazilian poet

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

2 Gama, Jose Basilia da, 1740-1785, Negro poet of Brazil

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

2 Gama, Luiz (Luiz Gonzaga Pinto daGama), June 21, 1830,-- August 23, 1882, famous free Negro of Brazil

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

3 Gama, Vasco da, Portuguese explorer

Sir Percy Sykes, A History of Exploration, New York, 1934

✓ Gambia, British West African possession

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, 93-114

40-56-47

3 Gammon, Elijah Hedding, philanthropist D. A. B.

Memoir of Gammon by R. I. Fleming, reprinted in Minutes of the annual conferences of the M. E. Church, 1891

2 Ganga Zumba, leader of first Negro insurrection in Brazil,-- 1695

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

3 Gannett, Ezra Stiles, abolitionist D. A. B.

William C. Gannett, Ezra Stiles Gannett, 1875

3 Gans, Joe, pugilist

3 Garfield, James A., president of the United States D.A.B.

Theodore C. Smith, Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield, 2 vols. New Haven, 1925

✓ Garnett, Henry Highland, historian and abolitionist, and educator
D. A. B.

W. M. Brewer, "Henry Highland Garnet", Journal of Negro History, XIII (January, 1928); Henry Highland Garnett, An Address to the Slaves of the United States, Buffalo, 1843,---, etc.; James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937), pp. 50-92

3 Garrett, Thomas, abolitionist D. A. B.

Scrap book compiled by Helen S. Garrett

V Garrison, William Lloyd, editor and abolitionist D. A. B.

William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879; The Story of His Life Told by His Children, 4 vols., 1885-1889

40-56-48

3 Gay, Sydney Howard, abolitionist, editor D. A. B.

F. L. Gay, John Gay of Dedham and Some of His Descendants, 1879

3 Gayarre, Charles E. A., historian D. A. B.

La. Hist. Soc. Pubs., vol. III, Pt. 4 (March, 1906)

3 George, Henry, economist, reformer D. A. B.

Henry George, Jr., The Life of Henry George, 1900

1 Geffrand, Fabre, president of Haiti,

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, New York, 1928, Rayford W. Logan, A Century of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Haiti

1 General Education Board

Annual Reports

3 Geneva Slavery Convention

Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications, Washington, 1930-

V German Cameroons

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 527-535 for bibliography

German East Africa

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 527-535 for bibliography

German Southwest Africa

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp 527-535; Rayford W. Logan, "German Acquisition of Southwest Africa", Journal of Negro History, XVIII (October, 1933), pp. 369-395

German Togoland

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 527-535

Germany

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, Munich, 1932

Ghana,

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905; etc,, etc.

Gibbons, Abigail Hopper, abolitionist D. A. B.

S. H. Emerson, Life of Abby Hopper Gibbons, 2 vols., 1896

Gibbons, James Sloan, abolitionist, D. A. B.

W. P. and F. J. Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison, 1885-1889

Gibbs, Jonathan, Florida politician and state school superintendent

Mifflin W. Gibbs, Shadow and Light, an Autobiography, Washington, 1902; William Watson Davis, The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida, New York 1913

Gibbs, Mifflin W.,

Mifflin W. Gibbs, Shadow and Light,an Autobiography, Washington, 1902

Giddings, Joshua, abolitionist D. A. B.

George W. Julian , The Life of Joshua R. Giddings, Indianapolis, 1892

3 Giles, Harriet E., educator

Papers and Records at Spelman College

2 Gilpin, Charles S., actor D. A. B.

Theatre Magazine, January, 1921; etc.

3 Girl Scouts

For bibliography see Enc. of Soc. Sc. II, pp. 667

40-56-50

3 Gladstone, William E., English statesman D. N. B.

For bibliography see D. N. B.

2 Gleaves, R. H., South Carolina reconstruction politician

Simkins and Woody, South Carolina during Reconstruction, Chapel Hill, 1932

✓ Gold Coast

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1932, pp. 93-111, 123-136

1 Golden Stool

Joseph J. Williams, Hebrewisms of West Africa, New York, 1930

1 Gomez, José Miguel, president of Cuba

Irene Wright, Cuba, New York, 1902

✓ Gomez, Juan Gualberto, Cuban patriot,

Fannie Allen, The Attitude of the Atlanta Constitution toward Cuban Independence, 1899-1902, unpublished master's thesis, Atlanta University, 1937

1 Gomez, Sebastian, painter

V. B. Spratlin, "The Negro in Spainish Literature", Journal of Negro History, vol. XIX, (January, 1934), pp. 60-71

3 Girardeau, John L., Liberal southern preacher, D. A. B.

G. A. Blackburn, The Life Work of Jchn L. Girardean, 1916

3 Godkin, E. H., Liberal editor D. A. B.

Rollo Ogden, ed., Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin, 2 vols., 1907

3 Gompers, Samuel, American labor leader D. A. B.

L. S. Reed, The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers, 1930

3 Gonçalmez, Antam Portuguese slave trader

Elizabeth Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, 4 vols., Washington, 1930-1936; I, pp. 18-36, passin

3 Goodloe, Daniel R., southern abolitionist. D. A. B.

J. S. Bassett, "Anti-Slavery Leaders of N. C.", Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science., sec. XVI, No. 6 (1898)

3 Gordon, General Charles George D. N. B.

See D. N. B., VIII, p. 176 for bibliography

40-5b-51

1 Gordon, George William, Jamaica Negro leader

Sir Harry Johnston, The Negro in the New World, London, 1910

3 Grady, Henry W., Apostle of "The New South" D. A. B.

F. H. Richardson, A Fruitful Life, 1890

3 Grant, Ulysses S., president of the United States D.A.B

William B. Hesseltine, Ulysses S. Grant, Politician, New York, 1935; has bibliography

3 Great Trek, The

Eric A. Walker, The Great Trek, London and New York, 1934

2 Greeley, Horace, editor and politician D. A. B.

Ralph R. Fahrney, Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1936

3 **Green, Beriah, abolitionist** D. A. B.

S. W. Green, Beriah Green, 1874

1 **Greener, Richard T., first colored graduate of Harvard, scholar, educator,** D. A. B.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887

3 **Greenfield, Elizabeth Taylor**

Maud Cuney Harey, Negro Musicians and Their Music, Washington, 1936

2 **Grégoire, Abbé, French abolitionist**

Henri Grégoire, An Enquiry, etc., Brooklyn, 1810

2 **Grenada, British Caribbean possession**

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, pp. 598-600

1 **Grimke, Archibald Henry, lawyer, author** D. A. B.

Angelina W. Grimke, "A Biog. Sketch of Archibald Grimke", Opportunity, February, 1925

2 **Grimke, Sarah Moore** D. A. B.

Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke, 2 vols., New York, 1934

3 **Grinnell, Josiah Bushnell, abolitionist,** D. A. B.

J. B. Grinnell, Men and Events of Forty Years, 1861

3 **Guerrier, Philippe, President of Haiti**

M. Dantès Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

✓ **Guadaloupe, French West Indies,**

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, p. 548

———, La contribution de la Guadeloupe [see Mercer Cook]

394

Guatemala

Dr. Lewis Hanke who is going to Guatemala with Robert Redfield; See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, p. 708 for bibliography.

3 Guillaume Sam, Jean V., president of Haiti

Foreign Relations of the United States.

Guinea Coast

Elizabeth Donnan, Docs. Illust. of the Hist. of the Slave Trade to America, 4 vols., Washington, 1930-1936

3 Gurley, Ralph Randolph, agent of the American Colonization Society
D. A. B.

Mason Noble, A Discourse, etc. 1872

3 Habersham, James, advocate of introduction of slavery into Georgia
D. A. B.

C. C. Jones, History of Georgia, 1883; Colonial Records of Georgia.

40-56-53

3 Hackley, Emma A. singer

Maud Cuney Hare, Negro Musicians and Their Music, Washington, 1936

Haiti,

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, New York, 1928 and 1932; Rayford W. Logan, Education in Haiti; Washington, 1930, Foreign Policy Association, Information, December, 1929, etc., etc.

3 Hale, John P., free-soil leader D. A B.

MSS. in New Hampshire Historical Society

3 Hall, Primus, free Negro advocate of abolition

George Henry Moore, Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, New York, 1866

Hall, Prince, founder of American Negro Masonry

Harry E. Davis, "Documents Relating to Negro Masonry in America", Journal of Negro History, XXI (October, 1936), pp. 411-432.

3 Hallowell, Richard Price, abolitionist, D. A. B.

W. P. Hallowell, Record of a Branch of the Hallowell Family, 1893

3 Hamburg Riot

Alfred B. Williams, Hampton and His Red Shirts, Charleston, 1935

3 Hamilton, Alexander D. A. B.

Alexander Hamilton, Works, ed. by Henry Cabot Lodge, 12 vols., 1904

40-56-54 1 Hamites,

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., XV, p. 577 for index to bibliography; Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929-1932; Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc.

1 Hammon, Jupiter, poet D. A. B.

Oscar Wegelin, Jupiter Hammon, American Negro Poet...and a Bibliography, 1905; Benjamin Brawley, Early Negro American Writers, Chapel Hill, 1935

3 Hand, Daniel, philanthropist D. A. B.

G. A. Wilcox, A Christian Philanthropist, 1889.

3 Hannivalov, General

Ernest J. Simmins, Pushkin, Cambridge, 1937

3 Hannivalov, Abram

Ernest J. Simmons, Pushkin, Cambridge, 1937

3 Hampton, Wade, restorer of white rule in South Carolina, D. A. B.

Alfred B. Williams, Hampton and His Red Shirts, Charleston, 1935.

3 Haralson, Jere, Congressman from Alabama

Biographical Directory of Congress.

Harding, Warren G., president of the United States, D. A. B.

Charles W. Thompson, Presidents I've Known, 1929.

Hare, Maud Cuney, musician

Maud Cuney Hare, Journal of Negro History.

Harlan, Robert, Ohio State legislator

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887 .

Harmon Award

The Crisis.

Harper, Francis E. W., poet,

Benjamin Brawley, ed., Early Negro American Writers, Chapel Hill, 1935

Harper, William A.,

Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author.

Harris, Joel Chandler, author of "Brer Rabbit" stories
D. A. B.

Julia Collier Harris, ed., The Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris, 1908 .

Harrison, Benjamin, president of the United States, D. A. B.

Lew Wallace, Life of General Benjamin Harrison, 1888; A. T. Volwiler has a biography in preparation using unpublished documents.

Harrison, Richard B. ("De Lawd"), actor

New York Times, editorial March 16, 1935, 24:4; March 17, 37:8; March 24, VIII 1:1.

Hausa,

Major A. J. N. Tremearne, Hausa Superstitions and Customs, London, 1913.

424

2 Hawaii,

Kenneth W. Porter, "Notes on Negroes in Early Hawaii", Journal of Negro History, XIX (January, 1934), pp. 193-197.

2 Hawkins, John, slave trader

Elizabeth Donnan, Docs. Illust. of the Hist. of the Slave Trade, 4 vols., Washington, 1930-1936.

40-56-56 2 Hawkins, William, slave trader

Elizabeth Donnan, Docs. Illust. of the Hist. of the Slave Trade, Washington, 4 vols., 1930-1936.

3 Hartzell, Joseph Crane, missionary bishop D. A. B.

Southwestern Christian Advocate, Sept. 13, 1928.

3 Haven, Erastus Otis, educator D. A. B.

Autobiography of Erastus O. Haven, ed. by C. C. Stratton, 1883.

3 Haven, Gilbert, abolitionist D. A. B.

Eratus Wentworth, Gilbert Haven; A Monograph, 1880.

3 Hayes, Rutherford B., president of the United States, D. A. B.

H. J. Eckenrode, Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion, 1930.

2 Hayford, Casely, educator,

Casely Hayford, Gold Coast Native Institutions, London, 1903; -------, Ethiopia Unbound, London, 1911; ---, etc., etc.

1 Haynes, Lemuel, revolutionary soldier, preacher

George W. Williams, History of the Negro Race in America.

3 Heard, William H., minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937), pp. 50-92.

436

3 Hazard, Thomas, abolitionist D. A. B.

Caroline Hazard, Thos. Hazard.,....Call'd College Tom, 1893.

3 Hearn, Lafcadio, D. A. B.

Elizabeth Bisland, The Life and Letters of LafCadio Hearn, 1906.

3 Hecker, Friedrick Karl Franz, anti-slavery worker D. A. B.

3 Heinzen, Karl Peter, abolitionist D. A. B.

40-56-57

2 Helper, Hinton R., author , D. A. B.

Hinton R. Helper, The Impending Crisis, New York, 1859.

3 Hemenway, Mary Porter Tileston.,philanthropist, D. A. B.

2 Henry, Prince, "The Navigator",

C. Raymond Beazley, Prince Henry the Navigator, New York, 1895.

1 Henson, Josiah, D. A. B.

Benjamin Brawley, ed. Early Negro American Writers, Chapel Hill, 1935.

3 Hérard, Charles, president of Haiti,

Sumner Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 2 vols., New York, 1928.

1 Heredity,

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., XV, p. 622 for index to bibliography.

3 Herndon, A. F., business man and capitalist,

Private papers and records of Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

? Heureaux, Ulises, president of the Dominican Republic

Sumner Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924, 2 v. New York, 1928.

Higginson, Colonel Thomas W., anti-slavery advocate D. A. B.

Hilton- Young Report

Raymond Leslie Buell, "Two Lessons in Colonial Rule", Foreign Affairs, VII, pp. 439-543; Rayford W. Logan, "West or South Africa in East Africa", Southern Workman, LIX, (November, 1929), pp.483-489.

Hippolyte, F. M. F., president of Haiti,

Rayford W. Logan, A Century of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Haiti.

Holly, James Theodore, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. D. A. B.

Honduras,

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, London, 1932, p. 708 for bibliography.

Hope, John, educator and college president

See various publications of Atlanta University and Journal of Negro History, XXI (April, 1936)

Hopkins, Moses Aaron, Minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937) pp. 50-92.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Justice of the United States Supreme Court. DAB

Holsey, Lucius Henry, bishop of the Colored M. E. Church D. A. B.

Hood, James Walker, bishop in the A. M. E. Z. Church D. A. B.

Hopkins, Samuel, one of first Congregational ministers to denounce slavery. D. A. B.

Horton, George M., poet,

Benjamin Brawley, ed., Early Negro American Writers, Chapel Hill, 1935.

Hospitals,

Trevor Bowen, Divine White Right, New York and London, 1934.

Hottentots,

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 354-365 for bibliography.

Housing,

John M. Gries and James Ford, President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, Washington, 1931; Campbell C. Johnson, Y. M. C. A., conducted study of housing for Negroes in Washington.

Houston Riot,

"Houston Mutiny", Outlook, CXVII, (Sept. 5, 1917), 10-11.

Hovey, Charles F., educator,

Annual Reports, American Baptist Home Mission Society.

Hovey, George Rice, educator,

Annual Reports, American Baptist Home Mission Society.

Howard, General O.O., commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and abandoned Lands. D. A. B.

Howe, Julia Ward, Abolitionist. D. A. B.

Howe, Samuel Gridley, abolitionist, D. A. B.

Hugo, Victor

Fernand Masse, "The Negro Race in French Literature", Journal of Negro History, XVIII (July, 1933), pp. 225-245.

467

3 Hurst, Bishop John

Archives, Haitian Legation; Archives, Haitian Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

3 Hyman, John A., Congressman from North Carolina

Biographical Directory of Congress.

1 Ibn Batutta (Abu Abdullah Mahommed), 1304-1378, contemporary historian of African kingdoms.

Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354, translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1929.

1 Ibn Khaldun, Arabic historian,

Ibn Khaldun, "Universal History, Slave Translation, Histoire des Berbères, Algiers, 1852-1856; Autobiography, Slane Translation in Journal asiatique, ser. 4, vol. IIII

2 Ibrahim Pasha, conqueror of the Sudan

Sir Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Egyptian Sudan, Its History and Monuments, 2 v. London and Philadelphia, 1907.

40-5b-40

✓ Illigitimacy

See Enc. of Soc. Sc., XV, p. 625, for index to bibliography; work, Bibliography, 479 ff.

1 Illiteracy

See Enc. of Soc. Sc., XV, 625, for index to bibliography; Journal of Negro Education, 1932---.

✓ Imperialism

See Enc. of Soc. Sc., XV, 626 for index to Bibliography; Work, Bibliography, pp. 125-165; Die Grosse Politik; Documents Diplomatiques francais; Documenti diplomatici; British Cocuments on the Origins of the World War.

✓ India

A. J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth, The Oxford Survey of the British Empire, Asia, Oxford, 1914; Soc. Sc. Abs, 1929-1932; Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc., 1926.

Indentured servants

See Enc. of Soc. Sc., XV, 626, for index to Bibliography; C. G. Woodson, "Freedom and Slavery in Appalachian America", Journal of Negro History", I (April, 1916), pp. 132-150; John M. Meclsein,"The Evolution of the Slave Status in American Democracy", ibid., II (April, July, 1917), pp. 105-125; 229-251.

Indians

Wilton M. Krogman, "The Racial Composition of the Seminole Indians of Florida and Oklahoma", Journal of Negro History, XIX (October, 1934), pp. 412-430; Annie Heloise Abel, The Slaveholding Indians, Cleveland, 1915; James Hugo Johnston, "Documentary Evidence of the Relations of Negroes and Indians", J. N. H., XIV (Jan., 1929), pp. 21-43.

Indirect rule

Sir Frederick Tugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, 2nd. ed. Edinburgh and London; Lucy Mair, "Chieftainships in Africa", Journal of Royal A. S., July, 1936.

Industrial schools

Journal of Negro Education, 1932; Work, Bibliography, pp. 424-427.

Infant mortality

See Enc. of Soc. Sc. XV, 628 for index to bibliography; Work, Bibliography, pp. 479-480.

Insurance companies

C. G. Woodson, "Insurance Business among Negroes", J. N. H., XIV (April, 1929), pp. 202-226; Work, Bibliography, pp. 490-493; 615-618.

Insurrections, slave

James Hugo Johnston, "The Participation of White Men in Virginia Negro Insurrections", J. N. H., XVI (April, 1931), pp. 158-167; Work, Bibliography, pp. 348-351.

Intelligence tests

Journal of Negro Education, 1932.

Intermarriage

C. J. Woodson, "The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks", Journal of Negro History , III (October, 1918), pp. 335-353; Work, Bibliography, pp. 291-292; Renter, The Mulatto; etc., etc.

International Labor Office

Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications, Washington, 1930.

Interracial Movement

Work, Bibliography, pp. 626-628; Annual Reports and other publications of the Commission on Interracial cooperation.

Inventors

Henry Baker, "The colored Inventor; A Record ofFifty Years", N. Y., 1913;
....., "The Negro in the Field of Invention", J. N. H., II (Jan., 1927), p. 21-36.

Isaaco, companion of Mungo Park

L. N. Feipel, "The Journal of Isaaco", J. N. H., VIII (July, 1922), pp. 278-295.

Isabella (of Brazil), Princess (Izabel Christima Leopoldina Augusta Michaela Gabriella Raphaela Gonzaga), July 29, 1846-1921, regent of Brazil, the "Emancipator".

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Italian Somaliland

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I (London, 1930), pp. 563-564 for bibliography.

Italy

Mikhail I. Rostovtsev,The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1926; Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, 2nd. ed., New York, 1890.

Jackson, Andrew, president of the United States D. A. B.

3 Jackson, Peter, pugilist

Jamaica, V

Joseph J. Williams, Physic Phenomena of Jamaica, N. Y., 1934; ----, Whence the Black Irish of Jamaica, N. Y. 1932, etc., E. Ethelred Brown, "Labor Donditions in Jamaica Prior to 1917", J. N. H., IV (Oct., 1919), pp. 349-360; see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III (London, 1932) pp. 552-571 for bibliography.

40-56-63

3 Jameson, Leander Starr D. N. B.

John Hays Hammond, Autobiography, New York, 1935.

3 Janvier, Louis Joseph, Haitian historian

M. Dantès Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

1 Jasper, John, popular preacher

William E. Hatcher, John Jasper, The Unmatched Negro Philosopher and Preacher, New York, 1908.

3 Javouhey, Mother, benefactress of natives

Soc. Sc. Abs. 2859, 1929;

3 Jay, John, American statesman D. A. B.

Frank Monaghan, John Jay, New York, 1935; has bibliography; ----, "Anti-Slavery Papers of John Jay", J. N. H., XVII (Oct., 1932), pp. 481-496.

3 Jay, William, abolitionist D. A. B.

The Autobiography of William Jay, ed. by George Redford and John A. James, 2v., New York, 1856.

3 Jeanette, Joe, pugilist

3 Jefferson, Thomas, President of the United States D. A. B.

3 Jenkins, Edmund T., musician

Jackson, Peter, pugilist

Jamaica,

Joseph J. Williams, Physic Phenomena of Jamaica, N. Y., 1934; ----, Whence the Black Irish of Jamaica, N. Y. 1932, etc., E. Ethelred Brown, "Labor Donditions in Jamaica Prior to 1917", J. N. H., IV (Oct., 1919), pp. 349-360; see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III (London, 1932) pp. 552-571 for bibliography.

Jameson, Leander Starr D. N. B.

John Hays Hammond, Autobiography, New York, 1935.

Janvier, Louis Joseph, Haitian historian

M. Dantès Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

Jasper, John, popular preacher

William E. Hatcher, John Jasper, The Unmatched Negro Philosopher and Preacher, New York, 1908.

Javouhey, Mother, benefactress of natives

Soc. Sc. Abs. 2859, 1929;

Jay, John, American statesman D. A. B.

Frank Monaghan, John Jay, New York, 1935; has bibliography; ----, "Anti-Slavery Papers of John Jay", J. N. H., XVII (Oct., 1932), pp. 481-496.

Jay, William, abolitionist D. A. B.

The Autobiography of William Jay, ed. by George Redford and John A. James, 2v., New York, 1856.

Jeanette, Joe, pugilist

Jefferson, Thomas, President of the United States D. A. B.

Jenkins, Edmund T., musician

2 Jequitinhonha, Viscount de (Francisco Ge Acayaba de Montezuma) March 23, 1794- February 15, 1870, Brazilian abolitionist.

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

3 Jesuits,

John T. Gillard, The Catholic Church and the Negro, Baltimore, 1929; Encycl. of Religion and Ethics.

Jim-Crow laws

1 Johannes, emperor of Abyssinia

Ernest Work, Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy, New York, 1935.

3 "John Henry", legendary railroad worker

3 Johnson, Andrew, president of the United States D. A. B.

W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction; New York, 1935

3 Johnson, Edward Augustus, historian

1 Jones, Absolom, pioneer churchman

Letters of Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, Journal of Negro History, I (October, 1916), pp. 436-443; Charles Wesley, Richard Allen, Washington, 1936.

3 Jones, Sissieretta, singer

Maud Cuney Hare, Negro Musicians and Their Music, Washington, 1936.

3 Jones, Wiley, capitalist

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 278-280.

1 Junior Colleges

Journal of Negro Education.

2 Juan de Valladolid,

Carter G. Woodson

1 Juvenile delinquency

Work, Bibliography, pp. 547-549; Enc. of Soc. Sc., XV, p. 633 for index to bibliography.

Kaffir,

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, (LOndon, 1930, pp. 356-365).

Kansas-Nebraska Act

George Fort Milton, The Eve of War.

Kati, Mahmoud

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Keith, George

Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America, (1619-1808), Boston, 1901.

Kemble, Fanny D. A. B.

Frances Anne Kemble, Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation, New York, 1863; ---, On the Stage, New York, 1926; ----- Records of a Girlhood, New York, 1879; Leola Driver, Fanny Kemble, Chapel Hill, 1933.

Kenya

Norman Leys, Kenya; See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 167-191 for bibliography.

Kipling, Rudyard, English Poet D. N. B.

Kitchener, Lord D. N. B.

Know Nothing Party

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., XV, p. 634, for index to bibliography.

Kosciuszko, Tadeusz D. A. B.

Kraal,

W. W. Waters, Cameos from the Kraal, Lovedale, 1928.

3 Kruger, Paul

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 228-454 for bibliography.

Ku Klux Klan

Francis B. Simkins, "The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, 1868-1871", J. N. H. XII (Oct., 1927), pp. 606-647; Work, Bibliography.

2 Kumasi

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, London, 1930, pp. 123-138.

Labor

Charles Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, New York, 1927; Greene and Woodson, The Negro Wage Earner, Washington, 193D; Marcus W. Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, Chicago, 1931.

Labor Movement

Ira de A. Reid, Negro Membership in American Labor Unions, New York, 1930; Sterling Spero and Abram Harris, The Black Worker, New York, 1931.

3 Laboulaye, Edouard L. de,

Mercer Cook, "Edouard Lefebre de Laboulaye and the Negro", J. N. H., XVIII (July, 1933), pp. 246-255.

2 Lafon, Thomy, Negro philanthropist, D.A.B.

Rousseve of New Orleans is writing book on Negroes of Louisiana.

3 Lafayette, Marie Joseph D.A.B.

John T. Gillard, "Lafayette, Friend of the Negro", Journal of Negro History, XIX (October, 1934), pp. 355-371.

2 La Follette, ~~Robert~~ Robert Marion D. A. B.

The Crisis

3 Lamartinière, Haitian patriot

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

Land grant Colleges

Journal of Negro Education, 1932.

Lane, Lunsford, free Negro

Lunsford Lane, The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, 4th ed., Boston, 1848.

Lane Seminary

Carter G. Woodson, Negro Education prior to 1861.

Laney, Lucy, educator

Journal of Negro History, XIX (January, 1934), pp. 97-102.

Langston, John M., college president, congressman, aand diplomat. D.A.B.

John M. Langston, From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol, Hartford, 1894; St. Dept. Archives, Hayti, Instructions, Despatches.

Language

Africa, Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, London; Soc. Sc. Abs.; 1929-1932.

Las Casas, Bartholomew de

Lewis Hanke, The First Social Experiments in America, Cambridge, 1935; has bibliography.

Latin America

N. Andrew N. Cleven, "Some Plans for colonizing Liberated Negro Slaves in Hispanic America", J. N. H., XI (Jan. 1926), pp. 35-49; A. Curtis Wilgus, Histories of Hispanic America, Washington, 1932; Work, Bibliography, pp. 637-659; MSS. Bibliography of Rayford W. Logan.

Latino, Juan, Negro Spanish poet

V. B. Spratlin, "The Negro in Spanish Literature", J. N. H., XIX (Jan., 1934), pp. 60-71.

549

3 Latrobe, J. H. B.,

John E. Semmes, John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, Baltimore, 1918.

3 Lawens, Henry D. A. B.

3 Lawens, Jean Paul D. A. B.

3 Laval, Father, Baptizer of 67,000 Negroes in Maurituis

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929, 7060

40-56-68

3 Lavigerie, Cardinal

Richard F. Clarke, Cardinal Lavigerie and Slavery in Africa.

✓ Law schools

Journal of Negro Education, 1932--; Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man and the Community, Washington, 1934.

3 Lawrence, Amos Adams D. A. B.

3 Lazarists, Missionaries in Africa

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929, #7060.

3 Lay, Benjamin

Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America (1619-1808), Boston, 1901.

3 League of Colored Peoples, English Organization

Journal of Negro History, XVIII (January, 1933), pp. 92-99.

✓ League of Nations,

Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications, Washington, 1930.

3 Leary, John S., Lawyer, alderman, deputy collector of internal revenue.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland 1887, pp. 432-435.

3 Leclerc, General, commander of French army against Toussaint Louverture.

Carl Ludwig Lokke; "The Leclerc Instructions", J. N. H., X (Jan., 1925), pp. 30-98.

3 Leconte, Michel C., president of Haiti

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, New York, 1928.

2 Lee, Robert E.,

Douglas S. Freeman, R. E. Lee: A Biography, 4 vols, New York, 1934-1935.

1 Legal rights

Work, Bibliography, pp. 553-542.

2 Légitime, F. Denis, president of Haiti

Rayford W. Logan, A Century of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Haiti.

3 Lejau, Francis, first rector of Goose Creek

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1930, # 2591.

3 Lemuria, "original" home of Africans

Maurice Delafosse, Negroes of Africa.

3 Levy, Alexandre, November 10, 1864-, January 17, 1892, pioneer in Brazilian national music.

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

1 Leo Africanus, explorer of Africa

Joannes Leo Africanus, Geographical historie of Africa, rev. ed. by R. Brown, 3 v. London, 1896.

2 Leopold II, king of Belguim,

For bibliography see Bibliographie nationale, ed. by A. de Koninck and others, Brussels, 1886-1910, Bibliotheca belgica, Ghent, 1880 ff., and Bibliographene de Belgique, Brussels, 1875 ff.

569

2 Levirate

For bibliography see Africa (London)

3 Lewis, George Cornewall, English statesman D. N. B.

Ephraim D. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War, 2 V., London and N.Y., 1925.

3 Lewis, James, collector of port of New Orleans, colonel of militia,

W.J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 954-958.

V Liberalism,

See Enc. of Soc. Sc., XV, for index to bibliography; Harold Laski, History of Liberalism.

V Liberia

Frederick Starr, Liberia after the World War, J. N. H., X (Jan., 1925), pp. 113-130; Raymond. L. Buell, The Native Problem in Africa, 2 v. N. Y., 1928; Ben N. Azikiwe, "In Defense of Liberia", J. N. H., XVII (Jan. 1932), pp. 30-50; George Schuyler, Slaves Today, New York, 1931.

40-56-70

1 Liberty Party

Theodore C. Smith, Parties and Slavery, 1850-1859; N. Y. and London, 1806; -----, Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest, New York, 1902.

V Libia,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I.

2 Libraries

Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man and the Community, Washington, 1934; Journal of Negro Education, 1932--; Work, Bibliography, 429.

3 Lieber, Karl, abolitionist D. A. B.

2 Liele, George

John W. Davis, "George Lele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Baptist Preachers", Journal of Negro History, III (April, 1918), pp. 119-127.

Lincoln, Abraham D. A. B.

Charles H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes", J. N. H. (IV (Jan., 1919), p. 7-21; Harry S. Blackiston, "Lincoln's Emancipation Plan", ibid., VII (July, 1922), pp. 257-277.

Linguistics

Africa (London)

Lisboa, Antonio Francisco, August 29, 1730-, November 18, 1814, Brazilian architect,

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

L'Islet, Geogfrey, French soldier and scholar

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887.

Literature

Johnson, James Weldon, ed., The Book of American Negro Poetry, New York, 1922; Newman, I. White and Walter C. Jackson, eds., An Anthology of Verse by American Negroes, Durham, 1924; V. F. Calverton, ed. An Anthology of American Negro Literature, New York, 1929; Cromwell, Turner, and Dykes, Readings from Negro Authors for Schools and Colleges, New York, 1931; for Negro poetsof Africa, see Soc. Sc.Abs., 1930, # 6095.

Lithoko, African epic songs,

Africa and Soc. Sc. Abs.

Livingstone, David, missionary to Africa

W. G. Blarkie; Life of Livingstone, London, 1880; Work, Bibliography, pp. 209-211 for bibliography.

Liz Yasu

Ernest Work, Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy, New York, 1935.

Lo Bengula, king of Matabeleland,

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, for bibliography.

Loguen, J. W., free Negro anti-slavery worker

592

J. W. Logan (?), The Rev. J. W. Loguen, as a Slave and as a Freeman, Syracuse, 1859.

3 Long, Jefferson, F., congressman from Georgia

Biographical Directory of Congress; unpublished master's theses at Atlanta University.

3 Longfellow, Henry W., D. A. B.

3 Louverture, Isaac, son of Toussaint Louverture.

3 Louverture, Placide

2 Louverture, Toussaint

Georgiana Simpson, Toussaint Louverture, Washington, ---; Leslie Pinckney Hill, Toussaint Louverture: A Dramatic History, Boston, 1929; Percy Waxman, The Black Napoleon, New York, 1931; etc.,etc.

✓ Lovejoy, Elijah,

Memoirs of Elijah Lovejoy, ed. by Joseph C. and O. Lovejoy, N. Y., 1838.

40-56-72

1 Lovejoy, Owen, abolitionist

The Great Anti-Slavery Agitator, ed. by D. Heagle, Princeton, Illinois, 1886.

3 Lowell, James Russell D. A. B.

H. E. Scudder, James Russell Lowell, 2 v., Boston and N. Y. 1901.

3 Lowery, Samuel R., lawyer and editor

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887.

3 Luderitz, founder of German Southwest Africa

Mary Townsend, Origins of German Colonialism; for bibliography see Dahlmann-Waitz, Quellenkunde de deutschen geschichte.

1 Lundy, Benjamin, abolitionist

Benjamin Lundy, The Diary of Benjamin Lundy, ed. by Fred Landon, Toronto, 1921.

Luperón, Gregorio, patriot of the Dominican Republic

-------, Apoteosis de Gregorio Luperón in Library of Congress; Sumner Welles, Naboths Vineyard, 2v., N. Y., 1928.

Lushington, English abolitionist

Lynching,

Arthur Raper, The Tragedy of Lyncing, Chapel Hill, ; Work, Bibliography, pp. 550-559; The Crisis.

Lyons, Judson W., register of the Treasury

Papers in possession of Mrs. Jane Lyons, Spelman College.

McCarthy, Sir Charles

Soc. Sc.Abs., 1929, # 7087

McCoy, William D., minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937), pp. 50-92.

McCoy, Elijah, inventor

Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention," J.N. H., II, (Jan., 1927), pp. 21-36.

McDowell, Mary E., liberal

Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937), pp. 132-134.

McVeay, Sam, pugilist

McElwee, Samuel A., lawyer, member of Tennessee state legislature.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887.

McKinley, William B., president of the United States D. A. B.

Macaulay, Zachary, English abolitionist

Charles Booth, Zachary Macaulay, His Part in the Movement for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, New York, 1934.

Maceo, Antonio, Cuban revolutionary leader

Dr. Fernando Ortiz will write article.

Maceo, José, Cuban revolutionary general

Dr. Fernando Ortiz will write article.

Mackandal,

M. Dantès Bellegarde will write article.

"Mad Mahdi"

For bibliography, see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, Vol.I

Madagascar

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929, # 971; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue.

Madeira Islands

For bibliography, see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, Vol. I.

Madiou, Thomas, Haitian historian

M. Dantès Bellegarde will write article.

Madison, James, president of the United States, D. A. B.

Magazines

Charles S. Johnson, "The Rise of the Negro Magazine", J. N. H., XIII (Jan., 1928), pp. 7-21.

Mahim, Luiza, leader of Brazilian slave insurrection

Dr. Ramos will write article.

Mahone, William, leader of the Readjuster Movement in Virginia

Nelson M. Blake, William Mahone of Virginia, Soldier and Political Insurgent, Richmond, 1935; James Hugo Johnston, "The Participation of Negroes in the Government of Virginia from 1877 to 1888", J. N. H., XIV (July, 1929).

Malay,

Mamelukes

For bibliography, see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I.

Mandate system

Rayford W. Logan, "The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa", J. N. H., XIII, (October, 1928), pp. 423-477; Annual Reports of the P. M. C.

Mangin, General, commander of French Negro troops

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1930, # 5243

Mann, Horace D. A. B.

Mansa Mussa

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Mansfield, Lord, D. N. B.

Marabout

Africa, Soc. Sc. Abs.

Marcelin, Frédéric, Haitian custorian

M. Dantès Bellegarde will write article.

Marchand, colonel, explorer of Africa

For bibliography, see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, Vol. I

Maroons, runaway slaves

Robert C. Dallas, The History of the Maroons, 2 v., London, 1803.

Marrant, John , Negro missionary to Indians

Arthur Schomburg, J. N. H. XIII

Marriage

635

See Enc. of Soc. Sc., XV, for index to bibliography; Work, Bibliography, p. 479.

3 Martin, J. Sella

Washington Star, 1869 ff.

40-56-70

2 Martineau, Harriet

Harriet Martineau, 'The Manifest Destiny' of the American Union, New York, 1857; ----, The Hour and the Man, 1840.

Martinique

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III

1 Marx, Karl

3 Matthews, James, C., lawyer and recorder of deeds,

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887.

3 Matthews, William E., lawyer (?)

3 Matriarchy

Africa, Soc. Sc. Abs.

Matzeliger, Jan, inventor

Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention", J. N. H., II (Jan., 1927), pp. 21-36.

3 Mauretania

For Bibliography, see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I

3 Maurice of Nassau, Dutch colonizer of "Brazil"

Robert Southey, History of Brazil, 32 v., London 1817-1822.

3 Mauricio, José, Negro poet of Brazil, 1767-1830

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Mauritius

A. F. Fokeer, "The Negroes in Mauritius", J. N. H., VII (April, 1922), pp. 197-205.

May, Samuel, abolitionist

Samuel May, Some Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict, Boston, 408.

Meade, Bishop William

Medical schools,

C. G. Woodson, The Negro Professsional Man and the Community, Washington, 1934; Work, Bibliography, 427-428; Journal of Negro Education, 1932.

Medicine man

Africa, Soc. Sc. Abs.

Melancthon

Prof. Hill of Morris Brown has made a special study in the Melancthon MSS.

Melanesia

Evans Lewin, Subject Catlague; Soc. Sc. Abs., Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc., 1926-.

Melle (Mellestine)

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, Vol. I.

Menard, John Willis, congressman

Biographical Directory of Congress.

Menelik II

Ernest Work, Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy; Die gorsse Politik; Documents diplomatiques francais; Documenti diplomatici.

Meroe, ancient Afriaan kingdom

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, Vol. I

Mesopotamia (?)

Michel-Oreste, president of Haiti

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

Migration

Alrutheus A. Taylor, "The Movement of the Negroes from the East to the Guls States from 1830 to 1850", J. N. H., VIII (Oct., 1932), pp. 367-383; Louise V. Kennedy, The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, New York, 1930; Emmett J. Scott, Negro Migration during the War, New York, 1920; Work, Bibliography, pp. 480-486.

Miller, ThomasE., Congressman from South Carolina

Biographical Directory of Congress; J. N. H.

Mills, Florence, actress

Mills, Samuel, agent of the American colonization Society

There is a biography in the Library of Congress

Minoa

Grace Beardsley, The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization, Baltimore, 1929.

Miner, Myrtilla,

G. Smith Wormley, "Myrtilla Miner", Journal of Negro History, V (Oct., 1920), pp. 448-457.

Missionary Societies,

Work, Bibliography, pp. 190-226.

Missouri Compromise

F. H. Hodder, "Side-Lights on the Missouri Compromise," A. R. A.H. A. 1909.

Mitchell, Charles E., Minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937), pp. 50-92.

Mitchell, John, editor and politicians

Copies of The Richmond Planet.

Mohammed Askia, emperor of Songhay

Flora Shaw, (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Mohammedanism

James Hugo Johnston, "The Mohammedan Slave Trade", J. N. H., XIII (Oct., 1928), pp. 478-491.

Molineaux, Tom

Montgomery, Isaiah T., member of Mississippi state legislature.

Monroe, James, president of the United States D. A. B.

Monteagudo, Bernardo

Bibliography in possession of R. W. Logan

Montserrat

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, Vol. III.

Moraes Fillio, Mello, Brazilian author

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Morehouse, Henry L, educator

Annual Reports of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

Moreira, Juliano, 1843-1933, Brazilian writer on Negro subjects.

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Morelos, Jose Maria, Mexican revolutionary leader

Alfonso Teja Zabre, Morelos, Madrid, 1934.

Morocco

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I.

Morrill, Justin S., framer of laws for land-grant colleges.

Biographical Directory of Congress.

Morris, J. W., college president

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark .

Mortenol, Commandant, commander of anti-aeroplane defense of Paris during the World War,

Archives of French War Dept.

Moses, Franklin J., governor of South Carolina

Simkins and Woody, South Carolina during Reconstruction.

Moshesh, African chieftain

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I.

Mosquito Indians

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. III.

Moten, Lucy Ellen, educator

Journal of Negro History, XIX (January, 1934), pp. 102-106.

Mother-right, African tribal custom

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1930, # 5752.

Motion pictures

Mott, Lucretia, abolitionist

James and Lucretia Mott, Life and Letters, ed. by Anna Davis Howell, Boston and New York, 1884.

Mozambique, Portuguese colony in Africa

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, Mamie Cabaniss, Anglo-Portuguese Relations, unpublished master's thesis, Atlanta University.

Mulatto

Edward B. Reuter, The Mulatto in the United States, Boston, 1918; Caroline Bond Day; E. Franklin Frazier, The Free Negro Family, Nashville, 1932; C. G.; Woodson, Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830, Washington, 1925.

Murray, George W., Congressman from South Carolina

Biographical Directory of Congress.

Music,

Maud Cuney Hare, Negro Musicians and Their Music, Washingtom, 1936; George P. Jacesson, White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands, Chapel Hill, 1933; William F. Allen, Charles P. Ware and Lucy McKim Garrison, eds., Slave Songs of the United States, New York, 1867; Reprint, New York, 1929.

Mutual benefit societies

Nabuco, Joaquim (Joaquim Aurelio Barreto Nabuco de Araujo, August 19, 1849--- January 17, 1910, Brazilian abolitionist and diplomat

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Nachtigal, Gustav, German explorer of Africa

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue vol. I.

Nash, Beverly, South Carolina state senator

A. A. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina during the Revolution, Washington, 1924; Simkins and Woody, South Carolina during the Reconstruction.

Nash, Charles E., Congressman from Louisiana

Biographical Directory of Congress.

Natal,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Mary W. Ovington, "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People", J. N. H., IX (April, 1924), pp. 107-116; The Crisis; Annual Reports.

National Association of Colored Women

Annual Reports.

National Negro Business League

Annual Reports.

National Urban League

L. Hollingsworth Wood, "The Urban League Movement", J. N. H., IX (April, 1924), pp. 117-126; Annual Reports; Opportunity.

Neau, Elias, teacher of slaves

Faith Vibert, "The S. P. G. in F. P.," J. N. H., XVIII (April, 1933), pp. 171-212.

Negrito

Africa, Soc. Sc. Abs., Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, etc.

Negro

Africa; Soc. Sc. Abs.; Encycl. of Soc. Sc., Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc., etc., etc.

Negro Towns in America

Theophilus Steward, Gouldtown, Philadelphia, 1913; Work, Bibliography, pp. 488-489.

Negroid

Soc. Sc. Abs., Encycl. of Soc. Sc., Africa.

Nell, William Cooper, historian

~~Nelsen, Alice Dunbar~~

J. N. H.

Nepomuceno, Alberto, 1864-1920, Brazilian Composer

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Netto, Coellio, ---1934, Brazilian writer on Negro subjects

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Nevis Island,

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929, # 4094; Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III.

New Deal

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, The Sphinx, May, 1935, December, 1936, February, May, 1937.

Nicaragua

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. III.

Nigeria

Ben N. Azikiwe, Nigerian Political Institutions, J. N. H., XIV (July, 1929), pp. 328-350; ---, "Fragments of Onitsha History", ibid., XV (October, 1930), pp. 474-497.

Nina Rodriques, Raymundo, December 4, 1862- July 17, 1906, pioneer scientific student of Brazilian Negro, author of O problema da raca negra na america Portugueza.

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Ninety-second Division

Emmett J. Scott, Scott's Official History, Chicago, 1919.

Ninety-third Division

Emmett J. Scott, Scott's Official History, Chicago, 1919.

Ninth Cavalry

Annual Reports, War Dept.

723

2 Nissage-Saget, president of Haiti

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

2 Nord Alexis, president of Haiti

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article

✓ Nubia

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue Vol. I.

1 Numidia

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I.

1 Nyasaland

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I.

✓ Obeah,

Frank Wesley Pitman, "Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth century", J. N. H., XI (Oct., 1926), pp. 650-659; Joseph J. Williams, Hebrewisms of West Africa, New York, etc., 1930; ---, Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica, N. Y., 1934; ---, Voodoos and Obeahs, N. Y., 1932.

40-56-84

3 Oberlin College

Annual Reports

✓ Oceanica

George M. Dutcher and Others, A Guide to Historical Literature, New York, 1936.

3 Ogden, Peter, founder of Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.

3 Ogden, Rollo, editor (New York Times)

New York Times, 1937.

1 Ogé, Vincent, Haitian mulatto leader

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

3 Oglethorpe, James Edward, founder of Georgia

Amos A. Ettinger, James Edward Oglethorpe, Imperial Idealist, New York, 1936.

3 O'Hara, James E., Congressman from North Carolina

Biographical Directory of Congress.

3 Olmsted, Frederick Law, historian of the Old South D. A. B.

3 Olano, Nuflode

James B. Browning, "Negro Companions of Spanish Explorers", H oward University Quarterly (?)

3 Omar Ibn Said (?)

1 Open Door in Africa

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I

Orange Free State

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, vol. I.

3 Oreste Zamor, president of Haiti

M. Dantès Bellegarde will write article.

3 Ostend Manifesto

Amos A. Ettinger, The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé, New Haven.

3 Othello

3 Ovando, Nicolas de, Spanish governor of Hispaniola

A. Curtis Wilgus, Histories of Hispanic America, Washington, 1932.

3 Packard, Sophia

Archives of Spelman College

3 Page, Inman, school president

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark; materials in Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri.

746

3 Paine, Thomas

Thomas Paine, The Writings of Thomas Paine, ed. by M. D. Conway, 4 v. N. Y., 1884-1896.

✓ Painting

For examples of Negroes as subjects in art, see Schnurbring, Propylaen Kunstgeschichte; for Negro painters see Work, Bibliography, pp. 452-453.

40-56-86

1 Palmares, Negro colony in Brazil

See Bibliography on Brazil.

2 Palmerston

Herbert C. F. Bell, Lord Palmerston, 2 vols., New York, 1936.

✓ Pan-African Congresses

The Crisis, Papers in possession of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

✓ Panama

See attached bibliography.

2 Panama Congress

N. Andrew N. Cleven, "The First Panama Mission and the Congress of the United States", J. N. H., XIII (July, 1928) , pp. 225-254.

✓ Papuans,

Soc. Sc. Abs., # 2181, 1930.

✓ Paraguay

See attached bibliography.

✓ Pareja, Juan, Spanish Negro painter

V. B. Spratlin, "The Negro in Spanish Literature", J. N. H., XIX (January, 1934), pp. 60-72.

2 Park, Mungo, explorer of Africa

The Life and Travels of Mungo Park, New York, 1851.

Parker, Theodore, abolitionist,

Henry Steele Commager, Theodore Parker, Boston, 1936.

Patrocinio, José do, 1855-January 29, 1905, Brazilian abolitionist, "the journalist of abolition"

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Paul, Nathaniel, early Negro Baptist preacher

Carter G. Woodson, Negro Orators, and Their Orations, Washington, 1925.

Pawning,

Christy Report to the League of Nations.

Payne, Christopher, preacher, editor

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark.

Payne, Daniel,

Biography in preparation by Benjamin Brawley.

Peake, Mary S.,

Pecanha, Nilo, 1867 - March 31, 1922; Negro vice-president and president of Brazil

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Pélage, Magloire, leader of insurrection in Martinique, colonel in French army in Peninsular War.

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1930, # 4195; Correspondance politique, Etats-Unis, Transcripts in Library of Congress.

Pemba,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue vol. I.

Penn, I. Garland

Irvine Garland Penn, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors, Springfield, 1891.

Penn, William,

M. R. Braitsford, The Making of William Penn, 1930; C. E. Vulliamy, William Penn, New York, 1934.

2 Pennington, James W.C., Negro abolitionist

James W. C. Pennington, The Fugitive Blacksmith, 3rd. ed., London, 1850.

Peonage

Howard Kester,

2 Perdigao Malheiros, Agostinho Marques, June 5, 1824-June 3, 1881, Brazilian abolitionist, curator of free Negroes, author

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

3 Permanent Mandates Commission

Annual Reports of the P. M. C.

3 Persia

3 Peters, Karl, founder of German East Africa

For bibliography see Dahlmann-Waitz, Quellenkunde der deutschen geschichte.

Pétion, Alexandre, president of Haiti

M. Dantès Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

3 Pettiford, William R.,

W/ J. Simmons, Men of Mark.

3 Phi Beta Kappa

Monroe W. Work, Negro Year Book.

3 Phillips, C. H. , prominent bishop

C. H. Phillips, History of the Colored Methodist Church in America, Jackson, Tenn., 1898; ----, Phillips' History of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Jackson, Tenn., 1925.

Phillips, Ulrich B., historian

Who's Who and Obituary notes

Phillips, Wendell, abolitionist, D. A. B.

Phips, William B. (?) D. A. B.

Governor of Massachusetts Colony.

Physicians,

Kelly Miller, "The Historic Background of the Negro Physician", Journal of Negro History", I (April, 1916), pp. 99-109.

Pierce, Franklin, president of the United States D. A. B.

Pierpont, Francis Harrison, governor of West Virginia D. A. B.

Pierrot, Jean Louis, president of Haiti.

M. Dantès Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

Pillsbury, Parker, abolitionist D. A. B.

Pike, Mary Hayden Green, abolitionist and historian D. A. B.
(More than 60,000 of her Ida May 1854 were sold)

~~Pillsbury, Parker, abolitionist D. A. B.~~

Pinchback, P. B. S., lieutenant- governor of Louisiana D. A. B.

Pitt, William, D. N. B.

Placido, Negro Cuban poet

Dr. Fernando Ortiz will write article.

Polk, James K., president of the United States D. A. B.

Polk, Leonidas, liberal bishop, teacher of slaves D. A. B.

Polyandry

See Encl. of Soc. Sc., X, 150; Soc. Sc. Abs., Int. Bibl. of

793

Hist. Sc., Africa.

Polygamy

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc. XI, 16; Soc. Sc. Abs., Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc., Africa.

Polygyny

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., X, 149; Soc.Sc. Abs., Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc., Africa.

Polynesian

Populism

See Encycl. of Soc. IX, 13, XI, 599; Jaimie Reddick, Populism and the Negro in Georgia, Unpublished Master's thesis, Atlanta University.

Porto Rico

See attached bibliography; Prof. Pattee of Univ. of Porto will prepare topics and articles.

Porto, Leonor (Leonor Bastos dos Santos Porto), December, 18, 1840-February, 1901, Brazilian abolitionist, "disciple of of Harriet Beecher Stowe"

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Portugal

See attached bibliography

Pouith
~~Peruth~~, Duraciné, Haitian

M. Dantès Bellegarde will write article.

Portuguese Guinea

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 565-566, 567.

Poore, Salem, Negro Revolutionary soldier

William C. Nell, The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, Boston, 1855.

Post, Isaac, abolitionist and spiritualist D. A. B.

Poulson, Zachariah, one of supporters of Souty for Promoting abolition of Slavery D. A. B.

Powderly, Terence Vincent, labor leader, D. A. B.

Poydras, Julien de Lalande, large slave owner and post-mortem emancipator, D. A. B.

Pradines, Laistant, Haitian historian and compiler,

M. Dantès Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

Preachers,

William A. Daniel, The Education of Negro Ministers, New York, 1925; Benjamin Mays and Joseph Nicholson, The Negro's Church, New York, 1933; Carter G. Woodson, History of the Negro Church, Washington, 1921; Work, Bibliography, pp. 405-413; Woodson, Negro Professional Man and the Community, Washington, 1934.

Preer, Evelyn, actress,

See obituary notices.

Preetorius, Emil, Missouri humanitatian D. A. B.

Prempeh, King of the Ashanti

Lt. Genl. Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell, The Downfall of Prempeh, London, 1896; see Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I , pp. 137-138.

Prester John

J. Bermudez, This is a Short Account, etc., London (Hakluyt Soc.), 1902

Preston, Ann, abolitionist D. A. B.

Preston, Stephen, Haitian diplomat and dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington.

Archives of Haitian Legation and of Haitian Sept. of Foreign Affairs; Hayti, Instructions, Despatches, Notes to Haita; Notes from Haita In Dept. Of State; Rayford W. Logan, Dipl. Rel. between U. S. and Haiti.

Price, Hannibal, Haitian diplomat and historian,

See bibliography for Stephen Preston.

Price, Joseph C., churchman and orator

C. G. Woodson, Negro Orators and Their Orations; Simmons, Men of Mark.

Prigg V. Penn.,

Andrew McLaughlin, Constitutional History of the United States.

Printer's Devil,

Soc. Sc. Abs., 969, 1930

Private high schools and academies

Work, Negro Year Book; Journal of Negro Education, 1932---.

Proctor, Henry Hugh, prominent congregational clergyman D. A. B.

Professions,

A. B. Jackson, "A Criticism of the Negro Professional", J. N. H. XVIII (Jan., 1933), pp. 56-65

Progressive Party

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc., XI, pp. 596-601.

Prosser, Gabriel, leader of slave insurrection in Virginia

See Work, Bibliography, pp. 438-351.

Protectorate,

See Encycl. of Soc., Sc., XII, pp. 567-571, and bibliography for Imperialism.

Pullman, George M., inventor D. A. B.

Purvis, Charles B.,

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark.

Purvis, Robert,

Robert Purvis, Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Philadelphia, 1838.

Pushkin, Alexandre

Ernest Simmons, Pushkin, Cambridge, 1937

Pygmy,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 549; Soc. Sc. Abs., Africa.

Pyles, Charlotta, (?)

Hallie Q. Brown, Homespun Heroines, Xenia (Ohio), 1926.

Querino, Manuel, July 28, 1851-- February 14, 1923, journalist, author, abolitionist.

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Quakers,

Pierre Brodin, Les Quakers en amerique an dix-septième siecle et au debut du dix-huitieme, Saint-amand, 1935; Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends", Journal of Negro History, XXI (April, 1936) pp. 151-213.

Quincy, Josiah, Unionist D. A. B.

Race,

Frank H. Hankins, The Racial Basis of Civilization, N. Y. and London, 1926; Edward B. Renter, The American Race Problem, New york, 1927; W. D. Hambly, "Racial Conflrt in Africa", J. N. H.,

(Oct., 1927), pp. 577-589;

638

3 Rain making

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929, # 3892

2 Rainey, Joseph H., Congressman from South Carolina D. A. B.

3 Randolph, John D. A. B.

2 Ransier, A. J., South Carolina politician

Simkins and Woody, South Carolina during Reconstruction, Chapel Hill, 1932.

40.5b.94

3 Rapier, James T., congressman from Alabama

Biographical Directory of Congress.

3 Rathbone, William, English abolitionist D. N. B.

Ray, Charles B., editor, Underground Railroad worker, D. A. B.

Monroe N. Work, "The Life of Charles B. Ray", J. N. H. IV (Oct. 1919), pp. 361-371.

2 Raymond, Haitian mulatto

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

3 Realf, Richard, abolitionist D. A. B.

1 Reason, Charles L.

Reboucas, Endre, Janusry 13, 1838-- May 9, 1898, Brazilian engineer and abolitionist

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

3 Reclus, E. (?)

Reconstruction

W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction, New York, 1935; Work, Bibliography, pp. 370-371; Claude Bowers, The Tragic Era; Howard K. Reale, The Critical Year.

"Red Shirts",

Wallace, Hampton and the Red Shirts.

Reeves, Sir Conrad, (?)

Reformation

Imbart de la Tour, Les origines de la Reforme, 5 vols., Paris, 1905.

Regadas, Luiza, (?) February 8, 1887, Brazilian abolitionist and singer.

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Religion,

Halford E. Luccock and Paul Hutchinson, The Story of Methodism, New York, 1928 (?) G. G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, 3 vols., Cambridge, England and New York, ---- 1936; Rayford W. Logan, "The Attitude of the Church toward Slavery Prior to 1500", J. N. H., ;; R. A. Carter, "What the Church Has Done", ibid., XI (Jan., 1926), pp. 1-7; L. W. Kyles, "The Contribution of the Negro to the Religious Life of America", ibid., XI (Jan., 1926), pp. 8-16; Work, Bibliography, 614; Claude L. Vogel, The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766), New York, 1928; Luther P. Jackson, "Religions Instruction of Negroes, 1830 to 1880", J. N. H., XV (Jan., 1930) pp. 72-114; John T. Gillard, The Catholic Church and the Negro, Baltimore, 1929.

Remond, Charles L., Negro orator D. A. B.

Remy, Henri, historian of Haiti D. A. B.

Republican Party

Thomas S. Barclay, The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri, 1865-1871, Columbia, Missouri, 1926.

Reunion, Isle of,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 526-527.

Revels, Hiram K., senator from Mississippi, D. A. B.

Biographical Directory of Congress.

Rhodes, Cecil,

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 228-454.

Rhodes, James Ford, historian D. A. B.

Rhodesia, Northern

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue I, pp. 224-228.

Rhodesia Southern,

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 228-249.

Ribeiro, Joao, ----1833, Brazilian writer on Negro subjects.

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Rice, Thomas Dartmouth, "the father of American min-, streky", D. A. B.

Riche, Jean Baptiste, president of Haiti

M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

Rieger, Johann Georg Joseph Anton, abolitionist D. A. B.

Rigaud, André, Haitian mulatto leader

M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

Rus, Jacob, D. A. B.

Rillieux, Norbert, inventor,

Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention," J. N. H. II (Jan. 1917); see also bibliography for Valcour Aimé in D. A. B

Rio, João do (Paulo Barreto), ---1921, Brazilian writer on Negro subjects

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Rio Branco, Viscount de, (Jose Maria da Silva Parankos, March 16, 1819 -- Novemberl, 1880, Brazilian statesman and abolitionist)

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Rio do Oro

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 574-575.

Rio Muni,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 574-575.

Riots,

Work, Bibliography, pp. 560-562.

Rivas, Simon (Panama)

Prof. Richard Pattee of Porto Rico

Rivers, Prince, commander of South Carolina militia

Simkins and Woody, South Carolina during the Reconstruction, Chapel Hill, 1932.

Roberts, Jane H. (?)

Hallie Q. Brown, Homespun Heroines.

Roberts, Joseph J., president of Liberia

See Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, pp. 575-577.

Rockefeller Foundation

Annual Reports

Roman, Charles Victor,

See Work, Bibliography, index,

Roman Empire,

Reginald H. Barrow, Slavery in the Roman Empire, New York, 1928.

Romero, Sylvio, First compiler of Brazilian folklore

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Roosevelt, Theodore, president of the United States, D. A. B.

Roscoe, William, English abolitionist D. N. B.

Rosenwald, Julius,

J. N. H., XVIII (Apr. 1932), pp. 237-240.

Rosenwald, Fund,

Annual Reports.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques

Mercer Cook, "Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Negro", Journal of Negro History, XXI (July, 1923), pp. 294-303.

Ruanda-Urundi

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 554.

Russia

William Henry Chamberlin, The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921, 2 vols., New York, 1935.

Ruffin, George L.

Simmons, Men Of Mark.

Ruffin, Josephine St. Pierre,

Ruggles, David,

Rush, Benjamin, physician

Nathan G. Goodman, Benjamin Rush, physician and citizen, Philadelphia, 1935.

Rush, Christopher, (?)

Rushton, Edward, English abolitionist, D. N. B ?

Russell, James S., educator

Journal of Negro History, XX (October, 1935), 502

Russwurm, John B.

Brewer, William B., "John B. Russwurm", J. N. H., XIII (Oct., 1928)

689

pp. 413-422; Bellagross, "Freedom's Journal and the Rights of All", ibid., XVII (July, 1932), pp. 241-367.

3 Rust cotton picker,

Ruy Barbosa, November 5, 1849- March 1,1923, most famous Brazilian abolitionist, author, statesman

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article; see attached bibliography.

40-Sb-11

Sadiki, Abon Bekir, alias Edward Doulan

Journal of Negro History, XXI (January, 1936), 52-55

Saint Bartholomew, island of

Saint Croix, island of,

Evans Lewin, Subject catalogue, III, 551.

Saint Domingue,

Catalogue of the Historical Library of Andrew Dickinson White, The French Revolution, Ithaca, 1894; Blanche Maurel, Cahiers de doléances de la colonie de Saint Domingue pour les Etats generaux de 1789.

Saint Eustatius

Saint George, Chevalier de,

Saint Helena, island of

Saint Christophes, island of

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue III, 586-587.

Saint Lucia, island of,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 600-601.

Saint John, island of

Evans, Lewin, Subject Catalogue III, 551

Saint Martin, island of,

Saint-Mery, Moreau de, historian of Haiti,

Anthony Louis Elciona, Un Colonial sous la Revolution en France et en Amerique, Moreau de Saint-Mery, Paris, 1934

Saint Thomas, island of

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 551

Saint Vincent, island of,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 601-603.

Sakanonye, Tamuramaro,

Sale, George

Salem, Peter,

William C. Nell, The colored Patriots of the American Revolution, Boston, 1855

Salnave, Sylvain, president of Haiti

Dept. of State, Hayti, Instructions, Despatches

Salomon, Etienne F., president of Haiti

M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti will write article.

Samory, African warrior

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 494-512.

San Luiz, Baron de (Leopoldo Antune Maciel), 1850- May 5, 1904, Brazilian abolitionist

Dr, Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Sandiford, Ralph, early anti-slavery worker.

Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America, 1619-1808, Boston and London 1901.

Santana, Pedro, president of Santo Domingo

Sumner Welles, Naboth's Vineyard, 2 vols. New York, 1928.

Santo Domingo,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 550

Saunders, Prince, historian

Prince Saunders, ed., Haytian Papers, London, 1816.

Saxton, Rufus, Freedmen's Bureau

W. E. B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction, etc.

Scarborough, William S., scholar D.A.B.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887

Schurz, Carl,

D.A.B.

Scott, Dred

D.A.B.

Scott, Orange, abolitionist

D.A.B.

Scott, Robert, K. governor of South Carolina

Scottsboro Case

Soulpture,

See Work, Bibliography, 452-453.

Secret Societies,

Work, Bibliography, 414-415.

Segregation

See Work, Bibliography, 538-540 for the United States; for South Africa, see Report of Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932, Pretoria, 1932.

Séjour, Victor, dramatist

D.A.B.

Seligc, Marie,

Maud Cuney Hare, Negro Musicians and Their Music, Washington, 1936

Seminole War,

Kenneth Porter, "Relations between Negroes and Indians within the Present Limits of the United States," J.N.H.

Semites,

See Race

Senegal,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, 501-502

Serbia, Negroes in

Social Science Abstracts, 1931, 6954.

Settle, Josiah T., lawyer and politician

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887

Sewall, Samuel

D.A.B.

Seward, William H.,

D. A. B.

Seychelles,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 469-470

Shakespere (?)

Share-cropping, see Farm tenancy

Sharp, Granville,

D.N.B.

Shaw, Robert Gould, Commander of Negro troops in the American Civil War

Exercises at the Dedication of the Movement to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, Boston, 1897; Louis F. Emilio, A. Brave Black Regiment, Boston, 1894

Shellabarger, Samuel, ?

~~The Crisis~~

Sheridan, Philip Henry, general
D.A.B.

952

3 **Sherman, William, Tecumseh,**

D.A.B.

Lloyd Lewis, Sherman, Fighting Prophet, New York, 1932.

Sierra Leone

Evans Lewis, Subject Catalogue, I, 114-123.

3 **Sieyès,**

Charles Oscar Hardy, The Negro Question in the French Revolution, Menasha (Wisconsin), 1919

3 **Siki, Battling, pugilist**

2 Silvano Brandao, Francisco, September 8, 1848, September 2 S, 1902, **Brazilian abolitionist**

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article

40-56-104

3 **Simms, William Gilmore, poet of Southern Life**

D.A.B.

2 **Simmons, William J., historian**

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887

3 **Simon Sam, P.A.T., president of Haiti**

Dept. of State, Hayti, Instructions, Despatches

3 **Simpson, Bishop Matthew, man "who inspired the Emancipation Proclamation"**

D.A.B., Soc. Sc. Abs., 1930 #4382

3 **Singleton, Benjamin, leader of Negro post in Civil War migration**

Atlanta University Publication, 1906, Part II.

3 **Slater, John Fox, philanthropist**

D.A.B.

Slave Marriages

Slave Revolts

E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Slave Family", J.N.H., XV (April, 1930), 198-259.

Slave Trade

Elizabeth Donnan, Docs. Illus. of the Hist. of the Slave Trade to America 4 vols., Washington, 1930-1936.

Slavery,

William S. Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South, Chapel Hill, 1935; William B. Hesseltine, "Some New Aspects of the Pro-Slavery Argument", Journal of Negro History, XXI, (January, 1936) 1 - 14.

Smalls, Robert, Congressman

D.A.B.

Biographical Directory of Congress

Smith, Ezekiel Ezra, minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937) 50-92.

Smith, Gerritt,

D.A.B.

Zeta Dyson, "Gerrit Smith's Efforts in behalf of the Negroes in New York", Journal of Negro History, III, (October, 1918), 354-359.

Smith, Hoke, governor of Georgia

D.A.B.

Smith, James McCune, physician and writer

D.A.B.

Smith, Owen L. W., minister to Liberia

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", Journal of Negro History, XXII (January, 1937,) 50-92.

Smothers, Henry,

Smyth, John Henry, United States Minister to Liberia,

D.A.B.

James A. Padgett, "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy", J.N.H., XXII (January, 1937), 50-92.

Sorge, Friedrich Adolf, radical labor leader

D.A.B.

Social equality

Social Welfare

Work, Bibliography, 528-532; etc.

Socialism,

Encycl. of Soc. Sc., Soc. Sc. Abstracts; Int. Bibl. of Hist. Sc.

Société des amis des noirs,

Charles Oscar Hardy, The Negro Question in the French Revolution, Menasha (Wisconsin, 1919)

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

C. E. Pierre, "The Work of the S. P. G., F. P. among the Negroes of the Colonies", J.N.H., I, (October, 1916), 347-358; Faith Vibert, "The S. P. G. F. P.: Is work for the Negroes in North America befors 1783", ibid., XVIII (April, 1933), 171-212

Soldiers,

See Work, Bibliography, pp. 397-404, for French Negro troops, see Soc. Sc. abs., 1929, # 5602

Soliman, Angelo, scholar

F. Harrison Hough, "Gregoire's Sketch of Angelo Soliman", J.N.H., IV. (July, 1919), 281-289.

Somerset Case

Hargrave, An Argument in the Case of J. Somersett, 1772. Tracts in the British Museum Library catalogued under "Somersett, Jones"

Songhay

Abderrahman - es-Sadi, Tarikh-es-Soudan, (Houdas translation), 2 vols. Paris, 1898-1900.

Sonni Ali

Abderrahman-es-Sadi, Tarikh-es-Soudan, (Houdas Translation), 2 vols., Paris, 1898-1900.

Southonax

Charles Oscar Hardy, The Negro Question in the French Revolution, Menasha (Wisconsin), 1919

Sororate

Africa; Soc. Sc. Abs.; Encycl of Soc Sc.

Sororities

See publications of the various sororities

South Africa, Union of

Charles T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native, London, 1917; Evans Lewin, Subject Catlogue, I, (London, 1930), 228-454 for bibliography.

Southey, Robert, historian of Brazil

DNB

Spain

See attached bibliography

Spalding, John Lancaster, Catholic educator

D.A.B.

Spanish American War

See Work, Bibliography, p. 402

Soulouque, Faustin I.

Gustave d'Alaux, L'empereur Soulouque et son empire, Paris, 1856.

Une visite chez Soulouque

Spanish Morocco

Evans Lewis, Subject Catalogue, I, 574-575

Speke, John Hanning, African explorer and discoverer of Source of Nile.
D.N.B.

Spencer, Ann, poet

Spingarn awards

The Crises

Sports

Stanley, Henry Morton, African explorer

D.N.B. and D.A.B.

Stanton, Edwin

D.A.B.

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, abolitionist

D.A.B.

Stearns, George Luther, Free-soiler

D.A.B.

Stephens, Alexander, vice-president of the Confederacy

D.A.B.

Stevens, Thaddeus, Radical in Reconstruction
D.A.B.

Thomas F. Woodley, Thaddeus Stevens, Harrisburg, 1935.

Stewart, Alvan, abolitionist,
D.A.B.

Steward, Theophilus, historian

Theophilus G. Steward, Haitian Revolution, 1791 to 1804, New York, 1914;
_____, Fifty years in the Gospel Ministry, Philadelphia, 1922

Stewart, John, Missionary to the Indians,

Arthur A. Schomburg, "Two Negro Missionaries to the American Indians",
J.N.H., XXII. (Oct., 1936), 516-522.

Stewart, T. McCants,

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887

Stiles, Ezra

D.A.B.

Still, William, Underground Railroad worker,

D.A.B.

William Still, The Underground Railroad, Philadelphia, 1872.

Stokes, Anson Phelps, philanthropist D.A.B.

Stokes Fund

Annual Reports

Stone, Amasa, Philanthropist D.A.B.

Stone, Lucy, abolitionist D.A.B.

Storey, Moorfield, D.A.B.

Mark A. De Wolfe Howe, Portrait of an Independent, Moorfield Storey, Boston and New York, 1932 .

Stowe, Harriet, Beecher, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin D.A.B.

Straker, David A.,

David A. Straker, Citizenship. Its Rights and Duties, Washington, 1874.

Sturge, Joseph, abolitionist D.N.B.

Suffrage

Paul Lewinson, Race, Class, and Party, New York, 1932

Struve, Gustav, Abolitionist D.A.B.

Stuart, Charles, abolitionist D.A.B.

Summer, Charles D.A.B.

Carl M. Brasure, "Charles Summer and the Rights of the Negro", J.N.H. XIII (April, 1928), 126-149

Sunderland, La Roy, abolitionist D.A.B.

Sun Diata

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency

Swaziland,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 446- 447

Swisshelm, Jane Grey, abolitionist,

D.A.B.

Arthur J. Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, St. Paul, 1934.

Sylvis, William H., Labor leader

Sylvain, Georges,

M. Dantès Bellegarde will write article

Taft, William H., president of the United States and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. D.A.B.

Talbert, Florence Cole

Maud Cuney Hare, Negro Musicians and Their Music, Washington, 1936.

Taney, Roger, Chief justice of the Supreme Court D.A.B.

Tanganyika

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 206-216; 527-535;

Tanner, Benjamin T., bishop D.A.B.

Tanner, Henry O.

Tappan, Arthur, abolitionist D.A.B.

Eugene P. Southall, "Arthur Tappan and the Anti-Slavery Movement", J.N.H., XV (April, 1930), 162-197.

Tappan, Lewis, abolitionist D.A.B.

"Correspondence of Lewis Tappan and others with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society", J.N.H. XII (April, 1927), 179-329. ibid., (July 1927), 389-554.

Taylor, Major, bicycle champion

Taylor, John W., abolitionist D.A.B.

Taylor, Zachary D.A.B.

Tenth Cavalry

Terrell, Robert H., judge of the Municipal court, Washington, D. C.

Theater, Negro in

Work, Bibliography, 545-551

Theodore, ruler of Abyssinia

Ernest A. Work, Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy.

Theodore, Joseph Davilmar, president of Haiti

M. Dantes Bellegarde will write article

Theological Schools

See bibliography for Religion, Preachers

Thierry, Cammille, Louisiana poet, D. A. B. (Important)

Thirkield, Wilbur P., educator

Journal of Negro History XXII, (January, 1937), 136-138.

Thirteenth Amendment

Work, Bibliography, 365-369.

Thomas, Albert, secretary of the International Labor Office

Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications

Thompson, George, English abolitionist D.N.B.

Thompson, John, American minister to Haiti

Dept. of State. Hayti, Despatches, Instructions

Thoreau, Henry, first to make a public defense of John Brown D.A.B.

Thornton, William, Anti-slavery worker D.A.B.

Tiger, Flowers, pugilist

Tillman, Benjamin Ryan, Negrophobe D.A.B.

Timbuktu

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 494-512

Tobago,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 597-598

Togoland

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 527-535, 505-507

Tolton, Augustus, Negro Catholic priest

Simmons, Men of Mark

Toombs, Robert, leader of the Old South D.A.B.

Torrey, Charles T., abolitionist, D.A.B.

Tortola,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 587

Tortuga

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 545

2 Totemism
Totenusin,

See Encycl. of Soc. Sc, XIV, 657-661; Africa; Soc. Sc. Abs.

3 Tourgee, Albion Winegar, author, D.A.B.

1 Trade Unions

Spero and Harris, The Black Worker, Charles Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, etc.,etc.

Transvaal,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue I, 427-441

3 Trent Affair

Ephraim D. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War, 2 vols. London and New York, 1925.

Trinidad

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 588-598

3 Tripoli

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 558-561.

3 Trotter, James M.

Simmons, Men of Mark

3 Trotter, William Monroe, editor and militant fighter

J.N.H, XIX (July, 1934), 339-341; The Boston Guardian

1 Trusteeship, in Africa

Hilton-Young Report; see "Dual Mandate"

Truth, Sojourner,

Sojourner Truth, Narrative, Boston, 1875.

Tubman, Harriet, the "Moses" of her people,

Sarah Bradford, Harriet, the Moses of her People, New York, 1897; Hildegarde H. Swift, The Railroad to Freedom, New York, 1932.

Tunisia,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 493-494

Tupper, Henry M., college president

Catalogues and other publications of Shaw University

Turks Island

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 571

Turner, Benjamin S. Congressman from Alabama

Biographical Directory of Congress

Turner, Henry McNeal, bishop D.A.B.

Turner, James Milton, minister to Liberia

Irving Dilliard, "James Milton Turner, A Little Known Benefactor of His People", JNH, XIX (October, 1934), 372-411

Turner, Nat, leader of slave insurrection

Nat Turner's " Confessions" John W. Cromwell, "The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection" J.N.H., V (April, 1920), 208-234.

Twenty-fifth Infantry

Adjutant-general, U. S. A.

Twenty-fourth Infantry

Adjutant-general, U. S. A.

Tyler, John, president of the United States D.A.B.

Uganda

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 191-202

Underground Railroad

E. Delorus Preston, Jr., "The Underground Railroad in Northwest Ohio" J.N.H. XVII (October, 1932), 409-436; Wilbur H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom, New York, 1898, E. L. Preston, "Genesis of the Underground Railroad", J.N.H, XVIII (April, 1933), 144-170

United States of America

Universities

Journal of Negro Education, 1932---for bibliography

Uruguay

See attached bibliography

Van Buren, Martin, president of the United States, D.A.B.

Vashon, John B. free Negro

"Letters of William Lloyd Garrison to John B. Vashon", J.N.H., XII (Jan., 1927), 32-40

Varick, James, one of the founders of the A. M. E. church, D.A.B.

Vassa, Gustavus

Olandah, Equiano, The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olandah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. 9th ed. London, 1794

Vega, Lope de, Negro in the literature of

Soc. Sc. Abs., 1929- 129

Velho, Pedro (Pedro Velho de albuquerque Maranhao) November 27, 1856--1906, Brazilian abolitionist,

Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

Venezuela

See attached bibliography

Vesey, Denmark, leader of slave insurrection D.A.B.

Virgin Islands, British

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 587

Virgin Islands, American,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 551

Vocational education; see Education

Voodooism

See bibliography for Obeah; Melville Heiskovits Life in a Haitian Village

New York, 1937.

3 Wade, Benjamin F., Reconstruction leader D.A.B.

3 Walker, Ada Overton

Hare, Negro Musicians

3 Walker, "Madame" C. J.
Records in the company office

✓ David Walker

David Walker's Appeal, with a Brief Sketch of His Life, by Henry Highland Garnett, New York, 1848

40-5b-116

3 Walker, George actor

Work, Bibliography, 444-451

✓ Walker, Maggie, "first woman bank president in the United States"

St. Luke Herald; obituary notices

3 Walker, Thomas, politician and lawyer

E. Delorus Preston, "Thomas Walker and His Times", J.N.H. XXI, (July, 1936), 275-293.

3 Walling, William English, liberal

J.N.H., XXII (January, 1937), 138-140

3 Walls, Josiah T., Congressman from Florida

Biographical Directory of Congress

3 Walters, Alexander, biship D.A.B.

✓ W ard, Samuel Ringgold, abolitionist D.A.B.

Samuel Ringgold Ward, Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro, London, 1855.

Ware, Edmund Asa, college president D.A.B.

Byron Adams, History of Atlanta University

Washington, Booker T. D.A.B.

Anson Phelps-Stokes, A Brief Biography of Booker Washington, Hampton, 1936.

Washington, George

Walter Mazyck, George Washington and the Negro, Washington, 1932

Warmoth, Henry Clay, reconstruction governor of Louisiana D.A.B.

Watson, Tom D.A.B

Wayman, Alexander, bishop D.A.B.

Webster, Daniel D.A.B.

Weld, Angelina Grimke, abolitionist,

Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke 1822-1844, 2 vols. New York, 1934.

Weld, Theodore Dwight, abolitionist,

Gilbert, H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844, 2 vols. New York, 1934.

Wesley, John

C. E. Vulliamy, Life of John Wesley; George C. Cell, The Rediscovery of John Welsey, New York, 1935; Margaret T. Hodgen, "The Negro in the Anthropology of John Wesley", J.N.H., XIX (July, 1934), 308-323.

West Africa

West Indies

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 503-551

Wheatley, Phillis
Benjamin Brawley, Early Negro American Writers

1126

3 Wheel-trap, African origin of,

Soc. Sc. Abs. 1929, #6880

3 Whipper, William, South Carolina politician

Simkins and Woody, South Carolina during Reconstruction.

40-56-118

3 White, George H. Congressman

Biographical Directory of Congress

3 White Fathers, missionaries in Africa,

For bibliography, see Soc. Sc. Abs. 1930 #5763.

3 Whitefield, George, evangelist D.A.B.

3 Whitefield, James M.,

Benjamin Brawley, Early Negro American Writers

3 Whitman, Albery A.

A. A. ~~Wentman~~ Whitman, Not a Man and Yet a Man, Springfield, Ohio, 1877

2 Whittier, John Greenleaf, abolitionist,

Albert Mordell, Quaker Militant. John Greenleaf Whittier, Boston and New York, 1933

3 Williams, Dan, physician

See obituary notice

Williams, Egbert, noted actor D.A.B

Williams, George Washington, historian D.A.B.

2 Williams, Francis, Jamaican scholar

T. H. Mac Dermot, "From a Jamaica Portfolio--Francis Williams" J.N.H. II(April, 1917), 147-159.

2 Williams, Peter, Jr.

C. G. Woodson, Negro Orators and Their Orations

Williams, Peter, Sr.

C. G. Woodson, Negro Orators and Their Orations

Wilson, Henry D.A.B.

Wilson, Woodrow, President of the United States D.A.B.

Windward Island,

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, III, 598-603

Witchcraft

See bibliography for Obeah

Woods, Granville, T. inventor

Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention, J.N.H. II, (January, 1917)

Woolman, John D.A.B

Amelia Mott Gummere, ed., The Journal of John Woolman, New York, 1922.

World War

Scott's Official History

Wright, Jonathan Jasper, Associate Justice of the S. C. Supreme Court,

R. H. Woody, "Jonathan Jasper Wright", J.N.H. XVIII (Jan. 1933), 114-131.

Young, Colonel Charles

Incomplete biography by Walter Magyek; see Major Campbell Johnson and Colonel Harry Atwood, Washington, D. C.

Young, Nathan B. college president

Journal of Negro History, XIX, (January, 1934), 107-110

Y.M.C.A

Annual Reports

Y.W.C.A

Annual Reports

3/1142

Zanzibar

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 202-206

/Zimbabwe

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 224-249

40-56-120

/Zulu

Evans Lewin, Subject Catalogue, I, 249-447

11.61

40-56-121

Aime, Valcour, friend of Rillieux D. A. B.

Alcorn, James Lusk, reconstruction governor of Arkansas, D. A. B.

Alexander, Historian

Barnes, Albert, writer on Biblical views on slavery D. A. B.

Andrew, James Osgood, bishop of the M. E. Church South, D. A. B.

Antoine, Pere, Liberal Catholic priest, D. A. B.

Armstrong, George Dod, Presbyterian defender of slavery D. A. B.

Atherton, Charles G., author of "Gag resolutions", D. A. B.

Bassett, John Spencer, editor and historian D. A. B.

Bacon, Thomas, pioneer educator of Negro slaves, D. A. B.

Barley, Gamaliel, anti-slavery agitator, D. A. B.

Ballou, Adin, anti-slavery agitator, D. A. B.

Bancroft, Edgar Addison, chairman of Chicago Race Riot Commission D. A. B.

Beckwourth, James P., hunter, squaw-man, raconteur, "the son of a mulatto mother and white father" D. A. B.

Beecher, Edward, anti-slavery worker and friend of Elijah P. Lovejoy, D. A.B.

Beecher, Lyman, first preisdent of Lane Seminary, D. A. B.

Bell, James Madison, poet and lecturer D. A. B.

Bellamy, Edward, D. A. B.

Bellamy, Elizabeth Wentfield Croom, author of Negro life D. A. B.

80

Bennett, James Gordon, editor D. A. B.

Benning, Henry Lewis, ardent secessionist, D. A. B.

Benton, Thomas Hart, senator, D. A. B.

Berrien, John Macpherson, congressman D. A. B.

Bewley, Anthony, Methodist clergyman D. A. B.

Bigelow, John, author and diplomat D. A. B.

Bingham, John Armor, framer of part of 14th amendment D. A. B.

40-56-122

Blackwell, Henry Brown, abolitionist D. A. B.

Blair, Austin, advocate of Negro suffrage D. A. B.

Blair, Francis Preston, opponent of extension of slavery D. A. B.

Blanc, Antoine, founder of first colored sisterhood in the United States, D. A. B.

Bliss, Philemon, anti-slavery writer D. A. B.

Boissevain, Inez Milholland (?) D. A. B.

Booth, John Wilkes, assassin of President Lincoln D. A. B.

Booth, Mary Louise, translator of anti-slavery books, D. A. B.

Bore, Jean Etienne, sugar planter D. A. B.

Botts, John Minor, Reconstruction politicain in Virginia D. A. B.

Bowditch, Henry Ingersoll, abolitionist, D. A. B.

Bowles, Samuel, Feb. 9, 1826 - Jan. 16, 1878, editor D. A. B.

1206

Boyd, Richard Henry, clergyman D. A. B.

Bradford, William Augustus, governor of Maryland D. A. B.

Briggs, George Norton, opponent of extension of slavery D. A. B.

Brisbane, Albert, social reformer D. A. B.

Brisbane, Arthur, columnist

Brown, John Mifflin, bishop of A. M. E. Church D. A. B.

Brown, Morris, bishop of the A. M. E. Church D. A. B.

Brownlow, William Gannaway, governot of Tennesses D. A. B.

Buffum, Arnold, anti-slavery lecturer, D. A. B.

Burleigh, Charles Calistus, abolitionist

Burleigh, George Shepard, abolitionist D. A. B.

Burleigh, William Henry, abolitionist D. A. B.

Burlin, Natalie Curtis, student of Negro music D. A. B.

Burns, Anthony, fugitive slave D. A. B.

Buttrick, Wallace, educator D. A. B.

Chace, Elizabeth Buffurn, anti-slavery advocate D. A. B.

Chaille- Long, Charles, African explorer D. A. B.

Chalkley, Thomas, Quaker D. A. B.

Channing, William Henry, anti-slavery worker D. A. B.

Cheney, Ednah Dow Littlehale, reformer D. A. B.

Christy, David, anti-slavery writer D. A. B.

Clark, William Thomas, Texas "Carpet-bagger", D. A. B.

Clay, Cassius, abolitionist D. A. B.

Clayton, Powell, governor of Arkansas D. A. B.

Clemens, Samuel Langhorne, (Mark Twain) D. A. B.

Clinton, George Wylie, bishop D. A. B.

40-56-123

Aberdeen, Lord, English statesman

Private papers, never published, in British Museum; a nearly complete set in Harvard College Library; portions in the Library of Congress and the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan.

Abolitionism Mary S. Locke,

Anti-Slavery in America.....(1619-1808), Boston, 1901; Alice D. Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, Boston and London, 1908; Lorenzo D. Turner, Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature Prior to 1865, Washington, 1929; Sir John Harris, A Century of Emancipation, London, 1933; etc., etc.

Abraham, Negro-Indian warrior

Kenneth Porter, "Relations between Negroes and Indians within the Present Limits of the United States," Journal of Negro History, XVII (July, 1932)

Abu Ishak Ibrahim el Kononir, black poet of Spain

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Abyssinia

Ernest Work, Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy, New York, 1935; Johannes Lepsius and others, comps., Die grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette (1871-1914), 40 vols., Berlin, 1922-1926; G. P. Gooch and H. W. Temperley, eds., British Official Documents on the Origin of the World War, London, 1926—; Ministère des affaires étrangères, comps., Documents diplomatiques français, Paris, 1929—; for the action of the League of Nations, see Marie J. Carroll, Key to League of Nations Publications.

Adams, Charles Francis, American statesman D. A. B.

Charles Francis Adams, A cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865, ed. by W. C. Ford, Boston and New York, 1920, 2 v.

Adams, John, President of the United States D. A. B.

John Adams, The Works of John Adams, etc., ed. by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1850-1856, 10 v.

Adams, John Quincy, President of the United States D. A. B.

John Quincy Adams, Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, etc., ed. by Charles

Francis Adams, Philadelphia, 1874-1877, 12 V.

Adowa, Abyssinia Victory over Italians March 1, 1896

Francesco Crispi, La Prima guerra d'africa, Milan, 1914;--Memoirs of Francesco Crispi, London and New York, 1912-1914, 3 V. George F. H. Berkeley, The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik, London, 1902.

Aegean civilisation

Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos. London, 1921--. Grace Beardsley, The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization. Baltimore, 1929.

Aesop, compiler of fables (?)

J. Jacobs, The Fables of Aesop, London, 1889.

Africa

General descriptions: Herodotus, ed. by G. Rawlinson, 4 vols., London, 1880; Leo Africanus, The History and Description of Africa, 3 vols., London, 1896; Geography, etc: A. Knox, Notes on the Geology of the Continent of Africa, London, 1906; see also the current issues of Africa, London and the Geographical Journal, London; Ethnology, H. Frobenius, Die Heiden - Neger des ägyptischen Sudan, Berlin, 1893; Maurice Delafosse, Negroes of Africa, Washington, 19 ; Archaeology and Art: D. Randall - MacIver, Medieval Rhodesia, London, 1906; Travel and Explorations, Mungo Park, Travels into the Interior Districts of Africa, London, 1799. Modern Modern Imperialism; J. S. Keltie, The Partition of Africa, London, 1895; Linguistics, Africa, London; see also Evans Lewin, comp. Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. I, London, 1930.

African Kingdoms.

Abderraḥman es-Sadi, Tarikh-es-Soudan, (Houdas translation), Paris, 1898-1900; Mahmoud Kati, Tarikh-el-Fettach (Houdas and Delafasse translation), Paris, 1913. Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905; Carter G. Woodson, The African Background Outlined, Washington, 1936; J. L. Monod, Historie de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, Paris, 1931; Stephane Gsell, Historie ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord (8 vols.), Paris, 1928-1930.

Ages of Man

John L. Avebury, Prehistoric Times, 7th ed., London and New York, 1913. Henry F. Osborn, Men of the Old Stone Age, New York, 1918; E. A. Hooton, Up from the Ape, New York, 1931. Social Science Abstracts, 1929-1932.

Aggrey, James E. K., Negro educator

James E. K. Aggrey, The Basis of Interracial Comity in Africa (Ph. D. Thesis, Columbia University), N. Y., 1925;

Agriculture

John R. Commons and others, ed., Documentary History of American Industrial Society, 11 vols., Cleveland, 1910-1911;-----, History of Labour in the United States, 2 vols., New York, 1918; Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, Washington, 1933; etc., etc.

Agricultural Schools

Thomas M. Campbell, The Movable School goes to the Negro Farmer, Tuskegee, 1936. Arthur D. Wright, The Rural Negro School Fund, Inc., Anna T. Jeanes Foundation 1907-1933, Washington, 1933; Federal Board for Vocational Education, Report of Progress in Vocational Education in Agriculture in the Negro Schools of the South for the year 1928-1929, Washington, 1929; United States Department of Agriculture, Status of Organization and Administration of Agricultural Education among Negroes, Washington, 1932; Arthur J. Klein, Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities, Washington, 1929.

Akeley, Carl Ethan, 1864-1926, explorer writer and sculptor D.A.B.

Carl E. Akely, In Brightest Africa, Garden City, New York, 1923; Mentor (January, 1926); Natural History (March-April, 1927)

Albino

E. A. Hooton, Up from the Apes, New York, 1931

Aldridge, Ira, Negro actor

"Ira F. Aldridge", Opportunity, III (March, 1925), 88-90.

Algeria

Victor Piquet, Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1917; Maurice Wahl, L'Algerie, 5th rev. ed., by A. Bernard, Paris, 1908.

Allain, Theophile T., State senator of Louisiana.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 208-230.

Allen, Richard, founder of A. M. E. Church

C. H. Wesley, Richard Allen, Washington, 1936.

Allensworth, Allen, Chaplain, United States Army.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 843-849; Office of the Adjutant-General, War Department

Almohades, African Mohammedans

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Almoravides, African Mohammedans

Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency, London, 1905.

Alves, Castro

"The Poet of the Slaves" Dr. Ramos of Brazil will write article.

American Colonization Society,

Reports of the American Colonization Society, 1818-1832.

American Convention, Abolitionist Society

Minutes of the American Convention, etc. 1809-1829; Alice Dana Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America (1808-1831), Boston and London, 1908.

American Missionary Association, Pioneer Philanthropists aiding Education of American Freedmen.

Annual Reports of the American Missionary Association and the Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, New York, 1864-1891.

Amistad, The

Senate Document 51, 2 nd sess., 27th Cong.

Amo, Anton W., Negro classicist.

William J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 617-619.

Andaman, (India), Negroes in

Social Science Abstracts, No. 2577, 1929

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Horald A. MacMichael, History of the Arabs in the Sudan, etc., 2 V., Cambridge, England, 1922; Earl Cromer, Modern Egypt, London and New York, 2 V., 1908; Rayford W. Logan, "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan", Journal of Negro History, XVI (October, 1931), 371-381.

Andrada, Jose Bonifacio da, Brazilian Statesman.

Paul V. Shaw, "José Bonifario and Brazilian History", H.A.H.R., VIII, 527-550.

Andrew, John A., Governor of Massachusetts

George W. Williams, History of the Negro Race in America, 2 vols., New York, 1883.

40-56-137

Angola, Portuguese Colony in Africa

Angel Marvand, Le Portugal et ses colonies, étude politique et économique, Paris, 1912; Ernesto J. de Vasconcellos, As Colonias Portuguezas, etc. rev. ed., Lisbon, 1921.

Anguilla, British West Indies

Lady K. J. Burdon, A Handbook of St. Kitts - Nevis, London, 1920; A. J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth, eds., The Oxford Survey of the British Empire, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1914.

Animism

Crawford H. Toy, Introduction to the History of Religions, Boston, 1913; James G. Frazer, Golden Bough, 1 v. ed., New York, 1922.

Antar, Negro poet of Arabia

Antarah ibn Shaddad, The Adventures of Antar, Bulak, 1896.

Anthony, Susan, Nineteenth Century Liberal, February 15, 1820 - March 13, 1906. D. A. B.

Ida H. Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, 3 vols. 1899-1908; M. A. De Wolfe Howe, Causes and Their Champions, New York, 1926, etc.,etc.

Antigua, British West Indies

J. Luffman, Brief Account of the Island of Antigua...As Well White as Black,.... London, 1789. J. Johnson, Historical and Descriptive Account of Antigua, London, 1830; A. J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth, eds., The Oxford Survey of the British Empire, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1914.

Anti-slavery Societies

Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America,....(1619-1808), Boston, 1909; Alice D. Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America (1808-1831), Boston and London, 1908.

Antoine, C. C., Negro State Senator and Lieutenant-governor of Louisiana

Henry Clay Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, New York, 1930, Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, New York and London, 1918.

40-56-138

Antoine Simon, President of Haiti.

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, N. Y., 1928.

Appleton, Nathaniel, Eighteenth-century Anti-slavery Advocate.

Nathaniel Appleton, Considerations on Slavery, Boston, 1867; Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America, Boston, 1901.

Arabia

Harold F. Jacob, Kings of Arabia, etc., London, 1923; Harry St. B. Philby, Heart of Arabia, 2 vols., London, and New York, 1922.

Archer, William, Negro mayor of Battersea (England)

Ardouin, Beaubrun, Haitian historian.

Beaubrun Ardouin, Etudes sur l'historie d'Haiti, Paris, 1853-1855; -- Geographie de l'iste d'Haiti, Portan Prince, 1832.

Ardouin, Celigni, Haitian historian

Dantes Bellegarde will write article.

Argentina (See attached bibliography)

Argyll, Duke of, English statesman

George Douglass, Eighth Duke of Argyll, K. G., K. T. (1823-1900), Autobiography and Memoirs, ed. by Dowager Duchess of Argyll, London, 1906, 2 v., "Letters of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner", ed. by H. G. Pearson, Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XLVII (1914) 66-106.

Armstrong, Samuel Chapman, (January 30, 1839 - May 11, 1893), educator, founder of Hampton Institute D. A. B.

Ideas on Education Expressed by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton, 1908. Edith Armstrong Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, New York, 1904; F. G. Peabody, Education for Life, New York, 1918.

Arneaux, J. A., Actor.

40-5b-139

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 484-490.

Arnett, Benjamin W., State legislator and bishop.

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 883-891.

Arthur, Chester Allen, President of the United States. D. A. B.

George Frederick Howe, Chester A. Arthur, A Quarter-Century of Machine Politics, New York, 1934.

Artigas, Jose, Revolutionary Patriot of Banda Oriental (Uruguay)

Alberto Lasplaces, Jose Artigas, Protector de los Pueblos Libres, Madrid, 1933.

Aruba, Dutch colony in the Caribbean

H. D. Benjamins and J. F. Snellaman, Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, 's gravenhage, 1914-1917. A. Vandenbosch, "Dutch Problems in the West Indies," Foreign Affairs, IX, (January, 1931), pp.350-352.

Aryan, term used in racial classification En.S.S.

Issaac Taylor, The Origin of the Aryans, London, 1902; Frank H. Hawkins, The Racial Basis of Civilization; New York, 1926; E. A. Hooton, Up from the Ape, New York, 1931 ; Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf.

Asbury, Francis (Bishop)

Francis Asbury, Journals, 3 vols. New York, 1852.

Asiento, contract to supply slaves, especially the asiento of the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

Elizabeth Donnan, comp., Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, 4 vols., Washington, 1930—1936.

Ashmun, Jehudi, agent of American colonization Society. D. A. B.

Lott Carey, Life of Jehudi Ashmun, Washington, 1835.

Asia

Harold M. Vinacke, History of the Far East in Modern Times, New York, 1928. Rene Grousset, Historie de l'Asie, 3 v., Paris, 1921-1922.

40-56-140

Association, policy of close participation by natives in colonial administration

M. M. Knight, "French Colonial Policy---the Decline of Association", Journal of Modern History, V (June, 1933), pp. 208-224.

Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Annual Reports; "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting" in various issues of the Journal of Negro History; W. Sherman Savage, "Twenty years of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History", J. N. H., XX (October, 1935); pp. 379-384. Luther P. Jackson, "The Work of the Association and the People," ibid., pp. 385-396.

Atlantis, A legendary island in the Atlantic Ocean. (?)

Journal of Hellenistic Studies, XXXIII (1913) "Atlantis, Minoan Crete.

Attucks, Crispus, Negro leader in the "Boston Massacre". D. A. B.

J. B. Fisher, "Who Was Crispus Attucks", American Historical Record, I, 1872; New England Historical and Genealogical Record, XIII, 300; J. H. Semple, History of Framingham, Massachusetts, 1887, etc., etc.

Augusta, Alexander T., Lieutenant-colonel and Surgeon, U. S. C. T., 7th Regt.

Office of the Adjutant-general, War Department, Washington, D. C.

Auguste, Tancrede, President of Haiti

H. P. Davis, Black Democracy, New York, 1928.

Austin, Stephen, pioneer colonizer in Texas

A Eugene C. Barker, "The Austin Papers", A. R. A. H. A. 1919 and 1922

Australia

Arthur W. Jose, History of Australasia, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, rev. ed., Sydney, 1926; J. Holland Rose, and others, eds., The Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol. VII, Part I: Australia, Cambridge, England, 1933, see Evans Lewin, comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. II., London, 1931, pp. 1-383, for bibliography.

Aycock, Charles B., Liberal governor of North Carolina D. A. B.

Connor and Poe, The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, 1912; Howard W. Odum, ed., Southern Pioneers, New York, 1925,,etc., etc.

Ayers, Eli, Agent of the American Colonization Society in Liberia

Reports of the American Colonization Society, 1918-1832.

Ayllon, Luis Vasquez de, Early Spanish explorer in America D. A. B.

Oviedo, Historial general ~~Madrid Natural~~ y natural de las Indias, 4 vols., 1851-1855, lib. XXXVII. Woodbury Lowery, Spanish Settlements 1513-1561, New York and London, 1901, etc., etc.

Baez, Buenaventura Mulatto President of the Dominican Republic.

J. G. Garcia, Compendio de la historia de Santo Domingo, Santo Domingo, 1896, 3 v. (3 rd. ed. evl. and rev.);
Sumner Welles, Naboths Vineyard; the Dominican Republic, 1844-1924, New York, 1928.

Bahamas, British Island possessions off the coast of the United States.

J. Graves, A Memorial or Short Account of the Bahama-Islands, London, 1708. A. D. Defries, The Fortunate Islands: Being Adventures with the Negro in the Bahamas, London, 1929; see also Evans Lewin, comp., Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. III, London 1932, pp. 572-575 for bibliography.

Balboa, Vasco Nunez de Early Spanish Explorer

Manuel Jose Quintana, Vidas de Espanoles celebres, see also Justin Winsor ed., Narrative and Critical History of America, 8 vols., Boston and New York, 1884-1889, Vol. II, pp. 210-211.

Baldwin, Maria H., Negro principal of Agassiz School, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Baldwin, William H., American philanthropist. D. A. B.

John Graham Brooks, An American Citizen -- Life of William Henry Baldwin, Jr., New York, 1910.

Bandeirantes, Brazilian frontiersmen

Affonso de Escragnolles Taunay, Historia geral das Banderiaias Paulistas, 6 vols. Sao Paulo, 1925-1930; Alfredo Ellis, Jr., O. Banderismo Paulista e o Recuo do Meridiano, Sao Paulo, 1935, Basilio de Magalliaes, Expanisao Geographica do Brasil Colonial, Sao Paulo, 1935.

40-56-142

Banks, Negro

Abram Harris, The Negro as Capitalist, Philadelphia, 1936.

Banks, Gen. N. P., American Politician. D. A. B.

Banks Papers, Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts

Banneker, Benjamin, Mathematician, Clock-maker, and compiler of Almanachs.

M. D. Conway, "Benjamin Banneker, The Negro Astronomer", Atlantic Monthly, XI, (January, 1863), pp. 79-84; Henry E. Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, The Negro Mathematician and Astronomer", Journal of Negro History, III, (APril, 1918), pp. 99-118.

Bannister, E. M., Painter

W. J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Cleveland, 1887, pp. 1127-1131.

Bantu, So-called African tribes

W. H. Tooke, Bantu in the Tenth Century; African Monthly I (1906), pp. 13-24, and ff- ; B. L. Haarhoff, Die Bantustamme Sud-Africas, Leipzig, 1890; J. F. Van Oordt, Origin of the Bantu, Capetown, 1907; G. McC. Theal, Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi.....Particularly the Bantu, London, 1910, etc., etc.

Barbados, British Caribbean possession

Sir H. Colt, Voyage...to the Islands of the Antilles, MSS. in University Library, Cambridge, Eng., J. Poyer, History of Barbados from the First Discovery...till the Accession of Lord Seaforth, London, 1808; see also Evans Lewin, Comp. Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. III., London, 1932, pp 575-581 for bibliography.

Barbados, Code, slave code

Barbados, Report of a committee of the Council of Barbados appointed to Inquire into the Actual Conditions of the Slaves in This Island, Barbados, 1824. See also Evans Lewin, Comp., Subject catlogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. III, London, 1932, pp. 575-581.

Barbuda, British West Indian possession.

John Oldmixon, British Empire in America 2 v., London, 1708.

Confidential Memorandum regarding the
Significance of the Proposed Encyclopaedia of the Negro

In presenting a plan for the proposed Encyclopaedia of the Negro to the various Foundations in order to secure proper financial support, I suggest emphasis on the following points:

First, Timeliness of such an Encyclopaedia. Interest in the facts concerning the past and present development of the Negro race has been greatly stimulated in the last twenty-five years. Studies have been made and published and others are in the making. It is fair to say that the old attitude of the scientific world toward the Negro race has largely changed during this time. For this reason it is essential to make available to the ordinary reader the present status of knowledge concerning the Negro. This is not because this knowledge is anywhere near complete, but it is necessary because we shall go forward more surely toward better scientific work and understanding if we can make it clear to the ordinary man, and particularly to the student, just what is already known today. Our casual knowledge always tends to lag behind scientific accomplishment, and it is still possible today to make and reiterate the most reactionary statements concerning Negroes which science has long disproved.

If, for instance, one wishes to make a reasonable and authentic statement concerning the Negroes in Africa, in North America, or the West Indies and Latin America, or concerning distinguished men of Negro descent, where would one look today in order to have reasonable authority for such statements and not find one's self flatly contradicted by current gossip and exaggeration? It is imperative today that present knowledge of this branch of the human family should be set down and made available in temperate, balanced exposition, for the use of the mass of those who would know and who seek further enlightenment. If in any line of knowledge one waits for definitive information no encyclopaedia would ever be written.

In my judgment as to the necessity of an Encyclopaedia today I have been strengthened by personal interviews during the last year with the leaders of thought in history, anthropology and sociology in various parts of the world. I have consulted large numbers of such persons in the United States and published their judgments. More lately I have talked with scientists in England, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Japan. I have found practically unanimous opinion that such an Encyclopaedia is demanded and feasible in the present state of scientific knowledge.

Second, Who should carry out such a plan? Manifestly the leading scientists of the world who know the social sciences, and the development of the Negro race, should make the contributions to such an Encyclopaedia. The leadership in such an enterprise should be in the hands of those who look upon the Negro race as an integral branch of humanity, worthy of the same scientific attention and sympathetic study that other branches have received. If the work were done entirely under the auspices of Negroes there might be danger that they would not be able to furnish the scientific equipment and knowledge on all points that would be necessary; and they would naturally be tempted to make the study a brief for a long disadvantaged race, rather than a carefully balanced scientific statement. On the other hand, if the work were put entirely in the hands of white scientists, there would be equal danger that their lack of personal contact with the Negro and knowledge of his problems would lead to a serious error in appraisment and understanding. There might easily be wide gaps in the actual field of study and quite naturally there would obtrude itself here and there the old and widespread assumption of the sub-humanity of the Negro race. For this

reason it would be wise to have a collaboration between white and Negro scientific workers such as would include as far as possible the best available minds of the world, and at the same time, the widest and most sympathetic knowledge which could be had. No scientific work done by living, feeling men and dealing with humanity can be wholly impartial. Man must sympathize with misfortune, deplore evil, hope for good, recognize human fellowship. All that social science can do is so to limit natural human feeling by ascertained facts as to approach a fair statement of truth.

For this reason I have tried to gather into a cooperating group: first, the best known white scientists of America and Europe and, secondly, the best equipped scientists of Negro descent in America, the West Indies, South America, and Africa; in this latter case I have especially sought the younger men who have had the latest and best training. As a result I have, so far as Negroes are concerned, the large majority of the doctors of philosophy in history, sociology, and economics, trained in the best institutions of the United States and Europe during the last twenty-five years; among white scientists I have the promise of the widest and most interested cooperation from the leading anthropologists, sociologists, and historians of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The letters substantiating this statement are on file in this office.

There is another somewhat subtle but real reason for inter-racial cooperation. Young colored men of this generation are showing conspicuous ability in many lines of work. They are pressing hard against the gates of opportunity and these gates are opening less easily and widely than ability is asserting itself. The result is a widespread feeling that white America is determined not to recognize the Negro even when he excels, and the very presence of this feeling increases the unrest even in the case of Negroes who have not worked hard and do not possess real power to achieve. Particularly does this feeling exist in fields of science where the reluctance to give Negro scholars opportunity in laboratories and as research assistants make them suspect the color line even when it is not there. If now we could have at this particular time a conspicuous example of inter-racial fellowship in scientific work, with generous opportunity and recognition for the work of young scientists in the Negro race and collaboration between them and white scientists of both America and Europe, it would be an unusually fine thing in itself and a singularly wise proof that although the way of the black scholar may be difficult, it is by no means blocked. It would prove that the Foundations and philanthropy are willing not only to subsidize Negro work when it is segregated, but just as eager to help Negro scientific work of the highest grade and in conjunction with the world's best scientists if it is known that they can hold their own on the highest planes of endeavor. Also the value to Negro scholars of such unusual opportunity for associating with the world's best would be incalculable.

Third, Editorial procedure. The practical problem is how to bring these persons who are willing to cooperate, and who have the best knowledge of the subject, into such joint effort as will evolve the sort of Encyclopaedia that we wish. In order to facilitate this I have attempted certain preliminary work. In a way these attempts have involved a certain presumption and apparent one man effort, but I think the object attained has justified this method. I first sat down to make, with clerical and scientific assistance, an outline of the possible scope of an Encyclopaedia of the Negro race. This was primarily to impress upon those who had not given much attention to the subject, how large a field of interesting knowledge and exploration lay open for inclusion in such an Encyclopaedia. The possible subjects for treatment in this Encyclopaedia made up mimeographed pamphlets of one hundred and fifty pages, and this I sent out to a number of scientists and interested persons and asked for their criticism. Naturally, most of them had time only for very general criticism; quite a number made detailed

criticism of certain parts; a few like Professor Westermann of the University of Berlin voluntarily prepared a simplified list of subjects on Africa. From these criticisms and offers we shall have ready in this office in the late spring a dummy of four volumes indicating allocation of space to each of the proposed lists of subjects which an Encyclopaedia of the Negro might treat.

This will be, of course, by no means a final list. It will be simply a survey of the field which a board of editors can more carefully delimit and make practical. It will, however, save a lot of preliminary and costly speculation and confront the editorial board with a fairly clear idea of the field which might be covered.

In addition to this two editors-in-chief have been selected: A Negro and a white man, both of whom have given a life time to the study of the Negro race. They are both elderly men, selected because of their experience and because their selection symbolized racial cooperation in this work. It is proposed that they should be surrounded by a small group of younger editorial assistants, both colored and white, who should form the working nucleus of an efficient, well trained editorial board, and in case either or both chief-editors should find it necessary to retire before the work is finished they could easily be replaced by younger men. Around this smaller editorial group would be a larger group of consultants and advisers, and a still wider group of actual contributors.

Fourth, The Cost. The experience in the making of encyclopaedias, especially during recent years, has naturally made Foundations and contributors afraid of the large cost involved. An encyclopaedia well done is without doubt a costly enterprise. But on the other hand, there have been certain obvious wastes, and a certain lack of planning in many enterprises which can guide the present attempt. Usually, the first idea in the mind of those who plan an encyclopaedia is to cover the field with scientific thoroughness, making the matter of cost a secondary consideration. In the case of an encyclopaedia which seeks to exhaust a world field of knowledge this idea must be made paramount. But for an encyclopaedia which covers a special field like this, it is possible as it seems to me to take advantage of the experience of the past and budget the cost and then keep strenuously within the limit of that budget. I should say, for instance, in the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, our task would be not to exhaust the field of information but to set down the plan frankly as an attempt to see within a given expense how complete a picture and scientific statement of the past and present of the Negro race could be made, knowing that this limitation of cost would put necessary boundaries to the extent of the information that could be gathered and printed.

I would suggest, therefore, if the proposed budget in the memorandum totalling $200,000.00 does not seem satisfactory to the Foundations, the Editors consult further with persons formerly connected with other encyclopaedias recently published. The Trustees would, of course, be delighted, should the Foundations so desire, to have them represented on such a committee. This committee could carefully guide and allocate expenditures during the preparation and manufacture of the Encyclopaedia so that the cost would fall within the limit of the budget.

It seems to me that with this practical limitation of cost, and with the large scientific cooperation which has been secured, we may be able to make an epoch making contribution to three things: the establishment of truth concerning the Negro race, the cooperation of science regardless of race difference, the limitation of expense according to available funds.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia
March 15, 1937

Memorandum to the President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund regarding the projected Encyclopaedia of the Negro

In presenting a plan for the proposed Encyclopaedia of the Negro to the various Foundations in order to secure proper financial support, I suggest emphasis on the following points:

First, Timeliness of such an Encyclopaedia. Interest in the facts concerning the past and present development of the Negro race has been greatly stimulated in the last twenty-five years. Studies have been made and published and others are in the making. It is fair to say that the old attitude of the scientific world toward the Negro race has largely changed during this time. For this reason it is essential to ~~fix and~~ make available to the ordinary reader the present status of knowledge concerning the Negro. This is not because this knowledge is anywhere near complete, but it is necessary because we shall go forward more surely toward better scientific work and understanding if we can make it clear to the ordinary man, and particularly to the student, just what is already known today. Our casual knowledge always tends to lag behind scientific accomplishment, and it is still possible today to make and reiterate the most reactionary statements concerning Negroes which science has long disproved.

If, for instance, one wishes to make a reasonable and authentic statement concerning the Negroes in Africa, in North America, or the West Indies and Latin America, or concerning distinguished men of Negro descent, where would one look today in order to have reasonable authority for such statements and not find one's self flatly contradicted by current gossip and exaggeration? It is imperative today that present knowledge of this branch of the human family should be set down and made available in temperate, balanced exposition, for the use of the mass of those who would know and who seek further enlightenment. If in any line of knowledge one waits for definitive information no encyclopaedia would ever be written.

In my judgment as to the necessity of an Encyclopaedia today I have been strengthened by personal interviews during the last year with the leaders of thought in history, anthropology and sociology in various parts of the world. I have consulted large numbers of such persons in the United States and published their judgments. More lately I have talked with scientists in England, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Japan. I have found practically unanimous opinion that such an Encyclopaedia is demanded and feasible in the present state of scientific knowledge.

Second, Who should carry out such a plan? Manifestly the leading scientists of the world who know the social sciences, and the development of the Negro race, should make the contributions to such an Encyclopaedia. The leadership in such an enterprise should be in the hands of those who look upon the Negro race as an integral branch of humanity, worthy of the same scientific attention and sympathetic study that other branches have received. If the work were done entirely under the auspices of Negroes there might be danger that they would not be able to furnish the scientific equipment and knowledge on all points that would be necessary; and they would naturally be tempted to make the study a brief for a long disadvantaged race, rather than a carefully balanced scientific statement. On the other hand, if the work were put entirely in the hands of white scientists, there would be equal danger that their lack of personal contact with the Negro and knowledge of his problems would lead to a

SRS-9-44

serious error in appraisment and understanding. There might easily be wide gaps in the actual field of study and quite naturally there would obtrude itself here and there the old and widespread assumption of the sub-humanity of the Negro race. For this reason it would be wise to have a collaboration between white and Negro scientific workers such as would include as far as possible the best available minds of the world, and at the same time, the widest and most sympathetic knowledge which could be had. No scientific work done by living feeling men and dealing with humanity can be wholly impartial. Man must sympathize with misfortune, deplore evil, hope for good, recognize human fellowship. All that social science can do is so to limit natural human feeling by ascertained facts as to approach a fair statement of truth.

For this reason I have tried to gather into a cooperating group: first, the best known white scientists of America and Europe and, secondly, the best equipped scientists of Negro descent in America, the West Indies, South America, and Africa; in this latter case I have especially sought the younger men who have had the latest and best training. As a result I have, so far as Negroes are concerned, the large majority of the doctors of philosophy in history, sociology, and economics, trained in the best institutions of the United States and Europe during the last twenty-five years; among white scientists I have the promise of the widest and most interested cooperation from the leading anthropologists, sociologists, and historians of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The letters substantiating this statement are on file in this office.

There is another somewhat subtle but real reason for inter-racial cooperation. Young colored men of this generation are showing conspicuous ability in many lines of work. They are pressing hard against the gates of opportunity and these gates are opening less easily and widely than ability is asserting itself. The result is a widespread feeling that white America is determined not to recognize the Negro even when he excels, and the very presence of this feeling increases the unrest even in the case of Negroes who have not worked hard and do not possess real power to achieve. Particularly does this feeling exist in fields of science where the reluctance to give Negro scholars opportunity in laboratories and as research assistants make them suspect the color line even when it is not there. If now we could have at this particular time a conspicuous example of inter-racial fellowship in scientific work, with generous opportunity and recognition for the work of young scientists in the Negro race and collaboration between them and white scientists of both America and Europe, it would be an unusually fine thing in itself and a singularly wise proof that although the way of the black scholar may be difficult, it is by no means blocked. It would prove that the Foundations and philanthropy are willing not only to subsidize Negro work when it is segregated, but just as eager to help Negro scientific work of the highest grade and in conjuction with the world's best scientists if it is known that they can hold their own on the highest planes of endeavor. Also the value to Negro scholars of such unusual opportunity for associating with the world's best would be ~~of~~ incalculable ~~value~~.

Third, Editorial procedure. The practical problem is how to bring these persons who are willing to cooperate, and who have the best knowledge of the subject, into such joint effort as will evolve the sort of Encyclopaedia that we wish. In order to facilitate this I have attempted certain preliminary work. In a way these attempts have involved a certain presumption and apparent one man effort, but I think the object attained has justified this method. I first sat down to make, with clerical and scientific assistance, an outline of the possible scope of an Encyclopaedia of the Negro race. This was primarily to impress upon those who had not given much attention to the subject, how large a field of interesting knowled e and exploration

lay open for inclusion in such an Encyclopaedia. The possible subjects for treatment in this Encyclopaedia made up mimeographed pamphlets of one hundred and fifty pages, and this I sent out to a number of scientists and interested persons and asked for their criticism. Naturally, most of them had time only for very general criticism; quite a number made detailed criticism of certain parts; a few like Professor Westermann of the University of Berlin voluntarily prepared a simplified list of subjects on Africa. From these criticisms and offers we shall have ready in this office in the late spring a dummy of four volumes indicating allocation of space to each of the proposed lists of subjects which an Encyclopaedia of the Negro might treat.

This will be, of course, by no means a final list. It will be simply a survey of the field which a board of editors can more carefully delimit and make practical. It will, however, save a lot of preliminary and costly speculation and confront the editorial board with a fairly clear idea of the field which might be covered.

In addition to this two editors-in-chief have been selected: a Negro and a white man, both of whom have given a life time to the study of the Negro race. They are both elderly men, selected because of their experience and because their selection symbolized racial cooperation in this work. It is proposed that they should be surrounded by a small group of younger editorial assistants, both colored and white, who should form the working nucleus of an efficient, well trained editorial board, and in case either or both chief-editors should find it necessary to retire before the work is finished they could easily be replaced by younger men. Around this smaller editorial group would be a larger group of consultants and advisers, and a still wider group of actual contributors.

Fourth, The Cost. The experience in the making of encyclopaedias, especially during recent years, has naturally made Foundations and contributors afraid of the large cost involved. An encyclopaedia well done is without doubt a costly enterprise. But on the other hand, there have been certain obvious wastes, and a certain lack of planning in many enterprises which can guide the present attempt. Usually, the first idea in the mind of those who plan an encyclopaedia is to cover the field with scientific thoroughness, making the matter of cost a secondary consideration. In the case of an encyclopaedia which seeks to exhaust a world field of knowledge this idea must be made paramount. But for an encyclopaedia which covers a special field like this, it is possible as it seems to me to take advantage of the experience of the past and budget the cost and then keep strenuously within the limit of that budget. I should say, for instance, in the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, our task would be not to exhaust the field of information but to set down the plan frankly as an attempt to see within a given expense how complete a picture and scientific statement of the past and present of the Negro race could be made, knowing that this limitation of cost would put necessary boundaries to the extent of the information that could be gathered and printed.

42-6-324

I would suggest, therefore, if the proposed budget in the memorandum totalling $200,000 does not seem satisfactory to the Foundations, the Editors consult further with persons formerly connected with other encyclopaedias recently published. The Trustees would, of course, be delighted, should the Foundations so desire, to have them represented on such a committee. This committee could carefully guide and allocate expenditures during the preparation and manufacture of the Encyclopaedia so that the cost would fall within the limit of the budget.

It seems to me that with this practical limitation of cost, and with the large

scientific cooperation which has been secured, we may be able to make an epoch making contribution to three things: the establishment of truth concerning the Negro race, the cooperation of science regardless of race difference, the limitation of expense according to available funds.

Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia
March 15, 1937

43-6-228

Proposed division of space for the Encyclopaedia of the Negro

colum equals 400 words
page equals 800 words
average page per volume 700 or 560,000 words
four volumes equal 2,240,000 words

Long Articles:

Africa	60 pages	48,000 words	
Negro Race	60	48,000	
African Slave Trade	60	48,000	
Negro in the United States	40	32,000	
Negro in the West Indies	40	32,000	
Negro in South America	30	24,000	
Race	30	24,000	
Miscegenation	30	24,000	
	350	280,000	280,000

Chief Articles:

50 at ~~5~~ 10 pages each	~~250~~ 500	200,000	400,000	
100 at ~~2~~ 3 pages each	~~200~~ 300	160,000	240,000	
100 at 1 page each	100	80,000	160,000	
	~~550~~ 1,100		800,000	800,000

Biographies

25 at 5 pages each	125	100,000	
25 at 3 pages each	75	60,000	
100 at 2 pages each	200	160,000	
300 at 1 page each	300	240,000	
	700		

Minor Articles: 1,000 550 800,000 440,000

Index 200 160,000

2,800 2,240,000

Where is list of 25 biographies @ 5 p. each

MAY 19 1937

Proposed division of space for the Encyclopaedia of the Negro:

column equals 400 words
page equals 800 words
average page per volume 700 or 560,000 words
four volumes equal 2,240,000 words

Long Articles:

Africa	60 pages	48,000 words
Negro Race	60	48,000
African Slave Trade	60	48,000
Negro in the United States	40	32,000
Negro in the West Indies	40	32,000
Negro in South America	30	24,000
Race	30	24,000
Miscegenation	30	24,000
	350	280,000

Chief Articles:

50 at 10 pages each	500	400,000
100 at 3 pages each	300	240,000
100 at 2 pages each	200	160,000
	1,000	

Biographies

25 at 5 pages each	125	100,000
25 at 3 pages each	75	60,000
100 at 2 pages each	200	160,000
300 at 1 page each	300	240,000
	700	

Minor Articles:	550	440,000
Index	200	160,000
	2,800	2,240,000

File Copy

Proposed Division of Space for the Encyclopaedia of the Negro

column equals 400 words
page equals 800 words
average page per volume 700 or 560,000 words
four volumes equal 2,240,000 words

Long Articles:

Africa	60 pages		48,000 words	
Negro Race	60		48,000	
African Slave Trade	60		48,000	
Negro in the United States	40		32,000	
Negro in the West Indies	40		32,000	
Negro in South America	30		24,000	
Race	30		24,000	
Miscegenation	30		24,000	
Slavery	30		24,000	
		380		304,000

Great Men of Negro Blood and Others

20 at 10 pages each (Note A)	200		160,000	
40 at 5 pages each (Note B)	200		160,000	
		400		320,000

Articles

50 at 10 pages each (Note C)	500		400,000	
200 at 3 pages each (Note D)	600		480,000	
		1,100		880,000

Minor Biographies

400		200		160,000

Minor Articles

		520		416,000

Index

		200		160,000
		2,800		2,240,000

4112 C132

Note A

A List of Thirteen out of a possible Twenty
Biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood, and Others

Adjai Crowther, Bishop 1812

Askia 18th century (Mohammed Abou Bekr)

Chaka, Chief of Zulus

Christophe

Dessalines

Douglass, Frederick

Dunbar

Heureaux Ulises

Lincoln

Louverture, Toussaint

Maceo, Antonio

Pushkin, Alexandre

Washington, Booker T.

AHNC 23

Note B

A List of Twenty-three out of a possible Forty
Biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood, and Others

41/20/34

Sonni Ali

Antar of Arabia

Amen-hotep III (ca. 1400 B. C.)

St. Benedict

Boyer, J. P.

Edmund Wilmot Blyden

Brown, John

Alexandre Dumas

Estevanico

Garrison

George William Gordon

Miguel Kraponzine 1631 Portuguese

Menelik II

Moshesh

Nastosenen

Nefertari (ca. 1700 B. C.) see Chamberlain

Joseph J. Roberts, First president of Liberia

Thaddeus Stevens

Charles Sumner

Empress Tailou

Sakanouye Tamuramaro (Japenese General)

Henry O. Tanner

Phillis Wheatley

Note C

Forty-five out of a possible Fifty

10 page articles

Abolitionism
Abyssinia
Art and Music
Brazil
Civil Rights
Civil War
Colonization
Colombia
Cuba
Democracy
Demography
Discrimination
Disfranchisement
Education
Emancipation
Family
Folklore
Forced labor
Free Negroes
Fugitive Slaves and Underground Railway
Gold Coast
Haiti
Imperialism
Intermarriage
Jamaica
Labor and Labor Movements
Languages, African
Liberia
Literature
Lynching
Mandate System
Migration
Negroid
Nigeria
Peonage Farm Tenancy and Share-cropping
Porto Rico
Reconstruction
Religion
St. Domingo
Segregation
Slave Revolts
Soldiers
South Africa
Venezuela
West Africa

41/12C/35

Note D

157 out of a possible 200

5 page articles

Ages of Man
Agriculture
Allen, Richard
American Colonization Society
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Angola
Anti-Slavery Society
Attucks, Crispus
Australia
Banks, Negro
Banneker, Benjamin
Bantu
Barbados
Basutoland
Bechuanaland
Belgian Congo
Benin
Birth rate
Black Codes
Blyden
Borgu
Bornu
British East Africa
British Guiana
British Honduras
British Somaliland
Bushmen
Buxton, J. F.
Canada
Cannibalism
Cape Colony
Cardoza
Carpet-baggers
Chesnutt
Christianity
Churches
Clarkson
Colleges
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Congo Free State
Convention Movement
Costa Rica
Crime
Creoles
Cuffe, Paul
Dahomey
Delany, Martin
Denominationalism
Dual Control in Africa
Dumas, pere
Dunn, Oscar S.
Education
Egypt
Elliott, R. B.
England
Eritrea
Europe
Explorations in Africa
Fetishism
France
Freedman Aid Society
Freedmen's Bureau
French Cameroons
French Equatorial Africa
French West Africa
Gambia
German Cameroons
German East Africa
German Southwest Africa
German Togoland
Ghana
Guadaloupe
Guinea Coast
Hall, Prince
Hausa
Hottentots
Illegitimacy
Imperialism
India
Indians
Indirect Rule
Industrial Schools
Insurance Companies
Insurrections
Interracial Relations
"Jim-Crow" Laws
Kenya
Ku Klux Klan
Labor and Labor Movements
Land Grant Colleges
League of Nations
Liberalism
Mandate System
Madagascar
Magazines
Martinique
Matzeliger, Jan
Melle
Meroe
Migration
Mozambique
Natal
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Urban League
Nubia
Obeah
Oceanica
Orange Free State
Pan-African Congress

A11:2C 3b

Panama
Patrocinio, Josedo
Payne, Daniel
Petion, Alexandre
Physicians
Pinchback
Polynesians
Populism
Porto Rico
Portugal
Portuguese Guinea
Preachers
Professions
Protectorates
Reconstruction
Religion
Roberts, Joseph J.
Russwurm
Ruy Barbosa
Scottsboro Case
Sculpture
Segregation
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Slave Marriages
Socialism
Soldiers
Songhay
South Africa, Union of
Spain
Spanish American War
Soulouque
Swaziland
Tanganyika
Transvaal
Trinidad
Truth, Sojourner
Tubman, Harriet
Turner, Nat
Uganda
Underground Railroad
Vassa, Gustavus
Venezuela
Vesey, Denmark
Vital Statistics
Voodoo
Walker, David
Young, Colonel

2 Carbons

Proposed division of space for the Encyclopaedia of the Negro

column equals 400 words
page equals 800 words
average page per volume 700 or 560,000 words
four volumes equal 2,240,000 words

41-12-1

Long Articles:

Africa	60 pages	48,000 words
Negro Race	60	48,000
African Slave Trade	60	48,000
Negro in the United States	40	32,000
Negro in the West Indies	40	32,000
Negro in South America	30	24,000
Race	30	24,000
Miscegenation	30	24,000
Slavery	30	24,000
	380	304,000

Great Men of Negro Blood and Others

~~15~~ 20 at 10 pages each	~~150~~ 200	160000 ~~104,000~~
~~23~~ 40 at 5 pages each	~~115~~ 200	160000 92,000
	~~245~~ 400	~~196,000~~ 320 000

Articles

		400000
50 ~~45~~ at 10 pages each	~~450~~ 500	~~360,000~~
~~157~~ 200 at 3 pages each	471 600	~~376,800~~ 480000
	~~921~~	~~736,800~~ 880 000

Minor Biographies

400	200	160,000
	200	160,000

Minor Articles

	720	576000
	~~854~~	~~685,200~~

Index

	200	160,000
	2,800	2,240,000

(~~See~~ (Note A), ~~attached~~)

~~See~~ (Note C, ~~attached~~)

(~~See~~ Note B.) ~~attached~~)

~~See~~ Note D, ~~attached~~

[1939]

N2L A.

a list of 13 out of a possible 20 biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood, and Others

Adjai Crowther, Bishop 1812

Askia 18th century (Mohammed Abou Bekr)

Chaka, Chief of Zulus

Christophe

Dessalines

Douglass, Frederick

Dunbar

Heureaux Ulises

Lincoln

Louverture, Toussaint

Maceo, Antonio

Pushkin, Alexandre

Washington, Booker T.

41-12C-2

Note B

a list of 23 out of a possible 40 biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood and Others

Sonni Ali

Antar of Arabia

Amen-hotep III (ca. 1400 B. C.)

St. Benedict

Boyer, J. P.

Edmund Wilmot Blyden

Brown, John

Alexandre Dumas

Estevanico

Garrison

George William Gordon

Miguel Kraponzino 1631 Portuguese

Menelik II

Moshesh

Nastosenen

Nefertari (ca. 1700 B. C.) see Chamberlain

Joseph J. Roberts, first president of Liberia

Thaddeus Stevens

Charles Sumner

Empress Tailou

Henry O. Tanner

Phillis Wheatley

Sakanouye Tamuramaro (Japanese General)

Nastosenen

41-12c-3

Note C

45 and of alphabetic 50

10 page articles

Abolitionism

Abyssinia

Art and Music

Brazil

Civil Rights

Civil War

Colonization

Colombia

Cuba

Democracy

Demography

Discrimination

Disfranchisement

Education

Emancipation

Family

Folklore

Forced labor

Free Negroes

Fugitive Slaves and Underground Railway

Gold Coast

Haiti

Imperialism

Intermarriage

Jamaica

Labor and Labor Movements

Languages, Africa

Liberia

Literature

Lynching

Mandate System

Migration

Negroid

Nigeria

Peonage Farm Tenancy and Share-cropping

Porto Rico

Reconstruction

Religion

St. Domingo

Segregation

Slave Revolts

Soldiers

South Africa

Venezuela

West Africa

41-12-4

45

157 entry on Booker D
3 page articles

41-12c-5

Ages of Man
Agriculture
Allen, Richard
American Colonization Society
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Angola
Anti-Slavery Society
Attucks, Crispus
Australia
Banks, Negro
Banneker, Benjamin
Bantu
Barbados
Basutoland
Bechuanaland
Belgian Congo
Benin
Birth rate
Black Codes
Blyden
Borgu
Bornu
British East Africa
British Guiana
British Honduras
British Somaliland
Bushmen
Buxton, J. F.
Canada
Cannibalism
Cape Colony
Cardoza
Carpet-baggers
Chesnutt
Christianity
Churches
Clarkson
Colleges
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Congo Free State
Convention Movement
Costa Rica
Crime
Creoles
Cuffe, Paul
Dahomey
Delany, Martin
Denominationalism
Dual Control in Africa
Dumas, pere
Dunn, Oscar S.
Education
Egypt
Elliott, R. B.
England
Eritrea
Europe
Explorations in Africa
Fetishism
France
Freedman Aid Society
Freedmen's Bureau
French Cameroons
French Equatorial Africa
French West Africa
Gambia
German Cameroons
German East Africa
German Southwest Africa
German Togoland
Ghana
Guadaloupe
Guinea Coast
Hall, Prince
Hausa
Hottentots
Illegitimacy
Imperialism
India
Indians
Indirect Rule
Industrial Schools
Insurance Companies
Insurrections
Interracial Relations
"Jim-Crow" Laws
Kenya
Ku Klux Klan
Labor and Labor Movements
Land Grant Colleges
League of Nations
Liberalism
Mandate System
Madagascar
Magazines
Martinque
Matzeliger, Jan
Melle
Meroe
Migration
Mozambique
Natal
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Urban League
Nubia
Obeah
Oceanica
Orange Free State
Pan-African Congress
Panama
Patrocinio, Josedo
Payne, Daniel
Petion, Alexandre
Physicians
Pinchback
Polynesians

3 page articles (continued)

Populism
Porto Rico
Portugal
Portuguese Guinea
Preachers
Professions
Protectorates
Reconstruction
Religion
Roberts, Joseph J.
Russwurm
Ruy Barbosa
Scottsboro Case
Sculpture
Segregation
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Slave Marriages
Socialism
Soldiers
Songhay
South Africa, Union of
Spain
Spanish American War
Soulouque
Swaziland
Tanganyika
Transvaal
Trinidad
Truth, Sojourner
Tubman, Harriet
Turner, Nat
Uganda
Underground Railroad
Vassa, Gustavus
Venezuela
Besey, Denmark
Vital Statistics
Voodoo
Walker, David
Young, Colonel

41-12c-6

Proposed division of space for the Encyclopaedia of the Negro

41/12c/21

column equals 400 words
page equals 800 words
average page per volume 700 or 560,000 words
four volumes equal 2,240,000 words

Long Articles:

Africa	60 pages		48,000 words	
Negro Race	60		48,000	
African Slave Trade	60		48,000	
Negro in the United States	40		32,000	
Negro in the West Indies	40		32,000	
Negro in South America	30		24,000	
Race	30		24,000	
Miscegenation	30		24,000	
Slavery	30		24,000	
		380		304,000
Great Men of Negro Blood and Others				
13 at 10 pages each	130		104,000	
23 at 5 pages each	115		92,000	
		245		196,000
Articles				
45 at 10 pages each	450		360,000	
157 at 3 pages each	471		376,800	
		921		736,800
Minor Biographies				
400	200		160,000	
		200		160,000
Minor Articles				
		854		683,200
Index		200		160,000
		2,800		2,240,000

41/12/22

Encyclopaedia of the Negro

Long Articles:

Africa	60 pages	48,000 words
Negro Race	60	48,000
African Slave Trade	60	48,000
Negro in the United States	40	32,000
Negro in the West Indies	40	32,000
Negro in South America	30	24,000
Race	30	24,000
Miscegenation	30	24,000
Slavery	30	24,000
	380 pages	304,000 words

41/12d/23

Great Men of Negro Blood and Others

Adjai Crowther, Bishop 1812

Askia 16th century (Mohammed Abou Bekr)

Chaka, Chief of Zulus

Christophe

Dessalines

Douglass, Frederick

Dunbar

Heureaux Ulises

Lincoln

Louverture, Toussaint

Maceo, Antonio

Pushkin, Alexandre

Washington, Booker T.

10 page articles

Abolitionism
Abyssinia
Art and Music
Brazil
Civil Rights
Civil War
Colonization
Colombia
Cuba
Democracy
Demography
Discrimination
Disfranchisement
Education
Emancipation
Family
Folklore
Forced labor
Free Negroes
Fugitive Slaves and Underground Railway
Gold Coast
Haiti
Imperialism
Intermarriage
Jamaica
Labor and Labor Movements
Languages, Africa
Liberia
Literature
Lynching
Mandate System
Migration
Negroid
Nigeria
Peonage Farm Tenancy and Share-cropping
Porto Rico
Reconstruction
Religion
St. Domingo
Segregation
Slave Revolts
Soldiers
South Africa
Venezuela
West Africa

A1/12c/24

Great Men of Negro Blood and Others

Sonni Ali

Antar of Arabia

Amen-hotep III (ca. 1400 B. C.)

St. Benedict

Boyer, J. P.

Edmund Wilmot Blyden

Brown, John

Alexandre Dumas

Estevanico

Garrison

George William Gordon

Miguel Kraponzine 1631 Portuguese

Menelik II

Moshesh

Nefertari (ca. 1700 B. C.) see Chamberlain

Joseph J. Roberts, first president of Liberia

Thaddeus Stevens

Charles Sumner

Empress Tailou

Henry O. Tanner

Phillis Wheatley

Sakanouye Tamuramaro (Japanese General)

Nastosenen

41/12c/25

3 page articles

Ages of Man
Agriculture
Allen, Richard
American Colonization Society
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Angola
Anti-Slavery Society
Attucks, Crispus
Australia
Banks, Negro
Banneker, Benjamin
Bantu
Barbados
Basutoland
Bechuanaland
Belgian Congo
Benin
Birth rate
Black Codes
Blyden
Bergu
Bornu
British East Africa
British Guiana
British Honduras
British Somaliland
Bushmen
Buxton, J. F.
Canada
Cannibalism
Cape Colony
Cardoza
Carpet-baggers
Chesnutt
Christianity
Churches
Clarkson
Colleges
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Congo Free State
Convention Movement
Costa Rica
Crime
Creoles
Cuffe, Paul
Dahomey
Delany, Martin
Denominationalism
Dual Control in Africa
Dumas, pere
Dunn, Oscar S.
Education
Egypt
Elliott, R. B.
England
Eritrea
Europe
Explorations in Africa
Fetishism
France
Freedman Aid Society
Freedmen's Bureau
French Equatorial Africa
French West Africa
Gambia
German Cameroons
German East Africa
German Southwest Africa
German Togoland
Shana
Guadaloupe
Guinea Coast
Hall, Prince
Hausa
Hottentots
Illegitimacy
Imperialism
India
Indians
Indirect Rule
Industrial Schools
Insurance Companies
Insurrections
Interracial Relations
"Jim-Crow" Laws
Kenya
Ku Klux Klan
Labor and Labor Movements
Land Grant Colleges
League of Nations
Liberalism
Mandate System
Madagascar
Magazines
Martinque
Matzeliger, Jan
Melle
Meroe
Migration
Mozambique
Natal
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Urban League
Nubia
Obeah
Oceanica
Orange Free State
Pan-African Congress
Panama
Patrocinio, Josedo
Payne, Daniel
Petion, Alexandre
Physicians
Pinchback
Polynesians

French Cameroons

11/12/26

3 page articles (continued)

Populism
Porto Rico
Portugal
Portuguese Guinea
Preachers
Professions
Protectorates

Reconstruction
Religion
Roberts, Joseph J.
Russwurm
Ruy Barbosa
Scottsboro Case
Sculpture
Segregation
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Slave Marriages
Socialism
Soldiers
Songhay
South Africa, Union of
Spain
Spanish American War
Soulouque
Swaziland
Tanganyika
Transvaal
Trinidad
Truth, Sojourner
Tubman, Harriet
Turner, Nat
Uganda
Underground Railroad
Vassa, Gustavus
Venezuela
Vesey, Denmark
Vital Statistics
Voodoo
Walker, David
Young, Colonel

41/12d/21

ESTIMATED EXPENSES OF THE PROPOSED ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	Total
Two Editors					
Chairman	$8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	32,000
Associate	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	24,000
Assistant Editors					
Africa and Anthropology	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000
History and Sociology	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000
Economics	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000
West Indies, South America, and Asia	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000
Education and Religion	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000
Literature and Art		3,000	3,000	3,000	9,000
Biography		3,000	3,000	3,000	9,000
Expert Assistants					
Checkers		2,000	4,000	4,000	10,000
English Reviser		3,000	3,000	3,000	9,000
Make-up Editor		3,000	3,000	3,000	9,000
Stenographers	1,500	3,000	3,000	3,000	10,500
Typists		2,400	3,600	3,600	9,600
Translations		3,000	4,000	3,000	10,000
Payment of articles including $5,000 for articles ordered and not used: 2,250,000 words at 2¢	5,000	10,000	15,000	15,000	45,000
Office					
Rent	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	10,000
Equipment	2,500	500			3,000
Expenses: stationery, postage telephone, etc.	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000
Travel and directors' meetings	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
Total	43,000	66,900	75,600	74,600	$260,100

47-11-101

[1937?]

Estimated Expenses of the Proposed Encyclopaedia of the Negro

Editorial Staff	
2 editors	
chairman	$148,000
associate	
7 assistant editors	
3 expert assistants	21,000
stenographers and translators	30,100
Articles	45,000
Office, &c	21,000
	$265,100

66-11-47

1. Africa and Anthropology
2. History and Sociology
3. Economics
4. West Indies, South America and Asia
5. Education and Religion
6. Literature and Art
7. Biography

[Encyclopedia of the Negro]

19-7-33

Tentative List of Contemporaries to be Included in the Proposed Encyclopaedia of the Negro

Abbott, W. S., editor of the Chicago Defender

Alexander, Will W., former director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Anderson, Marian, singer

Baldwin, Roger, director, American Civil Liberties Union

Barclay, Arthur, Liberian statesman

Barclay, Edwin R., Liberian statesman

Batista, Fulgencio, "strong man" in Cuba

Bellegarde, Dantes, Haitian statesman, educator, author

Bethune, Mary McLeod, educator

Bradford, Roark, writer

Braithwaite, W. S., anthologist

Browder, Earl, Communist candidate for president

Buell, Raymond Leslie, president Foreign Policy Association

Burleigh, Harry, singer

Caldwell, Erskine, writer

Candace, Gratien, member of French chamber of deputies
(Add names of other colored members)

Connally, Marc, dramatist

Carver, George Washington, agricultural chemist

Cook, Will Marion, composer

Daniels, Jonathan, editor, author

Davis, Colonel Benjamin O.

De Priest, Oscar, former member of Congress

Dett, Nathaniel, composer

Dillard, James Hardy, educator

Divine, "Father", leader of religious cult

Drexel, Mother, philanthropist

19-7-34

Du Bois, William E. B., author, teacher, scholar, editor, leader of his people

Ellington, "Duke", composer

Freyre, Gilberto, Brazilian writer

Garvey, Marcus, leader of "Back-to-Africa" Movement

Green, William, president, A. F. of L.

Haile Sellassie I, deposed emperor of Ethiopia

Handy, W. C., "originator of the 'Blues'"

Harkness Family, philanthropists

Hastie, William, federal judge

Hayes, Roland, singer

Henson, Matt, companion to discover of North Pole

Hertzog, General, prime minister of South Africa

Hinton, W. S., syhpilologist

Hitler, Adolf

Hughes, Langston, poet, author

Hurston, Zora Neale, author

Ickes, Harold,

Johnson, Charles S., author, sociologist

Johnson, James Weldon, author, composer, diplomat
(Transfer to other list)

Johnson, Mordecai, president, Howard Uni ersity

Johnston, Sir Harry, explorer, author

Jones, Eugene Kinckle, social welfare leader

Jones, Thomas Jesse, educator

Just, E. E., biologist

King, C. B. D., former president of Liberia

Labouret, Henri, author

Lewis, Julian, college professor, University of Chicago

Lewis, John L., president, C. I. O.

Loram, Charles T., educator

Louis, Joe, heavyweight champion of the world

Maran, Rene, author, winner of Prix Goncourt

Mitchell, Arthur, member of Congress

Mitchell, Margaret, author

Moody, Harold, president, League of Colored Peoples, London

Moton, Robert R., educator

Murphy, Carl, editor of ~~Pittsburgh Courier~~ the Afro-American

Mussolini, Benito

Odum, Howard, sociologist, author

Owens, Jesse, Olympic champion

Patterson, Frederick D., president, Tuskegee Institute

Peterkin, Julia, author

Pickens, William, lecturer, author

Ramos, Arthur, Brazilian writer

Randolph, A. Phillip, organizer of Pullman porters

Robeson, Paul, singer

Robinson, "Bojangles", dancer

Rockefeller, John D., II, philanthropist

Roosevelt, Eleanor, social reformer

Roosevelt, Franklin D.,

Scott, Emmett J., consultant on Negro affairs

Scottsboro Boys

Simon, Lady Katharine, author, Twentieth Century abolitionist

Smuts, Jan, South African statesman

Spalding, C. C., business leader

Spingarn, Joel, philanthropist

Stokes, Anson Phelps, scholar, philanthropist

19-7-35

Tobias, Channing H., Y. M. C. A. leader

Thomas, Norman, social reformer

Trujillo, President of Dominican Republic

Vann, Robert, editor of Pittsburgh Courier

Villard, Oswald Garrison, editor, social reformer

Vincent, Stenio, president of Haiti

Wagner, Senator Robert

Walton, Lester, American minister to Liberia

Westermann, D., author, editor

White, Clarence Cameron, composer

White, Walter, secretary, N. A. A. C. P.

White, William A., editor

Williams, Paul, architect

Woodson, Carter G., author, editor

Wriggt, R. R., banker

19-7-36

Encyclopaedia of the Negro

II

PROPOSED DIVISION OF SPACE
FOR THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO

41/12/11

Proposed Division of Space for the Encyclopaedia of the Negro

Column equals 400 words
Page equals 800 words
Average pages per volume 700 or 560,000 words
Four volumes equal 2,240,000 words

Long Articles:

Africa	60 pages		48,000 words	
Negro Race	60		48,000	
African Slave Trade	60		48,000	
Negro in the United S tates	40		32,000	
Negro in the West Indies	40		32,000	
Negro in South America	30		24,000	
Race	30		24,000	
Miscegenation	30		24,000	
Slavery	30	380	24,000	304,000

Great Men of Negro Blood and Others

2 0 at 10 pages each (Note A)	200		160,000	
4 0 at 5 pages each (Note B)	200	400	160,000	320,000

Articles

50 at 10 pages each (Note C)	500		400,000	
200 at 3 pages each (Note D)	600	1,100	480,000	880,000

Minor Biographies

400		200		160,000

Minor Articles

		520		416,000

Index

		200	2,800	160,000	2,240,000

41/12C/2

Encyclopaedia of the Negro

41/12C3

III

LISTS OF MAJOR ARTICLES

TO BE INCLUDED

III

Lists of Major Articles to be Included

Forty-five out of a possible Fifty

10 page articles

Abolitionism
Abyssinia
Art and Music
Brazil
Civil Rights
Civil War
Colonization
Colombia
Cuba
Democracy
Demography
Discrimination
Disfranchisement
Education
Emancipation
Family
Folklore
Forced labor
Free Negroes
Fugitive Slaves and Underground Railway
Gold Coast
Haiti
Imperialism
Intermarriage
Jamaica
Labor and Labor Movements
Languages, African
Liberia
Literature
Lynching
Mandate System
Migration
Negroid
Nigeria
Peonage Farm Tenancy and Share-cropping
Porto Rico
Reconstruction
Religion
St. Domingo
Segregation
Slave Revolts
Soldiers
South Africa
Venezuela
West Africa

41|12C|4

157 out of a possible 200
5 page articles

Ages of Man
Agriculture
Allen, Richard
American Colonization Society
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Angola
Anti-slavery Society
Attucks, Crispus
Australia
Banks, Negro
Banneker, Benjamin
Bantu
Barbados
Basutoland
Bechuanaland
Belgian Congo
Benin
Birth rate
Black Codes
Blyden
Borgu
Bornu
British East Africa
British Guiana
British Honduras
British Somaliland
Bushmen
Buxton, J. F.
Canada
Cannibalism
Cape Colony
Cardoza
Carpet-baggers
Chesnutt
Christianity
Churches
Clarkson
Colleges
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Congo Free State
Convention Movement
Costa Rica.
Crime
Creoles
Cuffe, Paul
Dahomey
Delany, Martin
Denominationalism
Dual Control in Africa
Dumas, pere
Dunn, Oscar S.
Education
Egypt
Elliott, R. B.
England
Eritrea
Europe
Exploration in Africa
Fetishism
France
Freedman Aid Society
Freedmen's Bureau
French Cameroons
French Equatorial Africa
French West Africa
Gambia
German Cameroons
German East Africa
German Southwest Africa
German Togoland
Ghana
Guadaloupe
Guinea Coast
Hall, Prince
Hausa
Hottentots
Illegitimacy
Imperialism
India
Indians
Indirect Rule
Industrial Schools
Insurance Companies
Insurrections
Interracial Relations
"Jim-Crow" Laws
Kenya
Ku Klux Klan
Labor and Labor Movements
Land Grant Colleges
League of Nations
Liberalism
Mandate System
Madagascar
Magazines
Martinique
Matzeliger, Jan
Melle
Meroe
Migration
Mozambique
Natal
Nat'l Association for the Advancement of Colored People

4/12/5

National Urban League
Nubia
Obeah
Oceanica
Orange Free State
Pan-African Congress
Panama
Patrocinio, Josedo
Payne, Daniel
Petion, Alexandre
Physicians
Pinchback
Polynesians
Populism
Porto Rico
Portugal
Portuguese Guinea
Preachers
Professions
Protectorates
Reconstruction
Religion
Roberts, Joseph J.
Russwurm
Ruy Barbosa
Scottsboro Case
Sculpture
Segregation
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Slave Marriages
Socialism
Soldiers
Songhay
South Africa, Union of
Spain
Spanish American War
Soulouque
Swaziland
Tanganyika
Transvaal
Trinidad
Truth, Sojourner
Tubman, Harriet
Turner, Nat
Uganda
Underground Railroad
Vassa, Gustavus
Venezuela
Vesey, Denmark
Vital Statistics
Voodoo
Walker, David
Young, Colonel

4/12/46

Encyclopaedia of the Negro

41/12c/7

IV

GREAT MEN OF NEGRO BLOOD

AND OTHERS

IV

A List of Thirteen out of a possible Twenty
Biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood, and Others

Adjai Crowther, Bishop 1812

Askia 18th century (Mohammed Abou Bekr)

Chaka, Chief of Zulus

Christophe

Dessalines

Douglass, Frederick

Dunbar

Heureaux Ulises

Lincoln

Louverture, Toussaint

Macco, Antonio

Pushkin, Alexandro

Washington, Booker T.

41/12c/8

A List of Twenty-three out of a possible Forty
Biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood, and Others

Sonni Ali

Antar of Arabia

Amen-hotep III (ca. 1400 B. C.)

St. Benedict

Boyer, J. P.

Edmund Wilmot Blyden

Brown, John

Alexandre Dumas

Estevanico

Garrison

George William Gordon

Miguel Kraponzine 1631 Portuguese

Menelik II

Moshesh

Nastosenen

Nefertari(ca. 1700 B. C.) see Chamberlain

Joseph J. Roberts, First president of Liberia

Thaddeus Stevens

Charles Sumner

Empress Tailou

Sakanouye Tamuramaro (Japanese General)

Henry O. Tanner

Phillis Wheatley

4/12/19

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO

IV

GREAT MEN OF NEGRO BLOOD

AND OTHERS

47-12-112

IV

A List of Thirteen out of a possible Twenty Biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood, and Others

Adjai Crowther, Bishop 1812

Askia 18th century (Mohammed Abou Bekr)

Chaka, Chief of Zulus

Christophe

Dessalines

Douglass, Frederick

Dunbar

Heureaux Ulises

~~Lincoln~~

Louverture, Toussaint

Maceo, Antonio

Pushkin, Alexandre

Washington, Booker T.

417-12-114

91

A List of ~~Twenty-three~~ out of a possible Forty
Biographies of

Great Men of Negro Blood, ~~and Others~~

Sonni Ali

Antar of Arabia

Amen-hotep III (ca. 1400 B.C.)

St. Benedict

Boyer, J. P.

Edmund Wilmot Blyden

~~Brown, John~~

Alexandre Dumas

Estevanico

~~Garrison~~

George William Gordon

Miguel Kraponzine 1631 Portuguese

Menelik II

Moshesh

Nastosenen

Nefertari (ca. 1700 B.C.) see Chamberlain

Joseph J. Roberts, First President of Liberia

~~Thaddeus Stevens~~

~~Charles Sumner~~

~~Empress Tallou~~

Sakanouye Tamuramaro (Japanese General)

Henry O. Tanner

Phillis Wheatley

47-12-113

41/12c/10

V

TENTATIVE LIST OF CONTEMPORARIES TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PROPOSED ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO

V

Tentative List of Contemporaries to be Included in the Proposed Encyclopaedia of the Negro

Abbott, W. S., editor of the Chicago Defender

Alexander, Will W., former director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Anderson, Marian, singer

Baldwin, Roger, director, American Civil Liberties Union

Barclay, Arthur, Liberian statesman

Barclay, Edwin R., Liberian statesman

Batista, Fulgencio, "strong man" in Cuba

Bellegarde, Dantes, Haitian statesman, educator, author

Bethune, Mary McLeod, educator

Bradford, Roark, writer

Braithwaite, W. S., anthologist

Browder, Earl, Communist candidate for president

Buell, Raymond Leslie, president Foreign Policy Association

Burleigh, Harry, singer

Caldwell, Erskine, writer

Candace, Gratien, member of French chamber of deputies
(Add names of other colored members)

Connally, Marc, dramatist

Carver, George Washington, agricultural chemist

Cook, Will Marion, composer

Daniels, Jonathan, editor, author

Davis, Colonel Benjamin O.

Davis, Jackson, educator

De Priest, Oscar, former member of Congress

Dett, Nathaniel, composer

41/12c/11

Dillard, James Hardy, educator

Divine, "Father", leader of religious cult

Drexel, Mother, philanthropist

Du Bois, William E. B., author, teacher, scholar, editor, leader of his people

Ellington, "Duke", composer

Freyre, Gilberto, Brazilian writer

Garvey, Marcus, leader of "Back-to-Africa" Movement

Green, William, president, A. F. of L.

Haile Sellassie I, deposed emperor of Ethiopia

Handy, W. C., "originator of the 'Blues'"

Harkness Family, philanthropists

Hastie, William federal judge

Hayes, Roland, singer

Henson, Matt, companion to discoverer of North Pole

Hertzog, General, prime minister of South Africa

Hinton, W. S., syhpilologist

Hitler, Adolf

Hughes, Langston, poet, author

Hurston, Zora Neale, author

Ickes, Harold,

Johnson, Charles S., author, sociologist

Johnson, James Weldon, author, composer, diplomat
(Transfer to other list)

Johnson, Mordecai, president, Howard University

Johnston, Sir Harry, explorer, author

Jones, Eugene Kinckle, social welfare leader

Jones, Thomas Jesse, educator

Just, E. E., biologist

41/12c/12

King, C. B. D., former president of Liberia

Labouret, Henri, author

Lewis, Julian, college professor, University of Chicago

Lewis, John L., president, C. I. O.

Loram, Charles T., educator

Louis, Joe, heavyweight champion of the world

Maran, Rene, author, winner of Prix Goncourt

Mitchell, Arthur, member of Congress

Mitchell, Margaret, author

Moody, Harold, president, League of Colored Peoples, London

Moton, Robert R., educator

Murphy, Carl, editor of the Afro-American

Mussolini, Benito

Odum, Howard, sociologist, author

Owens, Jesse, Olympic champion

Patterson, Frederick D., president, Tuskegee Institute

Peterkin, Julia, author

Pickens, William, lecturer, author

Ramos, Arthur, Brazilian writer

Randolph, A. Phillip, organizer of Pullman porters

Robeson, Paul, singer

Robinson, "Bojangles", dancer

Rockefeller, John D., II, philanthropist

Roosevelt, Eleanor, social reformer

Roosevelt, Franklin D.,

Scott, Emmett J., consultant on Negro affairs

Scottsboro Boys

Simon, Lady Katharine, author, Twentieth Century abolitionist

41/12c/13

Smuts, Jan, South African statesman

Spalding, C. C., business leader

Spingarn, Joel, philanthropist

Tabaru, John Tengo

Tobias, Channing H., Y. M. C. A. leader

Thomas, Norman, social reformer

Trujillo, President of Dominican Republic

Vann, Robert, editor of Pittsburgh Courier

Villard, Oswald Garrison, editor, social reformer

Vincent, Stenio, president of Haiti

Wagner, Senator Robert

Walton, Lester, American minister to Liberia

Westermann, D., author, editor

White, Clarence Cameron, composer

White, Walter, secretary, N. A. A. C. P.

White, William A., editor

Williams, Paul, architect

Woodson, Carter G., author, editor

Wright, R. R., banker

Yergan, Max

41/12C/14

DO WE NEED AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO?

There has been in the last decade a wide increase of interest in and attention toward the Negro race and its descendants in various parts of the world. This includes the question of the relation of the peoples of Africa to the future development of civilization; the changing problem of the Negro in the United States; the question of the future of the West Indies and the racial integration of South and Central America. Today the Negroid peoples, that is, those usually called Negroes and those related to them by descent and culture, are recognized as occupying a wide and important position in the world which calls for increasing attention.

This has been emphasized by our new and changing ideas of race. The whole biological conception of races separated from each other by inheritance of fixed characters, has been changed to new conceptions of varying group characteristics and cultural developments. Anthropology is studying primitive groups not as curiosities, but as throwing light upon present conditions; and a new conception of the unity of humanity not simply in its present forms but its methods of development, is becoming current. History and biography are making new and intensive efforts to re-picture the past of the darker races and the literature of cultural development and contact is increasing.

47-18-119

There have been published in the last ten years scores of books with new and reliable information concerning Africa and the Negro race. These include, to name but a few, studies of the tribes of Africa by Schapera, Rattray, Meek, Junod, Soga, Krige, Doke, Hollis, Torday, Monica Hunter and a score of other equally searching investigations; there are studies in African colonial administration by Perham, Brooks, Thurnwald, Orde-Browne, Mair, Macmillian, Cameron and Oldham; large and significant summaries of information concerning Africa have been made by Delafosse, Worthington, Fitzgerald and Frankel; and especially the recent AFRICAN SURVEY by Lord Hailey and his co-workers, and frazer's NATIVE RACES OF AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR.

Concerning the Negro in America there have been published recently studies of the economic development of the plantation, the effect of the depression, changes and growth in literature and education; Work's BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE NEGRO covering both Africa and America; monographs by Charles Johnson, Abram Harris, Ralph Bunche, Carter Woodson, Franklin Frazier and others; there will be ready in 1940 an important survey by Dr. Karl G. Myrdal of Sweden and a dozen co-workers, while the Journal of Negro Education and the Journal of Negro History are printing numbers of intensive studies. Careful studies of Negro history and culture have begun in Brazil and other parts of South America, and have long been pursued in the West Indies. On the other hand there is a dangerous and misleading lag between scientific knowledge of the Negro and intelligent interpretation today, and popular conception handed down from the past.

The Negro race today, in the minds of most persons, is set apart as a group of unusual and different individuals; and this attitude can be met only by setting forth the facts of the situation and letting the world know that the essential humanity of the black race is today well attested by a body of facts agreed upon, in all essential particulars, by those whose opinions are worth listening to.

Many persons who are aware of this do not realize how widespread is the implicit and open denial of these facts. To quote a few instances: the book on CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES by the first professor of sociology ever appointed at Harvard University says of Negroes "In Africa they had as many chances in the long course of history to create complex forms of culture as the white race had elsewhere and yet nothing has been created." (p. 298) "Excepting, perhaps, a few heavyweight champions and eminent singers, the American Negroes have not up to this time produced a single genius of great caliber." (p. 298) "It is worthy of notice that the studies of Ferguson, E. B. Reuter, and of some others, have shown that the greater the infusion of white blood into the Negro, the higher is his intelligence quotient." (p. 297)

A widely read American author says concerning the Civil War "The American Negroes are the only people in the history of the world, so far as I know, that ever became

free without any effort of their own." (MEET GENERAL GRANT, by W. E. Woodward). In a recent popular magazine article, Morrison Holliday writes "The black man in the South, 90 per cent of him, at least, belongs to a primitive race barely removed from savagery." The thirteenth edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica in its article on anthropology points out that the sutures in the heads of Negro children solidify early so that mental development in the race is impossible. The fourteenth edition printed the assertion of a Harvard professor that colored members of Southern legislatures during Reconstruction engaged in a "saturnalia of corrupt expenditure." A governor of the African colony of Kenya testified before a Parliamont committee with regard to the land question "The African, of course, has no views at all."

There is also almost inextricable confusion as to what "Negro" means; as to whether Ethiopia was a civilization of black men; as to whether there are any evidences of culture and art in Africa. In the renewed discussion of race due to the plight of the Jews in Germany, one notices repeated tendencies to except the Negro race from general statements concerning essential racial equality.

In most cases the persons who make these statements are not motivated by any enmity toward the Negro race or any conscious prejudice; they simply have not themselves carefully studied the situation and they cannot easily find authoritative reference to which they can turn. Present thought and action are all too often gyided by old and discarded theories of race and heredity; by misleading emphasis and silence of former histories. These conceptions are passed on to younger generations of s udents by current textbooks, popular histories and even in public discussion. In the case of the average reader, even when intelligent, or of students in universities, the case is even more baffling. There is hardly an ordinary question, from a clear discussion of race, to a definition of a Negro, the history of African slav ry and the present conditions in Africa, to which he can find a clear and intelligent answer upon which he may depend. On the contrary thereis hardly an attitude or a prejudice that he may not find seriously advocated and to some degree corroborated and substantiated in books printed by reputable publishers and placed on the shelves of our best libraries. The path of the

419-12-121

inquiring student is thus beset by the most opposite and contradictory statements.

There is increasing demand for intelligent guidance on the status of the Negro and easier availability of our present knowledge of facts. We have had a sudden increase of discussion concerning race in our day based on discredited theses and threatening widespread disaster. We are having demands for colonial transfer and readjustment with inevitable examination of the whole problem of the relation of Negro peoples to modern industry and government. There is unrest and apprehension among the colored races and in all the current social and economic changes in America, the condition and future of twelve million Americans of Negro descent is necessarily involved. There is need for young pupils and for mature students, of a statement of the present condition of our knowledge concerning the darker races and especially concerning Negroes, which would make available our present scientific knowledge and set aside the vast accumulation of tradition and prejudice which makes such knowledge difficult now for the layman to obtain: a Vade Mecum for schools, editors, libraries, for Europeans inquiring into the race status here, for South Americans and Africans. In current encyclopaedias there is notable lack of space given to these matters. In a recently projected encyclopaedia of American history a scholar was asked to treat the relation of the Negro to United States history in six hundred words. Writers who are expert in many fields may be quite ignorant in the field of race or in matters concerning the Negro.

Our knowledge of the Negro today is not, of course, entirely complete; there are many gaps where further information and more careful study are needed; but this is the case in almost every branch of knowledge. Knowledge is never complete and in few subjects does a time arrive when an encyclopaedia of its knowledge is demanded because no further information is expected. Indeed the need of an encyclopaedia is greatest when a stage is reached where there is a distinct opportunity to bring together and set down a clear and orderly statement of the facts already known and agreed upon, for the sake of establishing a base for further advance and further study.

Under such circumstances it would seem that an Encyclopaedia of the Negro is necessary.

47-13-122

The idea of encyclopaedias has grown slowly but surely. In the first century we had Pliny's NATURAL HISTORY; in the fifth and seventh and thirteenth centuries appeared other encyclopaedias treating "of everything that can be learned by man in this life". As the field of science grew and the trammels of church dogma were broken down, there came in the eighteenth century three great encyclopaedias: the French Encyclopedie, 1751-65; the first edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1768-71; and the Conversations-Lexicon, 1796-1808. Today the place of the encyclopaedia as a unified source of knowledge, and guide to reading is generally recognized. This has been followed by encyclopaedias which confine themselves to different fields of science like chemistry, geology, medicine and the like. Finally in the social sciences, there have come the beginnings of encyclopaedias: the Encyclopaedia of Religon, the Catholic Encyclopaedia, the Jewish Encyclopaedia and the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, are cases in point.

In such encyclopaeias, touching social problems, there is always an initial prejudice to over come. People have inherited ideas and attitudes which more or less unconsciously they are unwilling to change; but precisely for such reasons, encyclopaedias are neccessary. The editors of the Jewish Encyclopaedia said frankly "Hitherto the difficulties in the way of such an adequate and impartial presentation have b en insuperable. Deep-rooted prejudices have prevented any sympathetic interest in Judaism on the part of Christian theologians, or in Christianity on the part of the rabbis. These theological antipathies have now abated, and both sides are better prepared to receive the truth."

47-12-123

The Catholics complained that in the case of many matters in which Catholics were interested "proper answers to the questions proposed are not to be met with in English literature. Even the writings of the well intentioned authors are at times disfigured by serious errors on Catholic subjects, which are for the most part due, not to ill-will, but to lack of knowledge."

In the case of the proposed Enc clopaedia of the Negro these difficulties are increased because the prejudices and memories surrounding the subject have been more intense. There are hurts and fears; there are current controversies which made a strictly scientific point of view of questions affecting the Negro race, difficult. Notwithstand

ing this, the body of accumulated knowledge is today so wide and dependable that it becomes all the more necessary that current social thought and discussion should to as large an extent as possible be placed upon a basis of accepted scientific conclusion.

Not counting some earlier proposals which did not come to fruition, there has been an attempt since 1932 to secure funds to edit and publish an Encyclopaedia of the Negro. It has naturally brought forward a good many fundamental questions. There have been those who have said that a Catholic Encyclopaedia must be edited by Catholics; a Jewish Encyclopaedia mainly by Jews; and a Negro Encyclopaedia mainly by Negroes. On the other hand it has been pointed out that his at least lays such efforts open to the charge of partisanship and defensive propaganda.

The editors of the Jewish Encyclopaedia felt this difficulty when they said "The editors have felt a special sense of responsibility with regard to this work, in which for the first time the claims to recognition of a whole race and its ancient religion are put forth in a form approaching completeness. They have had to consider susceptibilities among Jews and others, and have been especially solicitous that nothing should be set down which could hurt the feelings of the most sensitive." Yet they proposed to edit such an encyclopaedia "With an exhaustiveness which has never been attempted before - without concealing facts or resorting to apology." The Catholic editors were sure that even "among Protestants the desire for a more intimate and accurate knowledge of things Catholic increases in proportion to the growth of the church in numbers and in importance."

In the case of the Negro the matter is even more complicated. There are many groups of Negroes. Educated black men in West Africa and East Africa might naturally think that their interests and points of view would be ignored. American Negroes are apt to think of themselves as the most representative group of their race and entitled to most space and consideration. The West Indians and the Afro-Brazilians have similar claims for consideration. Then too, among the whites, there are groups vitally interested in the future of the Negro, anxious to repel disturbing propaganda; fearful of any artificial unification of widely separate colored group interests and anxious to guide Negro

47-12-124

development in the lines of their own national interests. Thus the English administrators, the French, Belgian and other colonial investors, the South African Nationalists and students and statesmen in white America would hesitate at seeing an encyclopaedia edited and published which might not take into account their points of view and wishes. Missionaries, historians, sociologists and psychologists all would have distinct ideas concerning the scope and treatment in such an encyclopaedia.

The present proposal has sought to take all these points of view into consideration; it believes that the present situation, just because of the widespread interest in the Negro from these different points of view, and because of the unusual number of scholarly experts available, indicates not only the need of this encyclopaedia, but the possibility of so planning and editing the work as to make firm that solid scientific foundation upon which race in general, and the Negro race in particular, can be discussed and the real questions upon which there is still allowable differences of opinion more clearly fixed and stated.

We have interested groups of colored and white men, and have consulted with the leading authorities of every modern country: the United States, the West Indies and South America, England, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Spain; and especially white and black scholars in various parts of Africa; we have the promisee cooperation of what we beli ve is the best available body of scholars in the world.

47-13-135

There follows of course the question as to how this ability can be used and apportioned to its task and how the space of the encyclopaedia can best be laid out. We are trying to make this definite by issuing next fall a proposed list of subjects, with some indication of the allocation of space. This list has been suggested and critic zed by many of the best scholars of the world. The selection of authorities for the actual writing, and the character of the finished work, must of course depend upon the board of editors and for that reason a board which has the full confidence of the promoters and the scientific world is indispensable. We are asking support for this project as a worthy one, under the direction of the best board of editors which can be procured. We

do not for a moment assume that the present temporary choice of editors is or deserves to be, final; but we do believe that the project is a worthy one; that there is distinct and present call for such an encyclopaedia and that immediate steps ought to be taken to realize this proposal, to use the best scholarship of the world in placing before average, intelligent citizens of the world a carefully considered statement concerning the past and present of the Negro race. Nothing in the long run would serve better to replace prejudice, pre-conception and bitter memories with scientific fact and balanced judgment.

47-12-126

Atlanta University
May 22, 1939

DO WE NEED AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO?

There has been in the last decade a wide increase of interest in and attention toward the Negro race and its descendants in various parts of the world. This includes the question of the relation of the peoples of Africa to the future development of civilization; the changing problem of the Negro in the United States; the question of the future of the West Indies and the racial integration of South and Central America. Today the Negroid peoples, that is, those usually called Negroes and those related to them by descent and culture, are recognized as occupying a wide and important position in the world which calls for increasing attention.

This has been emphasized by our new and changing ideas of race. The whole biological conception of races separated from each other by inheritance of fixed characters, has been changed to new conceptions of varying group characteristics and cultural developments. Anthropology is studying primitive groups not as curiosities, but as throwing light upon present conditions; and a new conception of the unity of humanity not simply in its present forms but its methods of development, is becoming current. History and biography are making new and intensive efforts to re-picture the past of the darker races and the literature of cultural development and contact is increasing.

There have been published in the last ten years scores of books with new and reliable information concerning Africa and the Negro race. These include, to name but a few, studies of the tribes of Africa by Schapera, Rattray, Meek, Junod, Soga, Krige, Doke, Hollis, Torday, Monica Hunter and a score of other equally searching investigations; there are studies in African colonial administration by Perham, Brooks, Thurnwald, Orde-Browne, Mair, Macmillian, Cameron and Oldham; large and significant summaries of information concerning Africa have been made by Delafosse, Worthington, Fitzgerald and Frankel; and

especially the recent AFRICAN SURVEY by Lord Hailey and his co-workers, and Frazer's NATIVE RACES OF AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR.

Concerning the Negro in America there have been published recently studies of the economic development of the plantation, the effect of the depression, changes and growth in literature and education; Work's Bibliography of the Negro covering both Africa and America; monographs by Charles Johnson, Abram Harris, Ralph Bunche, Carter Woodson, Franklin Frazier and others; there will be ready in 1940 an important survey by Dr. Karl G. Myrdal of Sweden and a dozen co-workers, while the Journal of Negro Education and the Journal of Negro History are printing numbers of intensive studies. Careful studies of Negro history and culture have begun in Brazil and other parts of South America, and have long been pursued in the West Indies. On the other hand there is a dangerous and misleading lag between scientific knowledge of the Negro and intelligent interpretation today, and popular conception handed down from the past.

The Negro race today, in the minds of most persons, is set apart as a group of unusual and different individuals; and this attitude can be met only by setting forth the facts of the situation and letting the world know that the essential humanity of the black race is today well attested by a body of facts agreed upon, in all essential particulars, by those whose opinions are worth listening to.

Many persons who are aware of this do not realize how widespread is the implicit and open denial of these facts. To quote a few instances: the book on CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES by the first professor of sociology ever appointed at Harvard University says of Negroes "In Africa they had as many chances in the long course of history to create complex forms of culture as the white race had elsewhere and yet nothing has been created." (p. 298) "Excepting, perhaps, a few heavyweight champions and eminent singers, the American Negroes have not up to this time produced a single genius of great

caliber." (p. 298) "It is worthy of notice that the studies of Ferguson, E. B. Reuter, and of some others, have shown that the greater the infusion of white blood into the Negro, the higher is his intelligence quotient." (p. 297)

A widely read American author says concerning the Civil War "The American Negroes are the only people in the history of the world, so far as I know, that ever became free without any effort of their own." (MEET GENERAL GRANT, by W. E. Woodward) In a recent popular magazine article, Morrison Holliday writes "The black man in the South, 90 per cent of him, at least, belongs to a primitive race barely removed from savagery." The thirteenth edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica in its article on anthropology points out that the sutures in the heads of Negro children solidify early so that mental development in the race is impossible. The fourteenth edition printed the assertion of a Harvard professor that colored members of Southern legislatures during Reconstruction engaged in a "saturnalia of corrupt expenditure." A governor of the African colony of Kenya testified before a Parliament committee with regard to the land question "The African, of course, has no views at all."

There is also almost inextricable confusion as to what "Negro" means; as to whether Ethiopia was a civilization of black men; as to whether there are any evidences of culture and art in Africa. In the renewed discussion of race due to the plight of the Jews in Germany, one notices repeated tendencies to except the Negro race from general statements concernin essential racial equality.

In most cases the persons who make these statements are not motivated by any enmity toward the Negro race or any conscious prejudice; They simply have not themselves carefully studied the situation and they cannot easily find authoritative references to which they can turn. Present thought and action are all too often guided by old and discarded theories of race and heredity;

by misleading emphasis and silence of former histories. These conceptions are passed on to younger generations of students by current textbooks, popular histories and even in public discussion. In the case of the average reader, even when intelligent, or of students in universities, the case is even more baffling. There is hardly an ordinary question, from a clear discussion of race, to a definition of a Negro, the history of African slavery and the present conditions in Africa, to which he can find a clear and intelligent answer upon which he may depend. On the contrary there is hardly an attitude or a prejudice that he may not find seriously advocated and to some degree corroborated and substantiated in books printed by reputable publishers and placed on the shelves of our best libraries. The path of the inquiring student is thus beset by the most opposite and contradictory statements.

There is increasing demand for intelligent guidance on the status of the Negro and easier availability of our present knowledge of facts. We have had a sudden increase of discussion concerning race in our day based on discredited theses and threatening widespread disaster. We are having demands for colonial transfer and readjustment with inevitable examination of the whole problem of the relation of Negro peoples to modern industry and government. There is unrest and apprehension among the colored races and in all the current social and economic changes in America, the condition and future of twelve million Americans of Negro descent is necessarily involved. There is need for young pupils and for mature students, of a statement of the present condition of our knowledge concerning the darker races and especially concerning Negroes, which would make available our present scientific knowledge and set aside the vast accumulation of tradition and prejudice which makes such knowledge difficult now for the layman to obtain: a Vade Mecum for schools, editors, libraries, for Europeans inquiring into the race status here, for South Americans and Africans. In current encyclopaedias there is notable lack of space given to these matters. In a recently projected encyclopaedia of American history a

scholar was asked to treat the relation of the Negro to United States history in six hundred words. Writers who are expert in many fields may be quite ignorant in the field of race or in matters concerning the Negro. Our knowledge of the Negro today is not, of course, entirely complete; there are many gaps where further information and more careful study are needed; but this is the case in almost every branch of knowledge. Knowledge is never complete and in few subjects does a time arrive when an encyclopaedia of its knowledge is demanded because no further information is expected. Indeed the need of an encyclopaedia is greatest when a stage is reached where there is a distinct opportunity to bring together and set down a clear and orderly statement of the facts already known and agreed upon, for the sake of establishing a base for further advance and further study.

Under such circumstances it would seem that an Encyclopaedia of the Negro is necessary.

The idea of encyclopaedias has grown slowly but surely. In the first century we had Pliny's NATURAL HISTORY; in the fifth and seventh and thirteenth centuries appeared other encyclopaedias treating "of everything that can be learned by man in this life". As the field of science grew and the trammels of church dogma were broken down, there came in the eighteenth century three great encyclopaedias: the French Encyclopédie, 1751-65; the first edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1768-71; and the Conversations-Lexicon, 1796-1808. Today the place of the encyclopaedia as a unified source of knowledge, and guide to reading is generally recognized. This has been followed by encyclopaedias which confine themselves to different fields of science like chemistry, geology, medicine and the like. Finally in the social sciences, there have come the beginnings of encyclopaedias: the Encyclopaedia of Religion, the Catholic Encyclopaedia, the Jewish Encyclopaedia and the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, are cases in point.

In such encyclopaedias, touching social problems, there is always an initial prejudice to overcome. People have inherited ideas and attitudes which more or less unconsciously they are unwilling to change; but precisely for such reasons, encyclopaedias are necessary. The editors of the Jewish Encyclopaedia said frankly "Hitherto the difficulties in the way of such an adequate and impartial presentation have been insuperable. Deep-rooted prejudices have prevented any sympathetic interest in Judaism on the part of Christian theologians, or in Christianity on the part of the rabbis. These theological antipathies have now abated, and both sides are better prepared to receive the truth."

The Catholics complained that in the case of many matters in which Catholics were interested "proper answers to the questions proposed are not to be met with in English literature. Even the writings of the well intentioned authors are at times disfigured by serious errors on Catholic subjects, which are for the most part due, not to ill-will, but to lack of knowledge."

In the case of the proposed Encyclopaedia of the Negro these difficulties are increased because the prejudices and memories surrounding the subject have been more intense. There are hurts and fears; there are current controversies which make a strictly scientific point of view of questions affecting the Negro race, difficult. Notwithstanding this, the body of accumulated knowledge is today so wide and dependable that it becomes all the more necessary that current social thought and discussion should to as large an extent as possible be placed upon a basis of accepted scientific conclusion.

Not counting some earlier proposals which did not come to fruition, there has been an attempt since 1932 to secure funds to edit and publish an Encyclopaedia of the Negro. It has naturally brought forward a good many fundamental questions. There have been those who have said that a Catholic Encyclopaedia

must be edited by Catholics; a Jewish Encyclopaedia mainly by Jews; and a Negro Encyclopaedia mainly by Negroes. On the other hand it has been pointed out that this at least lays such efforts open to the charge of partisanship and defencive propaganda.

The editors of the Jewish Encyclopaedia felt this difficulty when they said "The editors have felt a special sense of responsibility with regard to this work, in which for the first time the claims to recognition of a whole race and its ancient religion are put forth in a form approaching completeness. They have had to consider susceptibilities among Jews and others, and have been especially solicitous that nothing should be set down which could hurt the feelings of the most sensitive." Yet they proposed to edit such an encyclopaedia "With an exhaustiveness which has never been attempted before - without concealing facts or resorting to apology." The Catholic editors were sure that even "among Protestants the desire for a more intimate and accurate knowledge of things Catholic increases in proportion to the growth of the Church in numbers and in importance."

In the case of the Negro the matter is even more complicated. There are many groups of Negroes. Educated black men in West Africa and East Africa might naturally think that their interests and points of view would be ignored. American Negroes are apt to think of themselves as the most representative group of their race and entitled to most space and consideration. The West Indians and the Afro-Brazilians have similar claims for consideration. Then too, among the whites, there are groups vitally interested in the future of the Negro, anxious to repel disturbing propaganda; fearful of any artificial unification of widely separate colored group interests and anxious to guide Negro development in the lines of their own national interests. Thus the English administrators, the French, Belgian and other colonial investors, the South

African Nationalists and students and statesmen in white America would hesitate at seeing an encyclopaedia edited and published which might not take into account their points of view and wishes. Missionaries, historians, sociologists and psychologists all would have distinct ideas concerning the scope and treatment in such an encyclopaedia.

The present proposal has sought to take all these points of view into consideration; it believes that the present situation, just because of the widespread interest in the Negro from these different points of view, and because of the unusual number of scholarly exports available, indicates not only the need of this encyclopaedia, but the possibility of so planning and editing the work as to make firm that solid scientific foundation upon which race in general, and the Negro race in particular, can be discussed and the real questions upon which there is still allowable differences of opinion more clearly fixed and stated.

We have interested groups of colored and white men, and have consulted with the leading authorities of every modern country: the United States, the West Indies and South America, England, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Spain; and especially white and black scholars in various parts of Africa; We have the promised cooperation of what we believe is the best available body of scholars in the world.

There follows of course the question as to how this ability can be used and apportioned to its task and how the space of the encyclopaedia can best be laid out. We are trying to make this definite by issuing next fall a proposed list of subjects, with some indication of the allocation of space. This list ~~which~~ has been suggested and criticized by many of the best scholars of the world. The selection of authorities for the actual writing, and the character of the finished work, must of course depend upon the board of editors and for that

reason a board which has the full confidence of the promoters and the scientific world is indispensable. We are asking support for this project as a worthy one, under the direction of the best board of editors which can be procured. We do not for a moment assume that the present temporary choice of editors is or deserves to be, final, but we do believe that the project is a worthy one; that there is distinct and present call for such an encyclopaedia and that immediate steps ought ot be taken to realize this proposal, to use the best scholarship of the world in placing before average, intelligent citizens of the world a carefully considered statement concerning the past and present of the Negro race. Nothing in the long run would serve better to replace prejudice, pre-conception and bitter memories with scientific fact and balanced judgment.

47-12-230

Atlanta University
May 22, 1939

While many people would desire an Encyclopaedia of the Negro and would recognize as valid most of the foregoing arguments, yet because the Negro problem is still in such a controversial stage, not only in the United States, but in South Africa and in other places, they would naturally fear that such a work might prove to be a passionate and over-emphasized defense of the Negro; or, on the other hand, a series of articles which, in the endeavor to avoid controversy or personal sensibilities would succeed in saying nothing of real value or enlightenment.

We who are advocating the Encyclopaedia of the Negro recognize these pitfalls clearly and for that very reason are determined to avoid them. The Encyclopaedia will not be designed to "make a case" by neglecting or deriding views merely because they are derogatory; or adopting views that are pleasant or encouraging merely to please. After all the Negro himself would be the chief loser from an encyclopaedia which did not gain the respect of the world of scholarship; and the Negro's interests would be best served by a work so fair, so objective and so thorough that it would be accepted everywhere and for many years to come as the most authoritative source of information.

On the other hand, where there are controversial subjects and where science has spoken no final word, an encyclopaedia should present a fair statement of the present position of the controversy. All encyclopaedias face difficulties of this sort; undoubtedly the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, like the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, would have an unusual task in these respects; but we firmly believe that the work could be accomplished with a large measure of success, if the difficulties are frankly faced and the whole work done with a broad spirit of tolerance and wide reliance upon the best scholarship of the day.

47-12-127

While many people would desire an Encyclopaedia of the Negro and would recognize as valid most of the foregoing arguments, yet because the Negro problem is still in such a controversial stage, not only in the United States, but in South Africa and in other places, they would naturally fear that such a work might prove to be a passionate and over-emphasized defense of the Negro; or, on the other hand, a series of articles which, in the endeavor to avoid controversy or personal sensibilities would succeed in saying nothing of real value or enlightenment.

We who are advocating the Encyclopaedia of the Negro recognize these pitfalls clearly and for that very reason are determined to avoid them. The Encyclopaedia will not be designed to "make a case" by neglecting or deriding views merely because they are derogatory; or adopting views that are pleasant or encouraging merely to please. After all the Negro himself would be the chief loser from an encyclopaedia which did not gain the respect of the world of scholarship; and the Negro's interests would be best served by a work so fair, so objective and so thorough that it would be accepted everywhere and for many years to come as the most authoritative source of information.

On the other hand, where there are controversial subjects and where science has spoken no final word, an encyclopaedia should present a fair statement of the present position of the controversy. All encyclopaedias face difficulties of this sort; undoubtedly the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, like the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, would have an unusual task in these respects; but we firmly believe that the work could be accomplished with a large measure of success, if the difficulties are frankly faced and the whole work done with a broad spirit of tolerance and wide reliance upon the best scholarship of the day.

47-12-128

While many people would desire an Encyclopaedia of the Negro and would recognize as valid most of the foregoing arguments, yet because the Negro problem is still in such a controversial stage, not only in the United States, but in South Africa and in other places, they would naturally fear that such a work might prove to be a passionate and over-emphasized defense of the Negro; or, on the other hand, a series of articles which, in the endeavor to avoid controversy or personal sensibilities would succeed in saying nothing of real value or enlightenment.

We who are advocating the Encyclopaedia of the Negro recognize these pitfalls clearly and for that very reason are determined to avoid them. The Encyclopaedia will not be designed to "make a case" by neglecting or deriding views merely because they are derogatory; or adopting views that are pleasant or encouraging merely to please. After all the Negro himself would be the chief loser from an encyclopaedia which did not gain the respect of the world of scholarship; and the Negro's interests would be best served by a work so fair, so objective and so thorough that it would be accepted everywhere and for many years to come as the most authoritative source of information.

On the other hand, where there are controversial subjects and where science has spoken no final word, an encyclopaedia should present a fair statement of the present position of the controversy. All encyclopaedias face difficulties of this sort; undoubtedly the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, like the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, would have an unusual task in these respects; but we firmly believe that the work could be accomplished with a large measure of success, if the difficulties are frankly faced and the whole work done with a broad spirit of tolerance and wide reliance upon the best scholarship of the day.

47-12-129

Reason for an Encyclopaedia of the Negro

What are the reasons for editing and publishing an Encyclopaedia of the Negro? Many persons are doubtful of the present need of such an encyclopaedia. They say that it would increase the sense of racial distinctions rather than lead men to forget them; that it would tend to boasting and over-emphasis on group accomplishment; and that above all, there is not yet a sufficient basis of well-ascertained fact for such an encyclopaedia.

In answer to these suggestions it may be pointed out that in the minds of large numbers of persons, the Negro race today is already set apart as a different and almost sub-human group; that this attitude can be met not by silence but only by setting forth the facts and letting the world know that the essential humanity of the black race is today well attested by facts and authoritative opinion.

Many persons who are aware of this, do not realize how widespread is the ignorance of these facts and their open and confident denial of these facts. Singularly unfortunate and misleading statements appear generally in school text books and even in well-known college text books: the book on CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES written by the first professor of sociology ever appointed at Harvard University says of Negroes "In Africa they had as many chances in the long course of history to create complex forms of culture as the white race had elsewhere and yet nothing has been created." (p. 298) "Excepting, perhaps, a few heavyweight champions and eminent singers, the American Negroes have not up to this time produced a

417-12-130

single genius of great caliber." (p. 298) "It is worthy of notice that the studies of Ferguson, E. B. Reuter, and of some others, have shown that the greater the infusion of white blood into the Negro, the higher is his intelligence quotient." (p. 297)

A widely read American author says concerning the Civil War "The American Negroes are the only people in the history of the world, so far as I know, that ever became free without any effort of their own." (Woodard, MEET GENERAL GRANT)

Beside direct statement of this sort there is continued implication and innuendo. When the communist leader of China reminded Edgar Snow of the treatment of Negroes and American Indians "I pointed out certain great differences in the historical and psychological background of the Negro in America and that of the minor races of Russia." (Edgar Snow, RED STAR OVER CHINA, p. 71)

In a current popular magazine article, Morrison Holliday writes "The black man in the South, 90 per cent of him, at least, belongs to a primitive race barely removed from savagery."

The thirteenth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in its article on anthropology pointed out that the sutures in the heads of Negro children solidify early so that mental development in the race is impossible. The fourteenth edition printed the assertion of a Harvard professor that "colored" members of Southern legislatures during Reconstruction engaged in a "saturnalia of corrupt expenditure." A governor of the African colony of Kenya testified before a Parliament committee with regard to the land question "The African, of course, has no views at all." Current opinion on West Africa would be

417.13-131

astonished to read the resolutions of the Congress of West Africa of 1916.

It is with difficulty that one finds maps of ancient and medieval Africa or allusions to African customs or social life or art save as jokes. Seldom is any distinguished man of Negro blood alluded to or his race mentioned save disparagingly.

There is almost inextricable confusion as to what the word "Negro" means; as to whether Ethiopia was a civilization of black men; as to whether there are any evidences whatsoever of culture and art in Africa. In the recent renewed discussion of race, due to the plight of the Jews in Germany, one notices repeated tendencies to except the Negro race from general statements concerning essential racial equality.

In most cases the persons who make these statements or omit allusions are not motivated by any distinct enmity toward the Negro race or any conscious prejudice. They simply have not themselves carefully studied the situation; their education, formal and social, brought no intimation of anything worth knowing about Negroes; and they cannot, if challenged, easily find authoritative references to which they can turn for information. In the case of the average reader, even when intelligent, or of students in universities, the situation is even more baffling. There is hardly an ordinary question concerning Negroes from discussion of race to a definition of a Negro, a history of African slavery or of present conditions in Africa, to which persons can easily find a clear and intelligent answer upon which they may depend. On the contrary there is hardly a statement made, however extreme, that he may not see advocated or defended by books published by reputable companies and written by well-known authors.

47-12-132

On the other hand our knowledge of the Negro especially in the twentieth century has been greatly increased. Careful studies of the history of the Negro race in Africa and America have multiplied. Investigation in ethnography and anthropology, in ethics and sociology has been made until today there is a fairly well-rounded body of source material and monograph which can give a pretty complete picture of the past and present of the Negro race. But even the intelligent student who is in general aware of this would be hard put to put his hand on authoritative material or to refer to good bibliographies. Public libraries would not generally carry or catalogue such matter and general literature would seldom refer to it.

Our knowledge of the Negro and Africa is not, of course, complete; there are many gaps where further information and more careful study is needed; but this is the case in almost every branch of study. Knowledge is never complete and in few subjects does a time arrive when an encyclopaedia of its knowledge is demanded because no further important information is expected. Indeed the need of an encyclopaedia is greatest when for the sake of further advance and further study there is a distinct need to standardize present knowledge and bring together and set down as a new starting point a clear and orderly statement of what is already known and agreed upon.

Ordinarily such need for accumulating and making definite a body of knowledge would automatically make itself felt. But in some cases and particularly in that of the Negro, there is a certain initial difficulty of prejudice to overcome: why, men ask frankly and honestly, is it necessary to study the Negro? "Africa has no history" as a French professor of Political Economy recently wrote (Guernier, L'AFRIQUE, p. 55). Cannot funds and effort be spent to better account?

47-12-133

There was something of the same prejudice and hesitation when the Jewish Encyclopedia and the Catholic Encyclopedia were planned. The editors of the Jewish Encyclopedia said frankly "Hitherto the difficulties in the way of such an adequate and impartial presentation have been insuperable. Deep-rooted prejudices have prevented any sympathetic interest in Judaism on the part of Christian theologians, or in Christianity on the part of the rabbis." They admitted that there was much yet to be known, much investigation still to be made: "The investigation of the sociological conditions and the anthropology of the Jewish people is even now only in its initial stages. In all directions, the facts of Jewish theology, history, life, and literature remain in a large measure hidden from the world, even from Jews themselves." (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, p. viii) But nevertheless they insisted upon the necessity for "a serious attempt . . . to systematize and render generally accessible the knowledge thus far obtained." (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, p. ix)

The Catholics complained that in the case of many matters in which Catholics were interested "proper answers to the questions proposed are not to be met with in English literature. Even the writings of the intentioned authors are at times disfigured by serious errors on Catholic subjects, which are for the most part due, not to ill-will, but to lack of knowledge."

Both sets of editors recognized the essential difficulty of carrying out an enterprise of this sort: the Jews said "The editors have felt a special sense of responsibility with regard to this work, in which for the first time the claims to recognition of a whole race and its ancient religion are put forth in a form approaching completeness. They had to consider susceptibilities

47-12-134

among Jews and others, and have been especially solicitous that nothing should be set down which could hurt the feelings of the most sensitive." (Jewish Encyclopedia, p. xxi) Yet they proposed to edit such an encyclopaedia "With an exhaustiveness which has never been attempted before - without concealing facts or resorting to apology." (Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, p. xxi)

And the Catholic editors were sure that even "among Protestants the desire for a more intimate and accurate knowledge of things Catholic increases in proportion to the growth of the Church in numbers and in importance."

There is, of course a parallel argument and one in some respects even more forceful, for an attempt today to use the best scholarship of the world in placing before average, intelligent citizens of the world, a carefully considered statement concerning the past and present of the Negro race. It may be said that nothing in the long run would serve better to replace prejudice, indifference and bitter memories, with scientific fact and balanced judgment.

47-12-135

Atlanta, Georgia
January 13, 1939

GUIDE TO PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF TOPICS AND TITLES

I. Cultures of Stone Age Africa:

(Note: A score or more of more or less distinct cultural periods - e.g. for East Africa - Kafuan, Oldowayan, Chellean, - Acheulean, Sangoan, Levalloisian, Kanyukian, Aurignacian, Stillbay, Magosian, Elmentetitan Wilton, etc., etc., - have been distinguished. Would these be treated individually or in a single article with titles in proper place and cross-references added? Should a bibliography be included and, if so, how extensive?

II. Men of Stone Age Africa.

In addition to "Broken Hill Man", which is already listed, there are about twelve or fifteen additional specimens which are about as important as the Broken Hill find. Should these be listed? Should bibliography be included?

III Christian Kingdoms (of Medieval Ethiopia)

1. Axum (or Aksum)
2. Dongola
3. Alwa

Would these be treated individually, or as a group, or under the general topic "Ethiopia"?

IV. Patriarchs of Abunas of the Abyssinian Church.

(Since my original list of topics was sent you I have collected a complete, or nearly so, roster of the above. Some of these would be, in my opinion, worthy of individual treatment. Shall I include some or all of these?

V. Kings of Melle (or Mali)

Most of these were included in my original list, but, since then, several new names have been acquired. Should the article "Melle" include a chronological list of the kings, these new names could be added.

VI. Kings of Bornu (or Kanem-Bornu).

(In my original list only a few of these were included. I now have a rather full roster of these - including both the Sefuwa-Duguwa-Hume Dynasty - 9th century A. D. to 1846; the Kanemiyin Dynasty - 1846 - 1900 and the Bulala Dynasty - 1365 - 1922 A. D. Certain of the rulers of each of these dynasties were great characters, and would merit, in my opinion, individual treatment.

VII. Typical of some other suggested additions

1. Ashanti
2. Caillaud, Frederic - "the father of Ethiopian Archaeology"
3. Candace - title of ancient Ethiopian queens of queen-mothers
4. Christianity in Medieval Ethiopia - title with cross-reference to appropriate article.
5. Islam in Negro Africa - same as above
6. Negroes in Ancient Egypt - same as above
7. Jesuits in Ethiopia - same as above
8. Ahmed Baba - merits individual treatment

* Perhaps better as a separate article; a question which, in my opinion has never been adequately treated.

47-12-241

9. Rattray, R. S. - one of most eminent of recent European students of contemporary African Cultures; approach and findings mark an epoch in approach to study of African societies. Findings and point of view worthy of special article.

10. Leakey, L. S. B. leading European student of African pre-history; has done more than any other to systematize knowledge in this field; merits, in my opinion, special article.

11. Ghana - bibliography may be expanded.

12. Melle - " " " "

13. Songhay - " " " "

14. Hausa - " " " "

15. "Prester John" " " "

16. Bornu " " " "

17. Meroe - listed in prospectus as "ancient African kingdom". Strictly speaking, Meroe was the Greek name of the principal capital of Ethiopia in Classical times, though it is true that by a modern extension the name is sometimes used as a designation of the kingdom of which it was the capital. If, however, "Meroe" is given special treatment apart from "Ethiopia", Meroe's great contemporary and sister city "Napata" (also sometimes called, by extension, the "Kingdom of Napata") might also be made the subject of a special article.

18. The "C-group Culture" - name applied by Reisner to a rather unique and important culture which flourished in the Nubian Nile Valley from about 2500 to about 1500 B.C. Revealed by the great archaeological surveys of Nubia and the excavations of Junker, Steindorff and Griffith between 1907 and 1934. Could be treated, if article is inclusive enough, under the general title "Ethiopia" but if so, title should be listed in proper place with cross-reference. Culture is important enough, however, to merit distinctive treatment.

19. The Kerma Civilization - the most important and highly developed of all early Ethiopian Cultures. Flourished about the same time as the C-group Culture and have certain resemblances to it but was of a higher order; discovered at Kerma in Upper Nubia and site excavated by Harvard-Boston Expedition between 1915 and 1917. One cemetery alone covered over 800 acres. Reisner endeavored to interpret it as an importation from Egypt but Junker and others, including my own studies, have shown Reisner's views to be ill-founded. Because of im-

47-12-242

portance of culture and academic controversies bearing upon its origin, I would recommend that culture be treated in special article.

20. Under the titles "Negro" or "Race", or under some other appropriate title, I would recommend that there should be given systematic and exhaustive treatment of the problems of race-classification with special emphasis on difficultires and uncertainties involved in the attempts to determine "what is a "Negro". It is my opinion that the methodological difficulties, as well as the phylogenetic and historical ramifications and implications of the problem should be stressed. Concrete instances drawn from prehistoric and ancient finds - (for example, ancient Nubian skulls showing no "Negro" or "Negroid" characters in their bonny parts, but clothed with wooly hair; - and, wide-nosed and prognathous skeletons from prehistoric sites in Europe (See illustrations enclosed) and Asia) - as well as from modern clinical and laboratory observations, (e.g., instance where specimens are known to represent crosses between full blooded "Negro" and "Nordic" parents, but with the type - characters of one of the parents completely recessive - i.e., absent) - should be given. Although a certain amount of technical matter would have to be mentioned in such an article, I believe it could be so presented that the import of the discussion could be easily understood by any lay-reader. Such a discussion would do much to clear up much of the confusion (or at least would make more intelligible the problem) which has done so much to confound many of the learned and the laity who have striven to grapple with or to understand the intricacies of race-classification.

47-12-243

GUIDE TO PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF TOPICS AND TITLES

I. Cultures of Stone Age Africa:

(Note: "A score or more of more or less distinct cultural periods - e.g. for East Africa - Kafuan, Oldowayan, Chellean, Acheulean, Sangoan, Levalloisian, Nanyukian, Aurignacian Stillbay, Magosian, Elmentetitan Wilton, etc., etc., - have been distinguished." Would these be treated individually or in a single article with titles in proper place and cross-references added? Should a bibliography be included and, if so, how extensive? Hansberry

Copy + insert under Stone age p. 137

II. Men of Stone Age Africa.

"In addition to "Broken Hill Man", which is already listed, there are about twelve or fifteen additional specimens which are about as important as the Broken Hill find. Should these be listed? Should bibliography be included? Hansberry

III. Christian Kingdoms (of Medieval Ethiopia)

1. Axum (or Aksum)
2. Dongola
3. Alwa

Would these be treated individually, or as a group, or under the general topic "Ethiopia"?

IV. Patriarchs or Abunas of the Abyssinian Church.

(Since my original list of topics was sent you I have collected a complete, or nearly so, roster of the above. Some of these would be, in my opinion, worthy of individual treatment. Shall I include some or all of these?

47-12-8

V. Kings of Melle (or Mali)

Most of these were included in my original list but, since then, several new names have been acquired. Should the article "Melle" include a chronological list of the kings, these new names could be added.

VI. Kings of Bornu (or Kanem-Bornu).

(In my original list only a few of these were included. "I now have a rather full roster of these - including both the Sefuwa-Duguwa-Hume Dynasty - 9th Century A. D. to 1846; the Kanemiyin Dynasty - 1846 - 1900 and the Bulala Dynasty - 1365 - 1922 A.D. Certain of the rulers of each of in these dynasties were great characters, and would merit, in my opinion, individual treatment." Hansberry

Insert under Bornu p. 22

VII. Typical of some other suggested additions

1. Ashanti
2. Caillaud, Frederic - "the father of Ethiopian Archaeology"
3. Candace - title of ancient Ethiopian queens or queen-mothers
4. Christianity in Medieval Ethiopia - title with cross-reference to appropriate article.
5. Islam in Negro Africa - same as above
6. * Negroes in Ancient Egypt - same as above
7. Jesuits in Ethiopia - same as above
8. Ahmed Baba - merits individual treatment

* Perhaps better as a separate article; a question which, in my opinion, has never been adequately treated.

A 119

9. Rattray, R.S. - " one of most eminent of recent European students of Contemporary African Cultures; approach and findings mark an epoch in approach to study of African societies. Findings and point of view worthy of special article." Hansberry

A 89

10. Leakey, L. S. B.- leading European student of African pre-history; has done more than any other to systematize knowledge in this field; ~~merits, in my opinion, special article.~~ Hansberry

11. Ghana - bibliography may be expanded.

12. Melle - " " " "

13. Songhay- " " " "

14. Hausa - " " " "

15. "Prester John" " " " "

16. Bornu " " " "

17. Meroë - listed in prospectus as "ancient African kingdom". Strictly speaking, Meroe was the Greek name of the principal capital of Ethiopia in Classical times, though it is true that by a modern extension the name is sometimes used as a designation of the kingdom of which it was the capital. If, however, "Meroe" is given special treatment apart from "Ethiopia", Meroë's great contemporary and sister city "Napata" (also sometimes called, by extension, the "Kingdom of Napata") might also be made the subject of a special article.

47-12-9

A 30

18. ~~The~~ "C-group Culture" - "name applied by Reisner to a rather unique and important culture which flourished in the Nubian Nile Valley from about 2500 to about 1500 B.C. Revealed by the great archaeological surveys of Nubia and the excavations of Junker, Steindorff and Griffith between 1907 and 1934." ~~Could be treated, if article is inclusive enough, under the general title "Ethiopia" but if so, title should be listed in proper place with cross-reference. Culture is important enough, however, to merit distinctive treatment.~~ Ethiopian Hansberry

A 84

19. ~~The~~ Kerma Civilization - " the most important and highly developed of all early Ethiopian Cultures. Flourished about the same time as the C-group Culture and have certain resemblances to it but was of a higher order;" discovered at Kerma in Upper Nubia and site excavated by Harvard-Boston Expedition between 1915 and 1917. One cemetery alone covered over 800 acres. Reisner endeavored to interpret it as an importation from Egypt but Junker and others, including my own studies, have shown Reisner's views to be ill-founded. Because of im- Hansberry

portance of culture and academic controversies bearing upon its origin, I would recommend that culture be treated in special article.

20. Under the titles "Negro" or "Race", or under some other appropriate title, I would recommend that there should be given systematic and exhaustive treatment of the problems of race-classification with special emphasis on difficulties and uncertainties involved in the attempts to determine "who is a "Negro". It is my opinion that the methodological difficulties, as well as the phylogenetic and historical ramifications and implications of the problem should be stressed. Concrete instances drawn from prehistoric and ancient finds - (for example, ancient Nubian skulls showing no "Negro" or "Negroid" characters in their boney parts, but clothed with wooly hair;- and, wide-nosed and prognathous skeletons from prehistoric sites in Europe ~~(See illustrations enclosed)~~ and Asia) - as well as from modern clinical and laboratory observations, (e.g., instance where specimens are known to represent crosses between full blooded "Negro" and "Nordic" parents, but with the type - characters of one of the parents completely recessive - i.e., absent) - should be given. Although a certain amount of technical matter would have to be mentioned in such an article, I believe it could be so presented that the import of the discussion could be easily understood by any lay-reader. Such a discussion would do much to clear up much of the confusion (or at least would make more intelligible the problem) which has done so much to confound many of the learned and the laity who have striven to grapple with or to understand the intricacies of race-classification.

Hamaberg

105

01-12-47

03)

1

41-125-1

A LIST OF

TWO THOUSAND AND EIGHTY-ONE SUBJECTS

WHICH MIGHT BE TREATED BY AN

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO

selected by

W. E. B. Du Bois

April 1, 1940

41-12E-2

FOREWARD

In 1936 and 1937, I prepared two lists of proposed subjects for an Encyclopadia of the Negro. This was revised again by Dr. Rayford Logan and myself in 1938. In 1939, Dr. Guy Johnson and his wife made a supplementary list of some two thousand entries. From all these efforts I have made the present selection and combination.

The following proposed subjects for an Encyclopaedia of the Negro are by no means intended to be definitive. They are merely a last series of suggestions. They contain one thousand and twenty main topics indicated by capital letter and one thousand and sixty-one subsidiary subjects which it is suggested are to be distributed among and included under the main subjects.

Here immediately there can be endless difference of opinion; some will think this or that subsidiary subject ought to be main topics, and that some of the main topics should be included under general entries. It must be remembered that this is but the opinion of one person, helped with suggestions of a few others. It is subject to wide change according to the judgment of a competent editorial board. Naturally, no one person can be expert on the multitudinous subjects here included.

There is especially a grave question as to whether all the subjects or even most of them can be treated adequately without a division of the body of the work into sections dealing separately with Africa, the United States, the West Indies and South America. I had thought to supplement this list by another made in accordance with such geographical sections, but I doubt if this would be worth the time at pr - sent.

There are a great many obvious omissions, some of which are deliberate. I have included, for instance, only a few of the names of the great explorers. I think they should be all comprehended in a general article under the exploration of Africa. In the same way I have tried to avoid the more or less unconscious assumption of so many persons that the history of white folk in Africa is the history of the Africans. For this reason the names of many administrators and of students of Africa have not been included. In the case of the latter, however a list of those students who have made the greatest contributions to our knowledge of Africa is being compiled separately. I am also making a revised estimate of the division of space in the four proposed volumes which these subjects may be planned to occupy.

Finally, let me repeat that the object of this compilation is simply to emphasize the fact that the subjects which an Encyclopaedia of the Negro may treat are many and interesting in number, and of vital importance to the understanding of the modern world.

W. E. B. DuBois

April 1, 1940

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO

PROPOSED SUBJECTS TO BE TREATED

Selected by
W. E. B. Du Bois
April 1, 1940

Aberdeen, Lord
see Abolition

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY
Movement in United States
England
West Indies
France
South and Central America

ABORIGINES RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY

Abraham
see Seminole Wars

Abu Ishak Ibrahim Kononir
see Spain, Negro in

Abunas, Patriarchs of the Abyssinian Church
see Abyssinia

ABYSSINIA

Acclimatization
see Climate

ACCULTURATION

ACCUMULATION
Acquisition
Share of national wealth
Thrift

Achievement tests
see Psychology

Achimota College, Gold Coast, Africa
see Education in Africa

Acquired characteristics
see Race

41-12E-4

ACTORS

Adams, Charles Francis
see Reconstruction

Adams, James H., governor of South Carolina
see Slavery

Adams, John
President of the United States
see Slavery

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY
President of the United States

Adaptation
concept of social theory
process in American slavery, etc.
see Negroes, Cultural Development of

Administration of Justice
see Crime and Courts

Administration, Public
Negroes in
see Civil Service

Adolescence, ceremonies of, cultural factors, etc.
see Negroes, Cultural Development of
Rituals and Ceremonies
Race
Education

ADOPTION

Adowa, (or Adua), battle of
see Abyssinia

Adult Education
see Education

Adultery
see Sex Mores

AEGEAN CIVILIZATION

AFRICA, HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF

AFRICAN CULTURES

African Inland Mission
see Missions

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH

Africans
see Race
Tribes
History of

AFRIKANDERS, WHITES OF SOUTH AFRICA

Afro-Malaysian types
see Races

Agassiz, Louis
Theory of origin of races
see Races

AGE CLASSES, AFRICA

AGGREY, JAMES E. K.
Negro educator

Agrarian Movement
see Populist Movement

Agricultural Education
see Education

Agricultural Schools
see Education

AGRICULTURE IN AFRICA
cacao
cassava
cloves
coco-nuts
coffee
cotton
fruit
ginger
kaffir corn
kola nuts
millet
oil palms
palm products
piassava
rubber
sesame
sisal
sugar
tea
tobacco
wheat
cultivation methods
labor
livestock
cattle
goats
hides and skins
collective farming and improvement
compulsory production
cooperative societies
plantation system
soil conservation

41-12E-5

41-125-9

Agriculture
see Occupation, United States
West Indies
Africa

AHMED BABA

Akan, linguistic and ethnical group of Gold Coast
see Tribes

AKELEY, CARL ETHAN, 1864-1926
Explorer, writer and sculptor

ALABAMA, NEGRO IN

Alcohol
Effect on Negroes
see Race

ALCORN, JAMES LUSK
Reconstruction governor of Mississippi

ALDRIDGE, IRA
Negro actor

Algeria

Allain, Theophile
state senator of Louisiana
see Reconstruction

ALLEN, RICHARD
Founder of A. M. E. Church

Almohades, African Mohammedans

Almoravides, African Mohammedans

Alves, Castro, Brazilian poet of the slaves

Alpha Kappa Alpha, Negro college sorority
see Fraternities and Sororities

Alpha Phi Alpha, Negro college fraternity
see Fraternities and Sororities

Alpine type
see Race

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers
see Trade Unions

Amalgamated Clothing Workers
see Trade Unions

Amalgamated Foundry Helpers and Employees
see Trade Unions

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen
see Trade Unions

Amalgamation
see Intermarriage
Race Mixture

Amazons, see Dahomey

AMENDMENTS, CONSTITUTIONAL
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

American Baptist Publication Society
see Baptist Church

American Bible Society
see Church, Christian

American Child Health Association
see Social Work
Health

American Church Institute for Negroes
see Church, American Episcopal

American Civil Liberties Union
see Civil Rights

American Colonization Society
see Colonization

American Convention, Abolitionist Societies
see Abolition

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

American Legion
see Military Service

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

American Negro Academy
see Organizations

American Negro Labor Convention
see Trade Unions

41-12E-8

American Party, Know Nothing Party
see Political Parties

American Railway Union
see Trade Unions

American Revolution
see Military Service

American Social Hygiene Association
see Social Work

American Sunday School Union
see Church

American Tract Society
see Church

American Woodmen
see Organizations

ARMISTAD, THE

AMO, ANTONY WILLIAM

AMUSEMENTS
see Sports

Anatomic Index
see Race

Anatomy
see Race

ANCESTRAL CULT AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP, IN AFRICAN TRIBES

ANDAMAN, (INDIA)
see Asia, Negroes in

Andrada, Jose Benifacio da, see Brazil

ANDERSON, BENJAMIN
Explorer

ANDERSON, MATTHEW
Negro Presbyterian preacher

Andrew, James Osgood
Bishop of the M. E. Church
see Church

ANDREW, JOHN A.
Governor of Massachusetts

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

VI-12E-9

ANGOLA, Portuguese colony in Africa

Anguilla
see British West Indies

ANIMAL LIFE

ANIMALS, DOMESTICATED

Animism
see Religion

Cafe Antar
Negro poet of Arabia

The Antelope Case
see Slave Trade

ANTHONY, SUSAN B.
Nineteenth century liberal

ANTHROPOLOGY
see Race

Anthropometry
see Anthropology

Anti-Slavery
see Abolition

Anti-Slavery Societies
see Abolition

Antigua, British West Indies
see West Indies

Antilles, Negroes of the
see West Indies

Antoine, C. C.
Negro state senator and lieutenant governor of Louisiana
see Reconstruction

Appleton, Nathaniel
see Abolition

Appointments, public
see Civil Service

Apportionment of school funds
see Education

Apprentice system
see Slavery
Abolition

01-3214

ARABS, IN AFRICA

ARCHAEOLOGY

Archer, John R.
Negro mayor of Battersea (England)
see England, Negro in

ARCHITECTURE

Ardouin, Beaubrun
see Haiti

Ardouin, Caligni
see Haiti

ARGENTINA, NEGROES IN

Argyll, Duke of
Eighth Duke, see abolition

Aristocracy
see Social Classes

ARISTOTLE

ARKANSAS, NEGRO IN

Arms, Right to bear
see Military Service

ARMSTRONG, SAMUEL CHARMAN

ARNETT, BENJAMIN W.
State legislator and bishop

Arrest
see Crime

Arrow, African fetish
see Religion

ART, AFRICAN

ART, AMERICAN NEGRO

ART FORMS

Arthur, Chester Allen
see Politics, Negro in

Artigas, Jose
see Uruguay

ARTISANS

Aryan
see Race

ASBURY, FRANCIS (Bishop)

ASHANTI, GOLD COAST, AFRICA

ASIMUN, JEHUDI
Agent of American Colonization Society

Asiatics
see Arabs
Indians
Asia, Negro in

ASIENTO
Contract to supply slaves

ASKIAS, KINGS OF THE SONGHAI

Assembly, Right of
see Civil Rights

ASSIMILATION, SOCIAL

Athletics
see Sports

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTIC CULTURE, AFRICAN

Atlantis
A legendary island in the Atlantic Ocean
see Atlantic Culture

Attitudes, Social and Racial
see Psychology

ATTUCKS, CRISPUS
Negro leader in the Boston Massacre

Auctions, Slave
see Slavery

Auditory sensitivity
see Psychology

Augusta, alexander T.
Lieutenant-colonel and surgeon, U. S. C. T., Seventh Regiment

Auguste, Tancrede
see Haiti

41-123-12

Augustine, St.
see Church

Aunt Sally, Negro author
see Literature, American Negro

Austin, Stephen
Pioneer colonizer in Texas
see Slavery

AUSTRALIA, NEGRO IN

Automobile Industry, Position of Negro labor in
see Occupations
Trade Unions

Aviation
see Occupations

Axe, as shrine in African tribes
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Axum
see Abyssinia

Aycock, Charles B.
see North Carolina

Ayers, Eli
see Colonization
Liberia

Ayllon, Luis Vasques de
Early Spanish explorer in America
see Explorers, Negro

Bachman, John, theorist on origin of races
see Race

Back-to-the-Land Movements
see Education
Migration
Occupations

Bacon, Thomas
Pioneer educator of Negro slaves
see Education

Baez, Buenaventura
see Dominican Republic

Baghirmi people
see Tribes

Bahamas
see British West Indies

Bahia, province of Brazil
see Brazil

BAHR-EL-GHAZAL

Balboa, Vasco Nunez de
see Explorers, Negro

Baldwin, Abraham, of Georgia
see Slavery

Baldwin, Maria H.
Negro principal of Agassiz School, Cambridge, Massachusetts
see Education

BALDWIN, WILLIAM H.
American philanthropist

Ball, Charles
see Literature of American Negro

Ballot
see Enfranchisement and Disfranchisement

Ballou, Adin
Anti-slavery agitator
see Abolition

Banana Plantations, Negro labor on
see Occupations

Bancroft, Edgar Addison
Chairman of Chicago Race Riot Commission
see Race Riots

Banderas, Cuban patriot of 1906 revolution
see Cuba

Banks, General N. P.
see Reconstruction
Louisiana

Banks, Negro
see Capitalism and Credit

BANNEKER, BENJAMIN, mathematician, clock-maker and compiler of almanacs

Bannister, E. M.
Painter
see Art, American Negro

BANTU
History
Chieftainship
Customs
Government
Racial fusion in

Baptism, Birth Customs
see Rituals and Ceremonies

BAPTIST CHURCH

Barbados
see British West Indies

Barbuda
see British West Indies

Bares, Basil, Negro composer
see Music

Bargaining Power, freedom of contract, etc.
see Trade Unions
Occupations
Emancipation

Barley, Gamaliel
Anti-slavery agitator
see Abolition

Barnes, Albert, writer on Biblical views on slavery
see Abolition

Barranquilla, Negro population of
see Colombia

BAROTSELAND

BARTH, HEINRICH, explorer in Africa

Basic metabolism
Relation to racial differences
see Race

Basketry
see Occupations
Handicrafts

BASSETT, EBENEZER
American minister to Haiti and educator

Bassett, John Spencer
Editor and historian
see White South

41-12E-14

41-12E-15

Bastaard Hottentots
Dutch-Hottentot crossing, South Africa
see Miscegenation

BASUTOLAND

Batalla, Didoro
see Mexico

Baths, Public
see Civil Rights

Baxter, Richard
see Abolition

Bayley, Solomon
see Liberature of American Negro

Beadwork
see Handicrafts

Beard, Andrew J.
see Inventors, Negro

BEARD, AUGUSTUS FIELD
Secretary American Missionary Association

Beauty Culture, occupation for American Negro women
see Occupations

BECHUANALAND, PROTECTORATE, see
South Africa

Beckett, William Wesley
Bishop A. M. E. Church
see Church, Negro

Beecher, Edward
Anti-slavery worker and friend of Elijah P. Lovejoy
see Abolition

BEECHER, HENRY WARD

Beecher, Lyman
First president of Lane Seminary
see Education

Beecher-Stowe, Harriet W.
see Stowe, Harriet Beecher

Beer, among African tribes
see Rituals and Ceremonies
Alcohol

41-12F-6

BELGIAN CONGO
History
Health services
Industrial and Commercial Concerns
Kasai region
Katanga region
Kivu area
Ruanda-Urundi
Land
Mines
Missions
Native administration
Railways
Taxation
Tribes
Colonial Policy

Bell, James Madison, poet and lecturer
see Literature of American Negro

Belligerency
see Civil War

BENEDICT THE MOOR
Roman Catholic Negro saint

Benefit Societies
see Social Uplift
Insurance

BENEZET, ANTHONY
Philanthropist, anti-slavery worker

BENHANZIN, King of Dahomey

BENIN, African West Coast

Benton, Thomas Hart, Senator
see Abolition

BERBERS

Berkeley, Bishop
On religious instruction of slaves
see Missions
Church

BERLIN CONFERENCE, 1884-1885

Bermuda
see British West Indies

BETHUNE, THOMAS (Blind Tom)
Musician

41-121-17

Betrothal
see Marriage

Biassou, Haitian revolutionary leader
see Haiti

Bibb, Eloise A.
Negro poet
see Literature, American Negro

Bibb, Henry, slave autobiographer
see Literature, American Negro

BIBLE IN THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY

Bills of Rights and the Negro
see Civil Rights

Biochemical differences, theories concerning effect on racial differences
see Race

Biology, racial differences, etc.
see Race

BIRNEY, JAMES G.
Abolitionist

Birth Control
see Population

Birth Customs
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Birth Rates
see Population

Bituminous Coal Industry
see Trade Unions

Black Belt
see Population

Black Booking
see Motion Pictures, Negroes in

Black Buddhas,
see Asia, Negroes in

BLACK CODES

Black Irish of Jamaica
see Jamaica

41-12E-18

Black, Leonard
slave autobiographer
see Literature, American Negro

Black Magic
see Folklore
Superstition
Voodoo

Black Nuns
see Catholic Church and the Negro

Black Virgins
see Art, Negro in

Blacklist, Labor
see Trade Unions

Blackshirts, secret organizations usually opposed to Negro labor
see ~~Occupations, Negro~~ Organizations, Anti-Negro

Blacksmiths
see Iron in Africa
Occupations

Blackstone, Sir William
English jurist
see England, Negro in

Blackwell, George Lincoln
Bishop A. M. E. Zion Church
see Church

Blackwell, Henry Brown
see Abolition

BLAINE, JAMES G., American politician

Blair, Austin
Advocate of Negro suffrage
see Enfranchisement and Disfranchisement

Blair, Francis Preston
Opponent of extension of slavery
see Abolition

Blair, Lewis H.
see Literature of American Negro

Blanc, Antoine
see Catholic Church and the Negro

BLAND, JAMES A.
Negro composer

Bledsoe, Albert Taylor
pro-slavery advocate
see Slavery

Blood Accusation
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Blood Groups
Racial Significance
see Race

BLOOD KINSHIP

Blount, J. H.
see Arkansas, Negro in

Blumenbach, J. F.
Anthropologist of nineteenth century
see Color of Negro
Race

BLYDEN, EDWARD WILMOT
Liberian diplomat, scholar and educator

BOAS, FRANZ
Anthropologist

Bodin, Jean
French political philosopher and opponent of slavery
see Abolition

BOERS

BOER WAR

Boisneuf, Rene
Member of the French Chamber of Deputies
see France, Negroes in

Boisrond-Canal
see Haiti

BOLIVAR, SIMON, South American revolutionary leader

BOLIVIA, NEGROES IN

Boot and Shoe Industry
see Matzeliger, Jan E.

41-12E-20

Booth, John Wilkes
Assassin of President Lincoln
see Civil War
Lincoln, Abraham

Booth, Mary Louise
Translator of anti-slavery books
see Abolition

Bore, Jean Etienne
sugar planter
see Louisiana, Negro in

BORGU, African kingdom

BORNEO, island of Malay Archipelago

BORNU

BOTHA, GENERAL LOUIS, Boer leader
see South Africa

~~BOUSHMAN HOTTENTOTS~~
~~see Bushmen~~

Botts, John Minor
Reconstruction politician in Virginia
see Virginia
Reconstruction

Boucher, Jonathan
necessity theory of slavery
see Slavery

Boukman
see South Africa
Haiti

Boulden, Jesse F.
Mississippi state legislator
see Mississippi, Negro in

Bourgeoisie, Negro
see Social Development of the Negro, 1900-40

Bowditch, Henry Ingersoll
abolitionist
see Abolition

BOWEN, JOHN W. E.
Theologian

Bowles, Charles
Negro minister of Free Will Baptist
see Church, Negro

Boxing
see Sports

Boycott
see Trade Unions

Boyd, Henry
manufacturer
see Cincinnati, Negro in

BOYD, RICHARD HENRY
Clergyman

BOYER, JEAN PIERRE, president of Haiti

Boy Scouts
see Organizations
Negro in Youth Movements

Bradley, James
Negro author
see Cincinnati, Negro in

Braga, Francisco
see Brazil

Brahmanism
see Caste

Brain
see Race

Brandeis, L. D.
see Supreme Court and the Negro

Branding, Slave
see Black Codes

Brass Casting
see Handicrafts
Africa

BRAWLEY, BENJAMIN G.
Negro professor and author

Brawley, B. M.
college president
see Baptist Church

BRAZIL

l.c. BRAZZA, PIERRE DE, French explorer of the Congo
see Explorers

Brent, Linda
slave autobiographer
see Literature of American Negro

Bride-Price, Customs surrounding
see Marriage

Bride Purchase
see Marriage

BRIDGETOWER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS
violinist

Briggs, George Norton
see Abolition

Bright, John
English statesman Great Britain
see Civil War, ~~England~~ and

Brisbane, Albert
see Social Reform and Slavery

Brissot, J. P. (de Warville)
French statesman and abolitionist
see Abolition in France

British and Foreign anti-Slavery society
see Abolition in England

BRITISH CHARTERED COMPANIES

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH
Race Policy

British East Africa
see Kenya

British East Africa Company

BRITISH GUIANA

BRITISH HONDURAS

British Mandated Areas
see Cameroons
Togoland
Southwest Africa

41-12F-22

VI-12 F-22

British Protectorates
see Swaziland
Bechuanaland
Basutoland
Barotseland

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY
see British Chartered Companies

BRITISH SOMALILAND, British protectorate in Africa

British Togoland
see Togoland

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

BRITISH WEST INDIES

Broadnax, W. H.
Virginia legislator opposed to slavery
see Abolition

Broken Hill Man
see Anthropology

BRONZE IN AFRICAN CULTURE

Brooks, Phillips
Episcopal bishop and reformer
see Social Development of the Negro, 1876-1900

Brother
various concepts among African clans
see Kinship

Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees
see Trade Unions

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
see Trade Unions

Brougham, Lord
English statesman and abolitionist
see Abolition movement in England

Brown, Henry Box
slave autobiographer
see Literature, American Negro

Brown, Jeremiah A.
Ohio State legislator
see Politics, Negro in

BROWN, JOHN
Abolitionist and leader of slave insurrection

Brown, John Mifflin (Bishop)
see A. M. E. Church

Brown, Bishop Morris
see A. M. E. Church

Brown, William G.
Negro superintendent of school in Louisiana
see Louisiana, Negro in

BROWN, WILLIAM WELLS
Negro historian

BROWNE, W. W.
Founder of True Reformers Bank

Brownlow, William Garnaway
Governor of Tennessee
see Reconstruction
Tennessee

Brownsville Riot
see Military Service of Negroes
Riots, Anti-Negro

BRUCE, BLANCHE KELSO
Negro United States Senator from Mississippi

BRUSSELS CONVENTION

Bryan, Andrew
Early Negro preacher
see Church, Negro

Buchanan, George
anti-slavery leader
see Abolition

BUCHANAN, JAMES
President of the United States

BUDDHISM AND THE NEGRO

Buffum, Arnold
anti-slavery lecturer
see Abolition

BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

Building Trades
see Artisans, Negro

BULL OF DEMARKATION

Bulwer, Lytton
English abolitionist
see Abolition in England

Burgess, Ebenezer
agent of the American Colonization Society
see Colonization

Burglary
see Crime and Courts

Bridal Customs
see Rituals and Ceremonies

BURIAL SOCIETIES
African and American
see Rituals and Ceremonies
Insurance

Burke, Edmund
British essayist and commentator on slave society
see Abolition in England

Burleigh, Charles Calistus
abolitionist
see Abolition

Burleigh, George Shepard
abolitionist
see Abolition

BURLEIGH, HARRY T.

Burleigh, William Henry
abolitionist
see Abolition

BURLIN, NATALIE CURTIS
student of Negro music

Burling, William
early anti-slavery writer
see Abolition

BURNS, ANTHONY

Burrill, James
Congressman from Rhode Island and opponent of slavery
see Abolition

Burritt, Elihu, advocate of gradual emancipation
see Abolition

Bulwer, Lytton
English abolitionist
see Abolition in England

Burgess, Ebenezer
agent of the American Colonization Society
see Colonization

Burglary
see Crime and Courts

Bridal Customs
see Rituals and Ceremonies

BURIAL SOCIETIES
African and American
see Rituals and Ceremonies
Insurance

Burke, Edmund
British essayist and commentator on slave society
see Abolition in England

Burleigh, Charles Calistus
abolitionist
see Abolition

Burleigh, George Shepard
abolitionist
see Abolition

BURLEIGH, HENRY T.

Burleigh, William Henry
abolitionist
see Abolition

BURLIN, NATALIE CURTIS
student of Negro music

Burling, William
early anti-slavery writer
see Abolition

BURNS, ANTHONY

Burrill, James
Congressman from Rhode Island and opponent of slavery
see Abolition

Burritt, Elihu, advocate of gradual emancipation
see Abolition

Burrus, James
see Education

Burrus, John H.
college president
see Education

Bushmen
see Races of Africa

BUSH NEGROES
see Dutch Guiana
South America

Bush Schools, African
see Education, African

BUSINESS AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES

Business Education
see Education

BUTLER, GENERAL BENJAMIN
American Civil War and Reconstruction leader

BUTTRICK, WALLACE
Educator

Buxton, Sir Thomas Powell
English abolitionist
see Abolition in England

Cabarets and Night Clubs
see Amusements

Cabeza de Vaca
Spanish explorer of America
see Estevanico

Cabinda
see Portuguese Africa

CABLE, GEORGE W.
author of American Negro life

CACAO, COCOA

Caco uprising
see Haiti

Cain, Richard H. (Daddy)
South Carolina State legislator, college president
see Reconstruction, South Carolina

Cajun
reputed descendants of Acadian French
see Louisiana

Cake-walk
see Art, Negro
Music, Negro

41-12 F-26

Calabar, source of American slaves
see Geography of Africa

CALHOUN, JOHN C.

CALIFORNIA, NEGRO IN

CAILLIE, RENE
see explorers in Africa

Calvinism
effect of theology on slavery

Cam, Diogo
see Explorers in Africa

CAMEROONS, BRITISH MANDATE
French Mandate
German

Camp Fire Girls
see Organizations, Negroes in

Campbell, John
author of Negro Mania
see Trade Unions

Campbell, John
Congressman from South Carolina, slavery advocate
see Slavery, Literature in defense of

Campbell, Robert
Negro author
see Geography of Africa

Camphor, Bishop Alexander P.
see Church

CANADA

Canal Zone
see Panama Canal

CANARY ISLANDS

Candace, title of Ethiopian queens and queen mothers
see Ethiopia

CANNIBALISM, Africa

Canning, George
English statesman
see Abolition in England

VI-12 E 27

41-12E-27

Calabar, source of American slaves
see Geography of Africa

CALHOUN, JOHN C.

CALIFORNIA, NEGRO IN

CAILLIE, RENE
see explorers in Africa

Calvinism
effect of theology on slavery

Cam, Diogo
see Explorers in Africa

CAMEROONS, BRITISH MANDATE
French Mandate
German

Camp Fire Girls
see Organizations, Negroes in

Campbell, John
author of Negro Mania
see Trade Unions

Campbell, John
Congressman from South Carolina, slavery advocate
see Slavery, Literature in defense of

Campbell, Robert
Negro author
see Geography of Africa

Camphor, Bishop Alexander P.
see Church

CANADA

Canal Zone
see Panama Canal

CANARY ISLANDS

Candace, title of Ethiopian queens and queen mothers
see Ethiopia

CANNIBALISM, Africa

Canning, George
English statesman
see Abolition in England

Canning Industry
see Occupations

Cannon Law
see Crime and Courts

CAPE COLONY

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

Capers, William
author of Short Catechism for the use of Colored Members on Trial in the M. E. Church in South Carolina
see Missions

Capital Punishment
see Crime and Courts

CAPITALISM IN AFRICA

CAPITALISM AND AMERICAN NEGROES

CAPTALISM IN WEST INDIES

CAPITRIN, JAMES M. J.
classic scholar

Card Games
see Amusements

CARDOZA, FRANCIS L.
Reconstruction leader in South Carolina, educator

CAREY, LOTT
Baptist preacher and agent of the American Colonization Society

Caribbean Sea

Caribs

Carlyle, Thomas
English essayist and pro-slavery theorist
see Abolition in England

CARNEGIE, ANDREW
American philanthropist

Carnivals
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Carpenters
see Artisans

Carpet-baggers
see Reconstruction

VI-12E-28

Carr, James Dickson
assistant corporation counsel, New York City
see Civil Service, Negro in

Carthage

Cartwright, Samuel R.
Southern doctor and writer on theories of racial origin
see Race

Carvalho, Rodriques de
Brazilian writer on Negro folklore
see Brazil

CARVER, GEORGE WASHINGTON
see Tuskegee Institute

CASAS, BISHOP DE LAS
see Slave Trade

Cass, Lewis
see Slavery Controversy

CASTE
see Social and Economic Classes

Castlereagh, Lord
see Abolition in England

Casualty Insurance
see Insurance

Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People (United States)
see Catholic Church and the Negro

CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE NEGRO

CATHOLIC MISSIONS, Africa
America

CATTLE

Catto
see Literature of American Negro

CENSUS

CENTRAL AMERICA, NEGROES IN

Cephalic Index
see Race

Ceremonies
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Cespedes, Carlos Manuel de
see Cuba

CETEWAYO

Chace, Elizabeth Buffum
anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition in the United States

41-12E-30

l.c. CHAILLE-LONG, CHARLES
see Exploration of Africa

CHAKA, African chieftain and warrior

Chalkley, Thomas
Quaker
see Abolition in the United States

CHAMBERLAIN, D. H.
Reconstruction governor of South Carolina

Chamberlain, Joseph
English Imperialist
see England in Africa

Chambers, Robert
English scientist and writer on racial origins
see Race

Channing, William E.
clergyman and abolitionist
see Abolition

Channing, William Henry
anti-slavery worker
see Abolition

Chapman, Maria W.
abolitionist
see Abolition in the United States

CHARITABLE TRUSTS, for benefit of slaves, etc.

Charlemagne
see Haiti

Charleston Insurrection (1821)
See Vesey, Denmark

Charms
see Superstition

Chartered Companies in Slave Trade
see British Chartered Companies

Chartism
see Abolition in England

CHASE, SALMON P.
American statesman

Chase, William Calvin
editor
see Newspapers

Chastity
see Marriage

Chavannes, Jean Baptiste
see Haiti

CHAVIS, JOHN
Presbyterian minister and ante-bellum teacher of white children

Cheatham, H. P.
Congressman from North Carolina
see Politics, Negro in

Chemical Industries
see Occupations

Cha

CHESNUTT, CHARLES WADDELL
American Negro writer

Cheyney State College

Chicago Commission on Race Relations
see Race Riots

Chicago Race Riot, 1919
see Race Riots

Chieftainship, role in African Culture
see Tribal Government

Child Labor
see Occupations
Children

CHILD, LYDIA MARIA
Abolitionist

CHILDREN
status and training in Africa
America

CHILE, NEGRO IN

Chinese-Negro crossing
see Miscegenation

41-12F-32

Chocolate Industry
see Industry, Negroes in

CHRISTIAN LEADERS IN AFRICA, NATIVE

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY (see Missions)

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NEGRO

Christianity in Africa
see Catholicism, Missions, Jesuits

Christianity in Medieval Ethiopia
see Abyssinia

Christian Science
see Church

CHRISTOPHE, HENRI ~~(Henri I)~~
Haitian revolutionary general and king

Christy, David
anti-slavery writer
see Abolition

Christy's Minstrels
see Minstrels, Negro

Chronology theory in controversy over origin of races
see Race

CHURCH IN AMERICA, NEGRO
In Africa, Native

Church Mission Society
see Missions

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE NEGRO

Church of Scotland Mission
see Missions, Christian

CHURCH AND SLAVERY

Cicatrization
see Personal Adornment

Cigar Makers International Union
see Trade Unions

CINEMA IN AFRICA

CINQUE, JOSEPH
Leader of slave mutiny on L'Amistad

Circumcision, ceremonial
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Citadelle, La
of Christophe

CITIZENSHIP

CITY

CITIES OF AFRICA
see Native Locations

CITIES, AMERICAN
with largest Negro population
New York
Chicago
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
New Orleans
Detroit
Birmingham
Memphis
St. Louis
Atlanta
Cleveland
Houston
Pittsburgh
Richmond
Jacksonville
Cincinnati
Louisville
Indianapolis
Norfolk
Nashville

Civic Centers
see Urbanization of Negro

Civic Organizations
see Urbanization of Negro

Civil Law
see Civil Rights

Civil Liberties
see Civil Rights

CIVIL RIGHTS

CIVIL SERVICE
see Administration
Politics

CIVIL WAR, THE AMERICAN

CLAN ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION IN AFRICA
avoidances
history
membership
oath
secrets
settlement
territorial
totem, etc.
see Family

41-12 E-34

Clapperson, Hugh
explorer

CLARK, PETER H.

Clark, William Thomas
Texas "Carpet-bagger"
see Reconstruction
Texas

CLARKSON, THOMAS
English abolitionist

Class Legislation
see "Jim Crow" legislation

CLASSES, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

CLAVER, PETER
Catholic missionary among Negroes

Clay, Cassius M.
abolitionist
see Abolition

CLAY, HENRY
American politician

Clayton, Powell
Governor of Arkansas
see Reconstruction
Arkansas

CLEMENS, SAMUEL LANGHORNE
(Mark Twain)

Clement, George C.
Bishop A. M. E. Zion Church
see Church, Negro

Clemente, Pereira, Jose
Brazilian abolitionist
see Brazil

Clerical Occupations
see Occupations
"White-Collar" jobs

Cleveland, Grover
President of the United States
see Politics, Negroes in

CLIMATE
see Race

Clinics and Dispensaries
see Health, Negro

Clinton, Bishop George Wylie
see Church, Negro

Closed Shop
see Trade Unions

Clothing Industry
see Occupations

Clubs, Political
see Organizations
Politics, Negroes in

Clubs, Social
see Social Life

Coal Industry
see Occupations

Cobb, Howell
see Reconstruction

Cobb, T. R. R.
authority on the law of slavery
see Black Codes

l.c. Cocoa, see Cacao

CORBDEN, RICHARD
English liberal

Cockfighting
see Amusements

CODE NOIR
French slave code

Code, Slave
see Black Codes

Codes, Industrial
see N. R. A.

Codrington, Christopher
founder of Codrington College
see Jamaica, British West Indies

Coeducation
see Education

Coffee Plantations, etc.
see Industry, Negro in

Coffin, Joshua
Quaker leader and anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

COFFIN, LEVI
Underground railroad worker

Cohen, Walter L.
political leader
see Politics, Negro in

Coke, Thomas
Methodist bishop
see Church, Negro in

COKER, DANIEL

Colbert, Jean Baptiste
author of French Code Noir of 1685
see Code Noir

Cole, Robert Allen
actor
see Theatre, Negro

Coleman, Benjamin
see Abolition

COLERIDGE-TAYLOR, SAMUEL
English Negro composer

Colfax, Richard M.

Collective Bargaining
see Trade Unions

COLLEGES, AFRICAN
Fort Hare
Fourah Bay
Makerere
Yobi Higher

COLLEGES, NEGRO AMERICAN

COLOMBIA, NEGRO IN

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION
agriculture
imports and exports
finance
health and medicine
judiciary
labor
land
roads
transport
taxation

Colonial Slavery
see Slavery

COLONIZATION

COLOR LINE OR COLOR BAR

Color Prejudice
see Color Line

COLORADO, NEGROES IN

Colored Alliance
Populist organization
see Populist Movement

Colored Merchants Association
see Business, Negro

COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Colored Methodist Protestant Church
see Church, Negro
Colored Primitive Baptists
see Church, Negro

41-12 F. 3

Columbia University studies
see Reconstruction

Commerce and slave trade
see Slave Trade

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Southern
see Interracial Movement

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION
see Congress for Industrial Organization

Common Carrier
see "Jim Crow" legislation

COMMON LAW, ENGLISH
status of Negro in

Common Law Marriage
see Marriage

COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO

Communities, Negro
see Negro Towns
Locations

Company Unions
see Trade Unions

Competition, Negro-white, etc.
see Industry, Negro in

Compounds, African native village
see Villages, African

Comte, Auguste
theory of types of man
see Race

Concessions
see Industry, Negro in
Capitalism

C NCUBINAGE

Conformity to American culture, etc., Negro
see Acculturation of the Negro

CONGO BASIN TREATIES

Congo Free State
see Belgian Congo

Congregation of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament
for Indians and Colored people
see Catholic Church

Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Family
see Catholic Church

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

CONNECTICUT, NEGRO IN

Conner, A. J.
Negro composer
see Music

Conner, Bishop James M.
see A. M. E. Church

Conscience in anti-slavery theory, The doctrine of
see Abolition

Consecration Ceremonies
see Rituals and Ceremonies

CONSPIRACIES, SLAVE

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
Position on slavery

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS, STATE
on Negro question

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW
on Negro Rights

CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF SLAVERY

CONSTITUTIONS, STATE
on Negro

CONSTRUCTION IN INDUSTRY
see Industry, Negro in

Consular Service, Negroes in
see Civil Service
Politics, Negroes in

CONTESTED ELECTIONS, UNITED STATES CONGRESS

CONTRABAND OF WAR
Slaves in Civil War

CONTRACT LABOR

CONTROL, SOCIAL
and Negro groups

Convention Movement, The Negro
see Organizations

Conversion, Religious
see Religion

CONVERSION OF SLAVES
see Religion
Slavery

CONVICT LABOR

COOKING
African
African traditions in America
American Negro
West Indian

Coolidge, Calvin
President of the United States
see Politics, Negro in

Cooper, Thomas
South Carolina professor and pro-slavery advocate
see Slavery Controversy

CONSUMERS CO-OPERATION, NEGRO

COPTIC CHURCH

COPPIN, FANNY J.
Educator

Coppin, Bishop Levi Jenkins
see Church, Negro

Corbin, Joseph C.
Reconstruction politician and state school superintendent in Arkansas
see Reconstruction
Arkansas

Coronado, Spanish explorer
see Exploration of America

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT
Prisoners
Slaves

41-12 E-40

Corporations, Negro
see Business, Negro

Cortes, Hernando
conqueror of Mexico
see Exploration of America

COSTA RICA, NEGRO IN

Costume
see Dress

COTTON

Council, William Hooper
college president
see Education

Courts
see Crime and Courts

Cox, Hannah Pierce
anti-slavery worker
see Abolition

Craft, William and Ellen
famous runaway slaves
see Fugitive Slaves

CRANDALL, PRUDENCE
educator

Craniology
position on theories of race
see Race

CRAVATH, ERASTUS M.
educator and college president

Credit, Agricultural
see Agriculture

CREOLE, THE
slave ship

CREOLES

Crespo, Goncalves
see Brazil

CRETE, NEGRO IN

41-125-42

Crete-a-Pierrot
famous battle
see Haiti

CRIME AND COURTS

Croatan Indians, Mixed blood group in North Carolina
see Race mixture

Crocodile in African culture
see Rituals and Ceremonies

CROGMAN, W. H.
educator

Cromwell, John W.
historian and educator
see Organizations

CROWTHER, BISHOP SAMUEL ADJAL
British West Africa

Crum, William
Collector of port of Charleston
see Politics, Negro in

CRUMMELL, ALEXANDER
scholar and educator

Cruze Souza, Negro poet
see Brazil

CUBA, NEGRO IN

Cudjo, one of the last slaves brought to the United States
see Slave Trade

CUFFEE, PAUL
religious leader, pioneer, colonizer
advocate of Negro political rights

CUGOANA, OTTABAH

CULTS, AFRICAN
see group and membership

CULTURES AND CULTURE AREAS
in Africa
America

CUNEY, NORRIS WRIGHT
Texas legislator

CURACAO
Dutch Caribbean Island

CURRY, JABEZ LAMAR MONROE
educator

Curse of Canaan
Bible and slavery

Curtis, James L.
Minister to Liberia
see Politics, Negro in

Cycle of rites
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Dabney, Robert L.
Virginia professor and pro-slavery theorist
see Slavery Controversy

DAHOMEY, FRENCH OLONY IN WEST AFRICA

Dalcho, Frederick
South Carolina clergyman and early (1823)
defender of slavery
see Slavery Controversy

Damballa, Haitian loa
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Dana, James
anti-slavery writer
see Abolition

DANCE, NEGRO

Dancy, John C.
Recorder of Deeds, Washington, D. C.
see Politics, Negro in

Darien, Georgia
Resolutions, early (1775) anti-slavery resolutions
see Slavery Controversy

Dartiguenave, Sudre
see Haiti

Darwin, Charles
see Race

Davis, Daniel Webster
Negro poet
see Literature of American Negro

41-12E-44

DAVIS, JEFFERSON
President of the Confederacy

Day, Thomas
Free Negro cabinet maker and designer of the daybed
see Artisans, Negro

Day Nurseries, Negro
see Children

Dead, Cult of
see Ancestor Worship

Deaf, Negro
see Health

Dean, Jenny
founder of Manassas Industrial School
see Education

DEATH CUSTOMS

Death Penalty given Negroes
see Crime and Courts

Death Rates
see Health

DeBow, J. D. B.
leader of pro-slavery school in lower South, editor
see Slavery Controversy

DEBS, EUGENE
American socialist leader
see Trade Unions

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
Effect on slavery question

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN (France)
Effect on slavery

Dede, Edmund
Negro composer
see Music

Degrasse, Dr. John V.
surgeon in the United States Army
see Military Service

Deities
see Religion

DELAFOSSE, MAURICE

DELAGADO, MORUA
Cuban political leader
see Cuba

DELANEY, MARTIN ROBINSON
Negro colonizer and surgeon, United States Army

DeLarge, R. C.
Congressman from South Carolina
see Reconstruction
South Carolina

Delamere, Lord
see Kenya

DELAWARE, NEGRO IN

Delta Sigma Theta
Negro college sorority
see Fraternities and Sororities

DEMOCRACY

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Deng, Cult of
see Cults

Denominational Schools, Negro
see Education

Denominationalism
see Church

Dental Schools
see Education

Dentistry
see Occupations

Department Stores and Negro Trade
see Boycotts

DEPENDENCY, NEGRO

DEPRESSION, EFFECT ON AMERICAN NEGRO

DERHAM, JAMES
physician

Derricotte, Juliette
see Social Development of the Negro

41-12 E-46

Des Moines Training Camp for Negro Officers during World War
see Military Service

DESABLE, JEAN BAPTISTE
pioneer settler of Chicago

Desertion, Family
see Family

DESERTS IN AFRICA

DESSALINES, JEAN JACQUES
Haitian revolutionary general

Detribalization in Africa
see Tribes

Dew, Thomas Rederick
pro-slavery writer
see Slavery Controversy

DIAGNE, BLAISE
Senegalese member of the French Chamber of Deputies

DIALECTS, NEGRO

Diamond Industry
see Industry, Negroes in

Diaz, Bartholomew
Portuguese explorer of African coast
see Exploration

Diaz, Henrique
leader of revolt against Dutch in Brazil
see Brazil

Diaz, Goncalvez, Brazilian poet
see Brazil

DICKINSON, ANNA
abolitionist
see Abolition

DIET

Dingaan's Day
December 16 celebrated in interior of South Africa
see South Africa

Dirk
South African half-breed
see South Africa

Discrimination
see "Jim Crow" legislation
Race prejudice
Color Line

Disease
see Health

Dispensaries and clinics
see Health

Cafe District of Columbia, Negro in

Divination
see Religion

Divine, Father
see Religion

DIVORCE
American Negroes
West Indians
Africa

Dixon, George
Pugilist
see Sports

Dockstader, Lew
black-faced minstrel
see Minstrels, Negro

Dodds, General
French mulatto general
see France, Negroes in

Domestic Relations Courts
see Marriage

Domestic Science
home economics
see Education

Domestic Servants
see Occupations

Domestic Slave Trade
see Slave Trade

Dominican Republic

Dominque, Michel
president of Haiti

Dongola,

4/1-12 F-48

Douglas, Stephen A.
see Lincoln, Abraham

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK

Douglass, William
minister of African Protestant Church, Philadelphia
see Episcopal Church

Dow, Neal
anti-slavery worker
see Abolition

Downing, George W.
business man
see Social Development of the Negro

Drama, Negro
see Theatre, Negro in

Drayton, John
South Carolina historian and defender of slavery
see Slavery Literature

Dred Scott
see Supreme Court and Slavery

DRESS
Africans, slaves, American Negroes, West Indieans

DRUM, AFRICAN

DRUMS
Musical instrument of Negroes

Dry cleaning industry
see Industry, Negro in

Dual Control in Africa
see Indirect Rule in Africa

Dube, John
see Education in Africa

DUBUCLET, ANTOINE
Treasurer of Louisiana

Du Chaillu, Paul Belloni
see Exploration in Africa

Duke bequests
see Philanthropy and the Negro
North Carolina, Negro in

DUMAS, ALEXANDRE FILS
France

DUMAS, ALEXANDRE, PERE
France

DUNBAR, PAUL LAURENCE
American poet

DUNBAR-NELSON, ALICE

Duncanson, R. S.
Negro painter
see Painters, Negro

DUNN, OSCAR J.
lieutenant-governor of Louisiana

Dunning, William A.
Columbia University professor
founder of a point of view on Reconstruction History
see Reconstruction

duPont, Pierre S.
gift for Negro education in Delaware
see Education
Delaware

DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Dutch Guiana, see Surinam

Dwellings
see Housing

ECOLOGY, HUMAN

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN WEST INDIES

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO IN UNITED STATES

ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, NATIVE AFRICAN

ECUADOR, NEGRO IN

EDUCATION

EDUCATION IN AFRICA

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

EDUCATION IN THE WEST INDIES

~~Edward Waters College~~
~~Jacksonville, Florida~~
~~see Education~~

EDWARDS, BRYAN
English historian of the Caribbean

Edwards, Jonathan
position on slavery
see Abolition

EGYPT AND THE NEGRO RACE

Eleko
see Lagos, British West Africa

EL IDRISI

Elie-Dubois
see Haiti

Eliot, John
early New England anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

ELKS
Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World

Elliott, Bishop Stephen
theological defender of slavery
see Slavery and the Church

ELLIOTT, ROBERT BROWN
Congressman from South Carolina

Ellis, George Washington
lawyer, sociologist, author
see Literature of American Negro

EMANCIPATION

Embree, Edwin R.

Embree, Elihu
abolitionist
see Abolition

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO

Emmett, Daniel Decatur
one of originators of minstrels
see Minstrels, Negro

Emotion, expression of
see Race

Encomiendo system
see Slavery

Endocrine theory
see Race

Endogamy
see Marriage

ENFRANCHISEMENT AND DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGROES

ENGLAND, NEGRO IN

Entomology
contribution to theories of race
see Race

l.c. ENTVICKELUNGSPSYCHOLOGIE
see Race
Psychology

ENVIRONMENT, EFFECT ON NEGRO

Capo Episcopal, Protestant, Church and Negro

Epidemics
see Health

Equal Rights League
see Organizations, Negro

EQUALITY AND RACE CONFLICT

ERITREA

Erythraean Culture, Africa
see Cultures of Africa

ES-SADI, ABDERRAHAMAN
historian of Songhai

Espirito Santo
province of Brazil
see Brazil

Estes, Matthew
author
see Slavery Literature

41-125-52

ESTEVANICO
explorer with early Spaniards in America

ETHIOPIA

ETHIOPIAN CHURCH
see Coptic Church

ETHNOGRAPHY

ETHNOLOGY

ETIQUETTE
African tribal
American Negro
West Indian

Eubanks, Henry J.
member Ohio Legislature
see Politics, Negro in

EUGENICS

EUROPE, NEGRO IN

Europe, James Reese
band leader
see Music

EUROPE AND AFRICA

EUROPEANS IN AFRICA

Evangelism
see Missions

EVANS, HENRY
Free Negro Methodist preacher
see Church, Negro

EVOLUTION
influence of theory on racial origins concept

EXPLORATION IN AFRICA

l.c. EXOGAMY
see Marriage

Exorcism
see Magic and Superstition

41-12E-53

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS, AFRICA

Extra-marital Relations
see Marriage
Sex Mores

Eye diseases in East Africa

FABLES
see Folklore
Falashas see Jews, Negro
FAMILY
African Native
Negro American
West Indian

Fanti, African Gold Coast
see Tribes

FARM TENANCY, United States
South Africa

Farmers
see Agriculture

FASHODA

Faulkner, Charles J.
Virginia legislator opposed to slavery
see Slavery Literature

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Federalist, The
position on slavery
see Slavery Controversy
Madison, James

Fee, John G.
education
see Abolition
Education

Feijo, Father Diogo Antonia
see Brazil

Felicio dos Santos, Joaquim
see Brazil

Ferguson, S. D.
Bishop of Episcopal Church
see Liberia

FERNANDO PO
Spanish Island off coast of Africa

Ferriera de Menezes, Jose
co-worker of Jose de Patrocinio
see Brazil

Fertility
see Demography

Fessenden, Samuel
abolitionist
see Abolition

FESTIVALS AND CARNIVALS

FETICHISM

Fields, Al
originator of Negro minstrels
see Minstrels, Negro

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

FIFTY-FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS NEGRO REGIMENT
United States, Civil War

FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT

Fillmore, Millard
President of the United States
see Slavery Controversy

Finley, James B.
Methodist preacher, anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

Finley, Robert
organizer of the American Colonization Society
see Colonization

Finney, Charles G.
anti-slavery "compromise" leader
see Abolition

Fisher, Rudolph
author
see Literature, American Negro

Fishing
see Industry, Negro in

FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville, Tennessee

Fitzhugh, George
early sociologist and defender of slavery
see Slavery Controversy

Fletcher, John
slavery advocate and author of Studies on Slavery
see Slavery Controversy

Flipper, Lieutenant Henry O.
see Military Service of Negro

FLORIDA, NEGRO IN

Flowers, Tiger
pugulist
see Sports

FOLKLORE

Follen, Charles
abolitionist
see Abolition

Follen, Eliza Lee Cabot
abolitionist
see Abolition

FOOD AND COOKING

Foote, Andrew Hull
Naval officer active in suppressing the slave trade
see Slave Trade

Foraker, Joseph B.
senator from Ohio
see Politics, Negro in

FORCED LABOR

Ford, Gordon Lester
abolitionist
see Abolition

Foreign Slave Trade
see Slave Trade

FORESTS

Forten, Charlotte L.
Negro author
see Literature, American Negro

FORTEN, JAMES
wealthy free Negro

FORTIFICATIONS of African villages

FORTUNE, T. THOMAS
Editor and author

Foster, Abby Kelly
abolitionist
see Abolition

FOSTER, STEPHEN COLLINS
composer

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Fox, Charles James
English statesman and abolitionist
see Abolition in England

FOX, GEORGE
Quaker leader and opponent of slavery
see Abolition

FRANCE, NEGRO IN

FRANCE IN AFRICA

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES, COLLEGE

Free Issues
group of mixed blooded people in South Carolina
see Free Negroes

FREE NEGROES

FREE SOIL PARTY

FREEDMAN AID SOCIETIES

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS BANK

Freedom of Speech
see Slavery Controversy

Freedom's Journal, first Negro newspaper in United States
see Newspapers

Freeman, G. W.
Episcopal minister and author
see Slavery literature

Freeman, Ralph
Negro Baptist preacher of North Carolina in ante-bellum period
see Negro preachers

FREMONT, GENERAL JOHN C.

French Cameroons,
see Cameroons

French Equatorial Africa
see France in Africa

French Guiana
see Guiana

FRENCH LITERATURE, NEGRO IN

FRENCH SOMALILAND

French Togoland
see Togoland

French West Africa
see France in Africa

FRISSELL, HOLLIS B.
Educator

Free, Arthur G.
Recorder of Deeds, Washington, D. C.
see Politics, Negro in

Frothingham, Octavius Brooks
abolitionist
see Abolition

FUGITIVE SLAVES
see Maroons

Fulani
see Tribes

Fula, West Africa
see Tribes

41-12E-58

Fuller, Timothy
anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

Funeral Customs
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Furness, William Henry
abolitionist
see Abolition

Furniss, H. W.
Minister to Haiti
see Politics, Negro in

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

Gag rule for anti-slavery petitions in Congress
see Slavery Controversy

Gaines, Wesley John
church leader
see A. M. E. Church

Gaines Case
see Education

Gallet, Lucians
director of the National Institute of Music, Rio de Janerio
see Brazil

Galvao, Trajano
see Brazil

Gama, Jose Basilia da
see Brazil

Gama, Luiz (Luiz Gonzaga Pinto de Gama
see Brazil

Gama, Vasco da
Portuguese explorer
see Exploration

Gambia
see British West Africa

Gambling
see Crime and Courts

Gammon, Elijah Hedding
philanthropist
see Education

41-12E-59

Ganga Zumba
see Brazil

Gannett, Ezra Stiles
abolitionist
see Abolition

Gans, Joe
pugilist
see Sports

Garfield, James A.
President of the United States
see Politics, Negro in

GARNETT, HENRY HIGHLAND
historian, abolitionist and educator

Garrett, Thomas
abolitionist
see Abolition

GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD
editor and abolitionist

GUADELOUPE, FRENCH WEST INDIES

Geffrard, Fabre
see Haiti

GUATEMALA

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

GENEVA SLAVERY CONVENTION

Genius, relation to race
see Race

Genius of Universal Emancipation
anti-slavery newspaper
see Abolition

GEOGRAPHY OF AFRICA

GEORGE, HENRY
economist, reformer

GEORGIA, NEGRO IN

GEOLOGY OF AFRICA

41-12E-59

Ganga Zumba
see Brazil

Gannett, Ezra Stiles
abolitionist
see Abolition

Gans, Joe
pugilist
see Sports

Garfield, James A.
President of the United States
see Politics, Negro in

GARNETT, HENRY HIGHLAND
historian, abolitionist and educator

Garrett, Thomas
abolitionist
see Abolition

GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD
editor and abolitionist

GUADELOUPE, FRENCH WEST INDIES

Geffrard, Fabre
see Haiti

GUATEMALA

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

GENEVA SLAVERY CONVENTION

Genius, relation to race
see Race

Genius of Universal Emancipation
anti-slavery newspaper
see Abolition

GEOGRAPHY OF AFRICA

GEORGE, HENRY
economist, reformer

GEORGIA, NEGRO IN

GEOLOGY OF AFRICA

41-12E-60

Georgia State Industrial College
Industrial College, Georgia
see Education

German Cameroons
see Cameroons

German East Africa
see Tanganyika

German Southwest Africa
see Southwest Africa

German Togoland
see Togoland

GERMANY IN AFRICA

Ghosts
see Superstition

Gibbons, Abigail Hopper
abolitionist
see Abolition

GIBBS, JONATHAN
Florida politician
state school superintendent

Gibbs, Mifflin Wistar
see Politics, Negro in

GIDDINGS, JOSHUA R.
abolitionist

Giles, Harriet E.
educator
see Education

Gilpin, Charles S.
actor
see Theatre, Negro in

Girl Scouts
see National Organizations, Negroes in

Gladstone, William E.
English statesman
see Great Britain and the Civil War

Gleaves, Richard H.
South Carolina Reconstruction politician
see Reconstruction

GLEN GREY ACT, South Africa

Goat industry in Africa
see Industry, Negro in

GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR DE
philosopher and theorist on racial origin

Godkin, E. H.
liberal editor
see Social development of the Negro

Gods
see Religion

GOLD COAST, British West Africa

GOLDEN STOOL OF BENIN

Goler, William Harvey
Negro educator
see Education

Gomez, Jose Miguel
see Cuba

Gomez, Juan Gualberto
see Cuba

GOMEZ, SEBASTIAN
painter

GOMPERS, SAMUEL
American labor leader
see Trade Unions

Goncavez, Antam
Portuguese slave trader
see Slave Trade

Gonads, relation to race
see Race

GONGA MOUSA, King of Songhai

Goodell, William
anti-slavery author
see Abolition

Goodloe, Daniel R.
Southern abolitionist
see Abolition

GORDON, GEORGE WILLIAM
Jamaica Negro leader

Gordon, Henry and Sarah
wealthy free Negro caterers
see Philadelphia

Grady, Henry W.
apostle of "The New South"
see Social Development of the Negro, 1876-1900

Grandchildren
status and taboos in African culture
see Family

GRANT, ULYSSES S.
President of the United States

Grantham's Case, Sir Thomas

Grayson, W. S.
Southern writer on ethical defenses of slavery
see Slavery Literature

Grayson, William J.
South Carolina writer and pro-slavery advocate
see Slavery Controversy

GREAT BRITAIN
colonial Advisory Council
Colonial Development Act
Colonial Development Fund
Grants, Colonial
Colonial Office
Colonial Policy
High Commission Territories
Colonial Secretary of State
Colonial Service
Exports of Africa
Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad
Imperial Institute
Imports from Africa

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CIVIL WAR

GREAT BRITAIN IN AFRICA

GREAT TREK

Great Revival
effect on anti-slavery movement, etc.
see Abolition

GREELEY, HORACE
editor and politician

41-12 E-62

Green, Beriah
abolitionist
see Abolition

Green, J. D.
fugitive slave autobiographer
see Literature, American Negro

GREENER, RICHARD T.
First colored graduate of Harvard
scholar, educator

Greenfield, Elizabeth Taylor
singer
see Music

Greeting
ceremony of in African tribes
see Rituals and Ceremonies

GREGOIRE, ABBE
French abolitionist

GRENADA, BRITISH WEST INDIES

Grimke, Angelina
white anti-slavery leader
see Abolition

GRIMKE, ARCHIBALD HENRY
lawyer, author

GRIMKE, REVEREND FRANCIS J.

Grimke, Sarah Moore
see Abolition

Griquas
South African half-castes
see Tribes

Groves vs. Slaughter
see Slavery and the Courts

Growth, Negro
racial differences
see Race

GUIANA, BRITISH
~~see Surinam~~

GUIANA, DUTCH

GUIANA, FRENCH

49-321-14

GUADALOUPE, FRENCH WEST INDIES

GUATEMALA, NEGRO IN

Guillaume Same, Jean V.
see Haiti

Gullah, dealect of seacoast Negroes of South Carolina and Georgia
see Negro dialect

~~Gur, an African Gold Coast language~~
~~see Language~~

Gurley, Ralph Randolph
agent of the American Colonization Society
see Colonization

Habeas Corpus in slave law
see Slavery and the Courts

Habersham, James
advocate of introduction of slavery into Georgia
see Slavery Controversy

Hackley, Emma Azalea
singer
see Music

Hair, in Anthropology
see Race

Hairdressing among Negroes

HAITI

Hale, John P.
Free-Soil leader
see Abolition

Half-castes
see Race Mixture

HALL, PRIMUS
Free Negro advocate of abolition
see Abolition

HALL, PRINCE
Founder of American Negro masonry

HALLOWELL, RICHARD PRICE
abolitionist
see Abolition

41-12 F-65

Hamburg Riot
see Race Riots
Reconstruction

Hamilton, Alexander
see Race Mixture

Hamites
see Tribes

Hamitic Culture, Africa
see Cultures of Africa

HAMMON, JUPITER
poet
see Literature, American Negro

HAMMOND, JAMES HENRY
South Carolina political leader and
pro-slavery advocate
see Slavery Controversy

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
Hampton, Virginia

Hampton, Wade
restorer of white rule in South Carolina
see Reconstruction in South Carolina

HANDICRAFTS
African
American

HAND, DANIEL
philanthropist

HANDY, WILLIAM C.
originator of the Blues

HANNIVALON, GENERAL ABRAM

Haralson, Jere
Congressman from Alabama
see Reconstruction

Hard, Gideon
New York Congressman and anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

Harding, Warren G.
President of the United States
see Social development of the Negro

41-12E-66

HARE, MAUD CUNEY
Musician

Harlan, Robert
Ohio State legislator

Harmon Awards
see Social Development of the Negro

HARPER, FRANCIS E. W.
poet

Harper, William A.
South Carolina author of pro-slavery essays
see Slavery Controversy

HARRIS, JOEL CHANDLER
author of "Brer Rabbit" stories

Harrison, Benjamin
President of the United States
see Social Development of the Negro

HARRISON, RICHARD B.
(De Lawd)
actor

Hart, William H. H.
Negro lawyer
see Lawyers

Hartzell, Joseph Crane
Missionary bishop
see M. E. Church

HAUSA

Haven, Gilbert
Abolitionist
see Abolition

HAWAII

HAWKINS, SIR JOHN
slave trader

Hawkins, William
slave trader
see Slave Trade

HAYDEN, LEWIS
Negro Masonic leader of Massachusetts

Hayden, William
Negro autobiographer
see Literature, American Negro

41-12 E-67

Hayes, Rutherford B.
President of the United States
see Reconstruction

HAYFORD, CASELY
educator

Hayne, Robert Y.
South Carolina Congressman and pro-slavery leader
see Slavery Controversy

HAYNES, LEMUEL B.
Revolutionary soldier, preacher

Hazard, Thomas
abolitionist
see Abolition

Head of household in African Culture
see Tribal and Clan government
Family

Headmen
see Chiefs

Healing, Religious concept in African and American religious cults of
see Disease
Health
Religion

HEALTH, AMERICAN NEGRO

HEALTH AND DISEASE IN AFRICA
Congresses
blackwater fever
epidemics
leprosy
malaria
mental disorder
parasitic worms
pellagra
plague
relapsing fever
sleeping sickness (trypanosomiasis)
tuberculosis
venereal disease
yellow fever

41-12E-68

HEALTH SERVICES IN AFRICA
native medical assistants
native nurses
Rockefeller Foundation, International Health Division
hospitals
missions, medical work
private practice
research in Africa

Heard, William H.
Minister to Liberia
see A. M. E. Church

Hearn, Lafcadio
see Race Mixture

Hecker, Friedrick Karl Franz
anti-slavery worker
see Abolition

HELPER, HINTON R.
author

Hemmenway, James
Negro composer
see Music

Hemmenway, Mary Porter Tileston
philanthropist
see Philanthropy and the Negro

Henry, Patrick
opposition to slavery
see Abolition

HENRY, PRINCE ("The Navigator")

~~Honeaquas (or Hessiquas)~~
~~tribe of Hottentots~~
~~see Tribes~~

HENSON, JOSIAH

Hepburn, John
early anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

~~Herald of Freedom, The~~
~~Negro newspaper, 1855~~
~~see Newspapers~~

Herard, Charles
see Haiti

HEREAUX, ULISES
see Dominican Republic

HEREDITY

HERNDON, A. F.
Business man and capitalist

HERODOTUS ON EGYPTIANS AND NEGROES

Hides Industry
see Industry, Negroes in

HIGGINSON, COLONEL THOMAS W.
anti-slavery advocate

HIGH COMMISSION TER ITORIES IN AFRICA, BRITISH
see Protectorates

Hildreth, Richard
historian and anti-slavery writer
see Abolition

Hill, Edwin
Negro composer
see Music

Hill, John Leubrie
actor
see Theatre, Negro in

HINDUS, IN AFRICA

Hippocrates, theory of racial types
see Race

Hippolyte, F. M. F.
see Haiti

Hippopotamus in African folklore
see Rituals and ceremonies

HISTORICAL TRADITION IN AFRICA

Hoe in African culture
see Agriculture in Africa

HOGARTH, GEORGE
Negro editor

41-12E-26

Holcombe, William H.
advocate of perpetual slavery
see Slavery Controversy

Holland, Justin
Negro composer
see Music

HOLLY, JAMES THEODORE
Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Holmes, Oliver Wendell
Justice of the United States Supreme Court
see Supreme Court and the Negro

Holsey, Bishop Lucius Henry
see C. M. E. Church

Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons, Philadelphia
see Philadelphia, Negro in

HOMICIDE

Homosexuality
see Marriage
Sex Mores

HONDURAS, NEGRO IN

HOOD, JAMES WALKER
Bishop in the A. M. E. Z. Church

HOOKWORM in Africa
America
see Health

HOPE, JOHN
educator and college president

Hopkins, Moses Aaron
Minister to Liberia
see Politics, Negro in

Hopkins, Pauline E.
Negro fiction writer
see Literature of American Negro

HOPKINS, SAMUEL
one of the first Congregational ministers to denounce slavery

41-12E-71

Hopper, Isaac Tatem
abolitionist
see Abolition

Horton, George M.
poet
see Literature of American Negro

HOSPITALS
see Health and Disease

HOTTENTOTS
see Races of Africa

HOUSING, American Negro
West Indies
Africa

Houston Riot
see Race Riots

Hovey, Charles F.
educator
see Education

Hovey, George Rice
educator

HOWARD, GENERAL O. O.
Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees,
Freedmen and abandoned Lands

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Washington, D. C.

HOWE, JULIA WARD
abolitionist

Howe, Samuel Gridley
abolitionist
see Abolition

Hudson, Richard B.
Negro religious leader
see Church, Negro

HUGO, VICTOR

Human Rights theory in racial ideology
see Race

Hume, David
Scottish philosopher and theorist on racial origin
see Race

41-12E-72

Hurd, J. C.
lawyer and author
see Slave Codes

HURST, BISHOP JOHN

Husband
see Marriage
Sex Mores

Huts, types of African
see Housing

HYBRIDS
theories concerning development of racial ideologies
see Intermarriage
Race

Hyman, John A.
Congressman from North Carolina
see Reconstruction in North Carolina

Hysteria
types of among Africans
American Negroes
see Health and Disease
Psychology

IBN BATUTA (ABU ABDULLAH MAHOMMED)
historian of African kingdoms

IBN KHALDUN
Arabian philosopher

~~Ibos~~
~~Negro tribe from interior of West Coast Africa~~
~~see Tribes~~

Ibrahim Pasha
conqueror of the Sudan
see Sudan

Ife, see Nigeria

Illegitimacy
see Marriage
Birth

ILLINOIS, NEGRO IN

Illiteracy
see Education

U-12E-73

IMMIGRATION: effect on Negro in Africa
South America
United States

IMPERIALISM

Imports into Africa
see Exports and Imports, Africa

Inbreeding, racial significance
see Race

Incision, African ceremony
see Rituals and Ceremonies

INDENTURED SERVANTS

INDIA, NEGRO IN

INDIANA, NEGROES IN

INDIANS IN AFRICA
Belgian Congo immigration policy
indentured labor of
Kenya
South Africa
Tanganyika
Uganda
Zanzibar

INDIANS, AMERICAN

INDIRECT RULE IN AFRICA

Industrial Schools
see Education

Industrial Workers of the World
see Trade Unions

INDUSTRY, NEGROES IN

Infant Mortality
see Children

Infanticide
see Children

Inferiority
concept of and racial significance
see Race

Insanity
see Health and Disease
Psychology

Institute for Colored Youth
see Cheyney State College

INSURANCE AND NEGROES

INSURANCE COMPANIES, NEGRO

INSURRECTIONS, SLAVE

Intelligence, racial significance
see Race

Intelligence Quotient
summary of experimental work
see Race
Intelligence tests

INTELLIGENCE TESTS

INTERMARRIAGE
see also Race Mixture

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

INTERNATIONAL LAW, STATUS OF SLAVERY IN

INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT, United States
South Africa

INTERSTATE COMMERCE CLAUSE
effect on slave law
see Fugitive Slaves

Interstate slave trade
see Slave Trade, Interstate

INVENTORS, NEGRO

IOWA, NEGRO IN

Iredell, James
North Carolina jurist and opponent of slavery
see Slavery Controversy

IRON AND IRON WORKERS IN AFRICA

Islam
see Mohammedanism

41-12 E. 24

Issaco (companion of Mungo Park
see Mungo Park

Copo Italian Ethiopia

Copo Italian Somaliland

ITALY AND AFRICA

IVORY

IVORY COAST, AFRICA

Jackson, Andrew
President of the United States
see Slavery Controversy

Jackson, James Caleb
abolitionist
see Abolition

Jackson College
Jackson, Mississippi
see Education

Jackson, Peter
pugilist
see Sports and Athletics

Copo Jamaica, British West Indies

JaMESON, LEANDER STARR

Jamison, Roscoe C.
see Literature, American Negro

Janssens, J., General
Dutch governor, Cape Colony
see Cape Colony

Janvier, Louis Joseph
Haitian historian

JAPAN EXPORTS TO AFRICA

Jasper, John
popular preacher
see Negro Preachers

JAVA, NEGRO IN

Jay, John
American statesman

41-12F-76

JAY, WILLIAM
abolitionist

Jeanes, Anna T.
philanthropist
see Negro and philanthropy

JEANNES SCHOOLS, Africa
America

Jeanette, Joe
pugilist
see Sports and Athletics

JEFFERSON, THOMAS
President of the United States

Jenkins, Edmund T.
musician
see Music

Jequitinhonha, Viscount de (Francisco de Acayaba de Montezuma)
~~Brazilian abolitionist~~ see Brazil

Jesuits
see Catholic Church and the Negro

JEWS, NEGRO (Falashas)

Jew-Negro relationships

"JIM CROW" LEGISLATION

JOHANNES, EMPERIOR OF ABYSSINIA

John Canoe
Negro dance custom
see Folklore, Negro

"John Henry"
legendary railroad worker
see Folklore, Negro

JOHNSON, ANDREW
President of the United States

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY
Charlotte, North Carolina

Johnson, Edward Augustus
historian
see Literature, American Negro

Johnson, Henry Lincoln
politician
see Politics, Negro in

Johnson, John Albert (Bishop)
see A. M. E. Church

Johnson, Oliver
anti-slavery leader
see Abolition

Johnstone, Abraham
author
see Slavery Controversy

JOHNSTON, SIR HARRY
African explorer, author

Joint Committee on Recovery
see N. R. A.

JONES, ABSOLOM
pioneer Churchman

Jones, Charles Colcock
southern minister
see Church, Negro

Jones, Joshua H.
Bishop A. M. E. Church

Jones, Sisieretta ("Black Patti")
singer
see Music

Jones, Thomas H.
slave autobiographer
see Literature, American Negro

Julian, George Washington
abolitionist
see Abolition

Juvenile delinquency
see Children
Crime and Courts

Kaffir
see Tribes

Kagwa, Apolo
Prime Minister of Uganda

Kanem
see Bornu

41-125-78

KANSAS, NEGRO IN

KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

Keckley, Elizabeth
Negro biographer and modiste of Mary Todd Lincoln
see Literature, American Negro

Keith, George
see Missions

KEMBLE, FANNY

KENTUCKY, NEGRO IN

KENYA, BRITISH AFRICA

Kersands, Billy
oldest Negro comedian
see Theatre, Negro in

l.c. KING, Rufus
Congressman from New York
anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

KINSHIP
methods of determining among African tribes

Kipling, Rudyard
English poet
see Imperialism

Kitchener, Lord
see Sudan

Knights of Labor
see Trade Unions

Knights of Pythias
see Fraternal Orders

l.c. KNOW-NOTHING PARTY
see Political Parties

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE
Knoxville, Tennessee

Kruger, Paul
see South Africa

KU KLUX KLAN

Kumasi
see Ashanti

41-12E-79

LABOR, NATIVE AFRICA
communal
compulsory
migration
pass laws
porterage
private employment
Rand mines
recruitment
slavery
trade unions
vagrancy
wages
welfare

LABOR, NEGRO AMERICAN

LABOR MOVEMENT

LABOR UNIONS, NEGRO
see Trade Unions

Laboulaye Edouard R. L. de
see Abolition

cofo Labouret, H.

LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE

LaFollette, Robert Marion, Sr.
see Social Development of the Negro

LAFON, THOMY

LAKES OF AFRICA
Lake Chad
Lake Edward
Lake Kioga
Lake Nyasa
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Victoria Nyanza

Lamarck
race origin theory
see Race

~~Lamartiniere~~

Lambert, Lucien
Negro composer
see Music

Lambert, Sidney
Negro composer
see Music

41-12 E-80

Lamoureux, Andrew Jackson
American abolitionist in Brazil
see Brazil

LAND in ~~African Culture~~
United States
West Indies and South America

LAND IN AFRICA
acquisition
alienation
Colonial policy
forest reserves
laws regulating ownership
native reserves
ownership
sovereignty
tenure, Native

LAND GRANT COLLEGES

LANE, LUNSFORD
Free Negro

Lane Seminary
see Education

LANEY, LUCY
educator

LANGSTON, JOHN MERCER
college president, congressman and diplomat

LANGUAGES, AFRICAN
orthography
primitive language group
institutions, studies, etc.
territorial distribution
vernacular
European tongues

LAS CASES, BARTHOLOMEW DE

Latimer, L. H.
see Literature, American Negro

LATIN AMERICA, NEGRO IN

LATINO, JUAN
Negro Spanish poet

Latrobe, J. H. B.
see Banneker, Benjamin

Laval, Father
see Missions

LAVIGERIE, CARDINAL

Laurens, Henry
see Slavery Controversy

Law in Africa, Moslem

Law, Native African

Law of Nations
see Slavery Controversy

Law of Property
basis of pro-slavery ideology
see Slave Codes

LAW SCHOOLS

LAY, BENJAMIN

League of Coloured Peoples
British organization
see Organizations

LEAGUE OF NATIONS
forced labor convention
health section
International Labour Office
labor, native, contracts
minimum wage-fixing machinery
Permanent Mandates Commission
recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention
temporary Slavery Commission

Leary, John S.
lawyer, alderman, deputy collector of internal revenue
see Politics, Negro in

Leaves, ceremonial of in African tribes
see Rituals and Ceremonies

LECLERC, GENERAL

LEEWARD ISLANDS

Lee, Arthur
Virginia political leader and opponent of slavery
see Slavery Controversy

41-12F-82

Lee, J. R. E.
see Education

Lee, Jarena
Negro woman preacher
see Literature, American Negro

LEE, ROBERT E.

Lee, Bishop B. F.
see A. M. E. Church

Legal basis of slavery
see Slave Codes

Legal Rights
see Civil Rights

Legba in African and Haitian religious worship
see Rituals and Ceremonies

LEGISLATION IN AFRICA
Belgian colonial system
British colonial legislative councils
British colonial system
British Crown Colonies
British Dominions
British West African system
French Colonial System
Portuguese colonies
Native Legislation

LEGISLATURES, NATIVE AFRICAN
Bunga, South Africa
Lukiko, Uganda
Pitso, Basutoland

Legitime, F. Deus
see Haiti

LEO AFRICANUS
explorer of Africa

LEOPOLD II, King of Belgium

Lewis, James
collector of port of New Orleans, colonel of militia
see Politics, Negro in

Lewis, R. B.
author
see Literature, American Negro

LIBERIA

LIBERATOR
anti-slavery newspaper

LIBERTY PARTY

LIBRARIES, NEGRO AND

LIBYA

LIELE, GEORGE

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

L'ISLET, GEOFFREY
French soldier and scholar

LISBOA

LITERATURE OF AMERICAN NEGROES

LITERATURE OF AFRICA

LITERATURE OF WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICAN NEGROES

LIVE STOCK in African culture
among American slaves
Negroes employed in industry

LIVINSTONE, DAVID

Lij Yasu
see Abyssinia

Loa
see Voodoo

Loango, African Kingdom
see Political division of Africa

LOBENGULA

LOCATIONS, NATIVE URBAN SETTLEMENTS, AFRICA

Locke, John
English philosopher
influence on American slavery
see Slavery Controversy

41-126-83

LOGUEN, JERMAIN W.
Free Negro anti-slavery worker

London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
see Health in Africa

London Missionary Society
see Missions

Long, Jefferson F.
Congressman from Georgia
see Reconstruction, Georgia

LONGFELLOW, HENRY W.

LOUISIANA, NEGRO IN

Louverture, Toussaint
see Toussaint

Love, E. K.
Negro Baptist preacher and historian
see Church, Negro

Lovejoy, Elijah
abolition editor and martyr
see Abolition

Lovejoy, Owen
abolitionist
see Abolition

LOWELL, JAMES RUSSELL

Lucas, Sam
see Milady, Samuel

Luderitz, Adolf
see German Southwest Africa

LUGARD, F. D. (Lord)

LUNDY, BENJAMIN
abolitionist

LYNCHING

Lyons, Judson W.
Register of the Treasury
see Politics, Negro in

McCarthy, Sir Charles
Colonial governor
see Ashanti

41-12E-85

McCoy, Elijah
inventor

McDowell, Mary E.
liberal
see Social Development of the Negro

McDuffie, George
Governor of South Carolina and defender of slavery
see Slavery Controversy

McElwee, Samuel
lawyer, member of Tennessee state legislature
see Politics, Negro in

McGranaham, Ralph W.
President of Knoxville College
see Knoxville College

McKinley, William B.
President of the United States
see Social Development of the Negro

McVey, Sam
pugilist
see Sports and Athletics

Capo
Maceo, Antonio
Cuban revolution leader

Maceo, Jose
Cuban revolutionary general

Maculay, Zachary
English abolitionist
see Abolition in England

MADAGASCAR

MADEIRA ISLANDS

MADISON, JAMES
President of the United States

Madrozo vs. Willis
see International Law and Slavery

Madhi, The
see Mohammed Ahmad

Magazines
see Newspapers and Periodicals

41-125-86

Magdalena, province of Colombia
see Colombia, Negro in

MAGIC IN AFRICA

Mahone, William
leader of the Readjuster Movement in Virginia
see Politics, Negro in

MAINE, NEGRO IN

MALINOWSKI, B.

MAMELUKES IN EGYPT

MANDATES OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Mandingo, West Africa
see Tribes

Mangbettu
highly skilled people in Central Africa
see Tribes

MANGIN, GENERAL
Commander of French Negro troops

MANN, HORACE
educator

MANSFIELD, LORD

MANUMISSION SOCIETIES

MAORI
Asia

MAROONS, runaway slaves in the West Indies and Central America

Mark Twain
see Clemmons, Samuel L.

Marrant, John
Negro missionary to Indians
see Missions

MARRIAGE

Marshall, John, Chief Justice
pronouncement on slavery
see Supreme Court and the Negro

MARTIN DE PORRES, BLESSED
Negro Dominican friar of Lima, Peru

41-12E-87

Martin, J. Sella
see Labor Movement, Negro in

MARTINEAU, HARRIET

MARTINIQUE, French West

MARX, KARL

MARYLAND, NEGRO IN

MASON, Negro Fraternal Order

MASSACHUSETTS, NEGRO IN

MATABELI

Mather, Cotton
New England theologian and exponent of religious instruction for slaves
see Abolition

Matriarchy
see Marriage
Family
Clan

Matthews, James C.
lawyer and recorder of deeds
see Politics, Negro in

MATZELIGER, JAN
inventor

MAURITIUS, NEGRO IN

MAY, SAMUEL
abolitionist

MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Medicine Man
see Rituals and Ceremonies
Health

Mediterranean type
theories concerning
see Race

Meharry Medical College
see Medical Schools

MELANESIA, Asia

41-12 F-88

Melbourn, Julius
reported wealthy Negro of Raleigh, North Carolina
see North Carolina, Negro in

MELLE OR MALE (Mellestine)

Menard, John Willis
congressman
see Florida, Negro in

MENELIK II OF ABYSSINIA

Menninger, G. G.
South Carolina political leader and pro-slavery theorist
see South Carolina, Negro

MEROE, ancient capital of Ethiopia

Mestizo
see Race Mixture

MESPOTAMIA, NEGRO IN

Metabolism (basal metabolism)
see Race and groups

METHODISTS

MEXICO AND THE NEGRO

Michel-Oreste
see Haiti

MICHIGAN AND THE NEGRO

Midwifery
see Children
Health

Mifflin, Warner
Quaker leader and anti-slavery advocate
see Abolition

MIGRATION OF NEGROES in Africa
United States

Milady, Samuel (Sam Lucas)
Negro actor and composer
see Theater, Negro in
Music

MILITARY SERVICE OF NEGROES

Mills, John Stuart
English political economist
see Abolition

MILLER, THOMAS E.
Congressman from South Carolina

Mills, Florence
actress
see Theater, Negro in

Mills, Samuel
agent of the American Colonization Society
see Colonization

Minas, Geraes, province of Brazil
see Brazil

MINOAN CULTURE AND THE NEGRO

Miner, Myrtilla
see Education

MINES AND MINERALS IN AFRICA
COAL
copper
diamonds
gold
tin
capital
labor
prospecting

MINNESOTA, NEGRO IN

MINORITY GROUPS

MINSTRELSY, NEGRO

Miscegenation
see Race Mixture

MISSIONS, CHRISTIAN, IN AFRICA
American Mission Board
Anglican Mission
Baptist Missionary Society
Church Missionary Society
Church of Scotland Mission
Conseil Protestant du Congo
Dutch Reformed Church
Edinburgh Medical Mission
International Missionary Council

MISSIONS IN AFRICA, CHRISTIAN (continued)
London Missionary Council
London Missionary Society
medical work: British Advisory Council
Rhenish Mission
Roman Catholic
Seventh Day Adventists
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Swiss)
United Free Church of Scotland
Universities Mission
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
White Fathers

MISSIONS IN AMERICA, CHRISTIAN

MISSISSIPPI, NEGRO IN

MISSOURI, NEGRO IN

MISSOURI COMPROMISE

MITCHELL, JOHN
editor and politician

Moffat, Robert
missionary among the Batlapins
see Missions Christian
MOHAMMED AHMAD, THE MADHI

MOHAMMED ASKIA

MOHAMMEDANISM

Mongoloid types, theories concerning
see Asia
Races

MONROE, JAMES
President of the United States

Montgomery, Isaiah T.
member of Mississippi state legislature
see Mississippi, Negro in

Montserrat
see British West Indies

Moore, George H.
writer on abolition in Massachusetts
see Abolition

Moore, John Jamison
Negro Methodist bishop and historian
see A. M. E. Zion Church

41-12E-90

Moore, Lewis B.
Negro educator
see Education

Moore, William H. A.
Negro poet
see Literature, American Negro

Moorish religious sects
see Mohammedanism

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
Atlanta, Georgia

Morelos, Jose Maria
see Mexico

MORGAN COLLEGE
Baltimore, Maryland

Moriscos
Spanish-mulatto mixture
see Race Mixture

MORRILL, JUSTIN S.
framer of laws for land-grant colleges

Mortality, Negro
see Health and Disease

Mortenol, Commandant
commander of anti-aeroplane defense of Paris
see France, Negro in

Moses, Franklin J.
Governor of South Carolina
see Reconstruction

MOSHESH, African chieftain

Mosquito Indians
absorptionof Negro slaves
see Central America

Mozambique, Portuguese colony in Africa

Moten, Lucy Ellen
educator
see Education

Mother-in-law in African Culture
see Family

MOTION PICTURES, NEGRO AND

41-12E-93

Mott, Lucretia
abolitionist
see Abolition

Mound Bayou
Negro community in Mississippi
see Negro Towns

MOUNTAINS AND PLATEAUS, AFRICA

MOUNTAIN STATES, NEGRO IN

MULATTO

Murray, George W.
Congressman from North Carolina
see Politics, Negro in

MUSIC, NEGRO IN

Mutual benefit societies
see Insurance

Mythology
see Folklore

NACHTIGAL, GUSTAV

NAMES, African tribal custom
American slaves

NAPATA

NASH, BEVERLY
South Carolina state senator

NATAL, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO MUSICIANS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS IN COLORED SCHOOLS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT
effect on Negro labor

NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

41-12E-12

NEGRO
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION

NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

NATIONAL NEGRO HEALTH WEEK

National Tennis Association
see Sports and Athletics

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICA

NATIVE COURTS IN AFRICA

Neal vs. Farmer
see Black Codes

NEAU, ELIAS
teacher of slaves

NEBRASKA, NEGRO IN

NEGRITOS

NEGRO, CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF

Negro Race and Name

Negro Baptists
see Baptists

NEGRO IN EUROPEAN ART
Black Virgins, etc.

NEGRO INDIAN CROSSINGS

NEGRO TOWNS IN AMERICA

NEGROID PEOPLES

NELL, WILLIAM COOPER
historian

NEVIS ISLAND

New Deal and the Negro

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

41-12E-94

NEW GUINEA

NEWHAMPSHIRE AND THE NEGRO

NEW JERSEY AND THE NEGRO

NEW MEXICO AND THE NEGRO

NEW YORK AND THE NEGRO

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, AFRICAN

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, AMERICAN NEGRO

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, WEST INDIAN

NICARAUGUA, NEGRO IN

NIGERIA
- Abeokuta
- Egba Native Council
- Ibadan
- Kano
- Katsena
- Sokoto
- Yoruba

Night Clubs
- see Amusements

Niles, Nathaniel
- anti-slavery leader of the Revolutionary period
  - see Abolition

Nina Rodriques, Raymundo
- see Brazil

NINETY-SECOND DIVISION
- see World War

NINETY-THIRD DIVISION
- see World War

NINTH CALVARY
- see Military Service of the Negro

Nissago-Saget
- see Haiti

Non-importation Associations
- resolutions on slavery during Revolutionary period
  - see Slave Trade

Nord Alexis
see Haiti

Nordic type
theories concerning
see Race

NORTH CARCLINA AND THE NEGRO

NORTH CENTRAL STATES, NEGROES IN

North Star, The
Negro newspaper, 1847; see Newspaper, Negro

Northrup, Solomon
free Negro captured and sold in slavery
see Literature, American Negro

Nott, Samuel
author
see Slavery Controversy

NUBIA

Numbers
see Gambling

NUMIDIA

NYASALAND, BRITISH AFRICA

Nurse training schools for Negroes
see Hospitals

Nursery Schools
see Education

Oaths in African Culture
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Obeah
see Voodoo

OBERLIN COLLEGE

Oblate Sisters of Providence
see Catholic Church and the Negro

OCEANICA, NEGRO IN

OCCUPATIONS
types of engaged in by Negroes

ODD FELLOWS, NEGRO ORDER OF

Offerings to deities in Africa and American cults
see Rituals and Ceremonies

Oge Vincent
see Haiti

OGDEN, PETER
founder of Grand United Order of God Fellows

OGLETHORPE, JAMES EDWARD
founder of Georgia

O'Hara, James E.
Congressman from North Carolina
see Reconstruction

OHIO, NEGRO IN

OKLAHOMA, NEGRO IN

OLMSTED, FREDERICK LAW
historian of the Old South

OMEGA PSI PHI
Negro college fraternity
see Fraternities and Sororities

O'Neall, J. B.
author
see Slave Codes

Opportunity, Negro magazine
see Newspapers and Periodicals, Negro

ORANGE FREE STATE

ORDEALS, African
American
see Rituals and Ceremonies

OREGON, NEGRO IN

Oriente, rural province of Cuba
see Cuba

ORGANIZATIONS AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES

ORGANIZATIONS, AMERICAN NEGROES IN NATIONAL

ORGANIZATIONS, AMERICAN NEGRO IN YOUTH MOVEMENTS

41-12 F-96

ORGANIZATIONS, ANTI-NEGRO

ORIGIN OF RACES
see Races

OSTEND MANIFESTO

OTHELLO, Shakespeare's play

Otis, James
Revolutionary leader opposed to slavery
see Abolition

OVANDO, NICOLAS DE, Spanish governor of Hispaniola

PACIFIC STATES, NEGRO IN

Packard, Sophia
see Education

Page, Inman
school president
see Education

PAGE, THOMAS NELSON
see Social Development of the Negro

PAINE, THOMAS

PAINTING

PALFREY, JOHN G.
New England historian and anti-slavery advocate

PALMARES, Negro colony in Brazil

Palmerston, Lord
see Great Britain and the Civil War

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES

PANAMA CANAL

PANAMA, NEGROES IN

Panama Congress
see Slavery Controversy

PAPUANS

Paramaibo Negroes
see Dutch Guinea

Parana, Province of Brazil
see Brazil

41-12E-98

PARAGUAY, NEGROES IN

PAREJA, JUAN
Spanish Negro painter

PARK, MUNGO
explorer of Africa

PARKER, THEODORE
abolitionist

Pastorious, Francia Daniell
early anti-slavery advocate
see Quakers and Slavery

Patrilineal society in Africa
see Family
Clan

PATROCINIO, JOSE DE
Brazilian abolitionist

Paul, Nathaniel
early Negro Baptist Preacher
see Church, Negro

Pauline philosophy on slavery
see Bible and Slavery

Pawning
see Slavery and Forced Labor in Africa

PAYNE, DANIEL ALEXANDER

PEABODY, GEORGE FOSTER

PEAKE, MARY S.

Pecanha, Nilo
Negro vice-president and president of Brazil

Pelage, Magloire
leader of insurrection in Martinique
colonel in French Army in Peninsular War
see France, Negro

Pedro, Alonzo
reputed pilot of Nine of Columbus fleet
see Explorers, Negro

Pegues, Albert Witherspoon
see Church and the Negro

PELLAGRA

PENN, I. GARLAND

Penn, William
see Pennsylvania

PENNINGTON, JAMES W. C.
Negro abolitionist

PENNSYLVANIA, NEGROES IN

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

PEONAGE

Perdigao Malheriros, Agostinho Marques
see Brazil

Periodicals
see Newspapers and Periodicals

Permanency of types
ethonological theory concerning hybrids
see Race

Perry, Rufus Lewis
Negro writer on racial origins
see Literature, American Negro

PERSIA, NEGROES IN

PERSONAL ADORNMENT, AFRICAN NATIVE

Peru, Negro

Peters, Karl
founder of German East Africa
see Germany in Africa

PETION, ALEXANDRE
president of Haiti

Pettiford, William R.
see Business, Negro in

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

PHI BETA KAPPA AND NEGROES

PHI BETA SIGMA
Negro college fraternity
see Fraternities and Sororities

Phi Delta Kappa
Negro college sorority
see Fraternities and Sororities

41-12 E-80

PHILANTHROPY AND THE NEGRO

Philemon, Epistle to
use in slave ideology
see Bible and Slavery

Phillips, C. H.
see Church, Negro

Phillips, Ulrich B.
historian
see Social Development of the Negro

PHILLIPS, WENDELL
abolitionist

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF AFRICA

Pickard, Kate E. R.
anti-slave writer
see Abolition

Pierce, Franklin
President of the United States
see Slavery Controversy

Pierrot, Jean Louis
see Haiti

Pierpont, Francis Harrison
Governor of West Virginia
see West Virginia

PIGMENTATION

Pike, Mary Hayden Green
abolitionist and historian
see Abolition

Pillsbury, Parker
abolitionist
see Abolition

Pimentar, Silveira Gomez
first Catholic Negro bishop in the world
see Catholic Church and the Negro

PINCHBACK, P. B. S.
lieutenant-governor of Louisiana

Pinckeny, Charles
contribution to ideology of slavery
see Slavery Controversy

41-12E-101

Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth
see Slavery Controversy

Pinkney, William
see Slavery Controversy

Pitt, William
see Pennsylvania, Negro in

PLACIDO, Negro Cuban poet

POISONING, in African and American Negro culture
see Rituals and Ceremonies
Slave Insurrections

POLITICS, NEGRO IN AMERICAN

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF AFRICA

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN AFRICA

POLITICAL PARTIES

Polk, James K.
President of the United States
see Slavery Controversy

POLL TAX

Polyandry
see Family
Clan

Polygamy
see Family
Clan

Polygyny
see Family
Clan

POLYNESIA, NEGRO IN

Polytheism
see Religion

~~PORRES, BLESSED MARTIN DE~~
~~see Martin~~

POORE, SALEM
Negro Revolutionary soldier

POPULATION: Africa
United States
West Indies, etc.

41-12E-102

POPULISM AND THE NEGRO

PORTO RICO, NEGRO IN

PORTUGAL AND AFRICA

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

Possession in African religion
see Religion

Postlewyat, Malacky
see Abolition in England

POTTERY
see Handicrafts

POWDERLY, TERENCE VINCENT
labor leader

POYDRAS, JULIEN DE LALANDE
large slave owner and post-morten emancipator

PREACHERS, NEGRO

Pre-Adamite theory of races
see Bible and Slavery

Preer, Evelyn
actress
see Theatre, Negro in

PRESTER JOHN

PREMPEH, King of the Ashanti

PROVERBS, African
American Negro
West Indies
see Folklore

PROVENIENCE OF AMERICAN SLAVES

Pryor, Roger A. (Virginia)
advocate of reopening slave trade
see Slave Trade

Preston, Stephen
Haitian diplomat and dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington
see Haiti

Price, Hannibal
Haitian diplomat and historian
see Haiti

PRICE, JOSEPH C.
Churchman and orator

Prioleau, George W.
army chaplain
see Military Service of the Negro

Priest-King, in African tribes
see Chieftainship
Tribal government

Priests, African
see Religion, Africa

Prigg vs. Commonwealth
see Slavery and the Courts

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

Pringle, Thomas
leader of British settlement near Algoa Bay
see South Africa

PROCTOR, HENRY HUGH
prominent Congregational clergyman
see Church, Negro

PROFESSIONS, Negroes in
United States
West Indies
Africa

Prognathism
see Race

PROPERTY HOLDING AMONG AFRICAN NATIVES
American Negroes

PROSSER, GABRIEL
leader of slave insurrection in Virginia
see Slave Insurrections

PROTECTORATES, AFRICA

PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND NEGRO
see also Church of England
Methodist
Baptist
Presbyterian
Missions

41-12 E-104

Psychiatry, Racial
see Race

Psychoanalysis
see Race

PSYCHOLOGY

Puberty
see Race and Group

Pullman, George M.
inventor
see Pullman Porters

PULLMAN PORTERS

PURITANS
position on slavery

PURVIS, CHARLES B.

PURVIS, ROBERT

PUSHKIN, ALEXANDRE

Pygmies
see Negrito

QUADROON
see also Race Mixture

QUAKERS AND SLAVERY

Quincey, Edmund
Boston abolitionist
see Abolition

Quitman, John A.
congressman from Mississippi
opposed to African slave trade
see Slave trade

Rabbit, brer
see Folklore

RACES AND CULTURES IN AFRICA

~~Race and group~~

Race Attitudes
concept in various countries
see Race and Group

RACE MIXTURE IN AFRICA
North America
South America
West Indies

RACE PREJUDICE

RACE RELATIONS IN AFRICA

Race Riots
see Riots
Race

Racial Differences
see Race and Group

Rainey, Joseph H.
Congressman from South Carolina
see Reconstruction

RAINFALL IN AFRICA

Ram's Horn, The
Negro newspaper, 1847
see Newspapers, Negro

RANDOLPH, JOHN

Randolph, Peter
Negro author and preacher
see Literature, American Negro

Ransier, A. J.
South Carolina politician
see Reconstruction

Rapier, James T.
Congressman from Alabama
see Reconstruction

RAY, CHARLES B.
editor, Underground Railroad worker

Raymond, Haitian mulatto

REASON, CHARLES L.
see Education

RECLUS, E.

RECONSTRUCTION

41-12E-106

"Red Shirts"
see Organizations, Anti-Negro

REESE, H. WALTER
Solicitor general of Barbados

REEVES, SIR CONRAD

REFORM MOVEMENTS AND NEGROES

REFORMATION AND SLAVERY

RELIGON among American Negroes
West Indiens
African Natives

REMOND, CHARLES LENOX
Negro anti-slavery leader

REPUBLICAN PARTY

REUNION, ISLE OF

REVELS, HIRAM K.
Senator from Mississippi

Rhett, Robert Barnwell
South Carolina slaveholder and social theorist
see Slavery Controversy

RHODE ISLAND, NEGRO IN

RHODES, CECIL

RHODES, JAMES FORD
historian

RHODESIA, NORTHERN

RHODESIA, SOUTHERN

Rhodesian man
see Anthropology

Rhumba, Negro dances
see Dance, Negro

Rice, Thomas Dartmouth
"the father of American minstrelsy"
see Minstrels, Negro

RIGAUD, ANDRE
Haitian mulatto leader

RILLIEUX, NORBERT
inventor

Rio de Janeiro, Negroes in the province of
see Brazil

Rio de Oro, West Africa

Rio Grande do Sul
province of Brazil
see Brazil

RIOTS, RACE, ANTI-NEGRO

RITUALS AND CEREMONIES

RIVADAVIA
Argentine leader of Negro descent
see Argentina, Negro in

RIVAS, SIMON
see Panama, Negro in

RIVERS OF AFRICA
Nile
Niger
Shari
Congo
Zambesi
Limpopo
Orange
Senegal

Rivers, Prince
commander of South Carolina militia
see Reconstruction

ROBERTS, JOSEPH J.
President of Liberia

Rock Painting, African
see Art, Negro

ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE NEGRO

Romero, Sylvio
first compiler of Brazilian folklore
see Brazil

Roosevelt, Franklin D.
President of the United States

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE
President of the United States

U1-12F.107

ROSENWALD FUND

ROSENWALD, JULIUS

ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES

RUANDA-URUNDI, Belgian mandate

Ruby, G. T.
Reconstruction leader
see Reconstruction

Ruffin, Edmund
Southern journalist and advocate of slavery
see Slavery author

Ruffin, George L.
see Politics, Negro in

RUFFIN, JOSEPHINE ST. PIERRE

Ruggles, Benjamin
Senator of Ohio and anti-slavery leader
see Abolition

RUGGLES, DAVID
Negro writer and editor

Rush, Benjamin
physician
see Slavery Controversy

Rushton, Edward
English abolitionist
see Abolition in England

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

Russell, James S.
see Education

RUSSIA AND THE NEGRO

RUSSWORM, JOHN BROWN
Negro editor

RUY BARBOSA

Saco, Jose Antonia
Cuban political leader
see Cuba

41-12E-108

Sacrifice in religious Ceremonies
see Ritual and Ceremonies

ST. AUGUSTINE
Father of Catholic Church

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW, ISLAND OF

SAINT CHRISTOPHER, ISLAND OF

SAINT CROIX, ISLAND OF

SAINT DOMINQUE,
see Haiti

SAINT-GEORGE, CHEVALIER DE

~~SAINT HELENA, ISLAND OF~~

ST. LUCIA, ISLAND OF

SAINT-MERY, MOREAU DE

St. Paul
influence on slavery ideology
see Bible and Slavery

SAINT THOMAS, ISLAND OF

ST. VINCENT, ISLAND OF

SAKANOUYE, TAMURAMARO
Japanese general of Negro descent

SALE, GEORGE

SALEM, PETER

Salnave, Sylvain
see Haiti

Solomon, Etienne F.
see Haiti

SAMOA

SAMORY, African chief

SANDIFORD, RALPH
early anti-slavery worker

Santa Catharina
province of Brazil
see Brazil

Sao Paulo
province of Brazil
see Brazil

41-12E-109
L.C.

41-12 E-110

SAUNDERS, PRINCE
Negro historian

SAXTON, GENERAL RUFUS
Freedmen's Bureau

SCARBOROUGH, WILLIAM S.
SCHOLAR

SCHURZ, CARL

SCOTT, DRED
see Dred Scott

Scott, Robert K.
Governor of South Carolina
see Reconstruction

Scott, W. A.
founder of Negro daily
see Newspaper, Negro

SCOTTSBORO CASES

SCULPTURE

SECESSION

SECRET SOCIETIES IN AFRICA
see also Fraternal Orders

SEGREGATION BY RACE

Sejour, Victor
dramatist
see Theater, Negro in

Selike, Marie
see Music

SEMINOLE WARS

SEMITES

SENEGAL, FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Serpent Worship
see Religion of Africa

SERVICE BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

41-125-111

Settle, Josiah T.
lawyer and politician
see Social Development of the American Negro

SEWARD, WILLIAM H.

SEWELL, SAMUEL
Massachusetts lawyer and early anti-slavery advocate (1700)

SEX MORES AND SEX EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Sexual morality
see Family
Sex Mores

SHANGO, Yoruban deity

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM

Shanley vs. Harvey (1762)
See Abolition in England

Sharecroppers Union
see Trade Unions

Sharecropping
see Farm tenancy

SHAW, GRANVILLE

SHAW, ROBERT GOULD
Commander of Negro troops in the American Civil War

Shelabarger, Samuel
see Reconstruction

SHERDAN, PHILLIP HENRY
General

SHERMAN, WILLIAM
Tecumseh

Siblings
see Family

SIERRA LEONE

SIEYES, ABBE

Silver Shirts
secret organization to control labor
see Organizations, Anti-Negro

41-12E-112

SIMMONS, WILLIAM J.
historian

Simon Antoine
see Haiti

Simon-Sam, P. A. T.
see Haiti

Sims, Willie
Derby winner
see Sports and Athletics

SINGLETON, BENJAMIN
leader of Negro post Civil War migration

Sisal Plantations
see Industry, Negro

SLATER, JOHN FOX
philanthropist

Slave Codes
see Black Codes

Slave Marriages
see Marriage

SLAVE TRADE

SLAVERY

SLAVERY CONTROVERSY IN AMERICA

SLAVERY AND THE COURTS

SMALLS, ROBERT

SMITH, GERRITT

Smith, Hoke
Governor of Georgia
see Georgia, Negro in

Cofo Smith, JAMES MCCUNE
physician and writer

SMITH, STEPHEN
wealthy free Negro of Philadelphia

Smith vs. Brown and Cooper
early English case on freedom of the Negro
see Abolition in England

SMYTHE, JOHN HENRY
United States minister to Liberia
see Politics, Negro in

Sneer, Samuel
Negro composer
see Music

SOCIAL CLASS
class stratification

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN NEGROES

SOCIAL LIFE OF AMERICAN NEGROES

SOCIAL EQUALITY

SOCIAL REFORM AND SLAVERY

SOCIAL SECURITY

SOCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS

SOCIAL WELFARE

SOCIAL WORK

SOCIALISM

SOCIETE DES AMIS DES NOIRS

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS

Soldiers
see Military Service of the Negro

Somerset vs. Stewart
see Abolition in England

SONGHAI, KINGDOM OF

SONNI ALI

Sororities
see Fraternities and Sororities

SOUTH CAROLINA, NEGRO IN

41-12 E-114

Soulouque, Faustin I.
see Haiti

SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF

Southampton Insurrection
see Turner, Nat

SPAIN IN AFRICA

SPAIN, NEGRO IN

SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

SPAULDING, C. C.

SPELMAN COLLEGE
Atlanta, Georgia

SPEKE, JOHN HANNING
African explorer and discoverer of source of Nile

Spencer, Ann
poet
see Literature, American Negro

SPINGARN AWARDS

SPINGARN, J. E.
philanthropist interested in race relations

SPIRITUALS
see Music

SPORTS AND ATHLETICS

Spratt, W. L.
South Carolina writer on theories of labor (1861)
see Slavery Controversy

Standard Life Insurance Company
see Insurance

STANLEY, HENRY MORTON
African explorer

STANTON, EDWIN

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady
abolitionist
see Abolition

Stature, racial differences
see Race

STEARNS, GEORGE LUTHER
Free-Soiler

Steatopygia
see Race

Steel industry, Negroes in
see Occupations

STEPHENS, ALEXANDER
vice-President of the Confederacy

STEVENS, THADDEUS
radical in Reconstruction

Steward, Theophilus Gould
historian
see Literature, American Negro

STEWART, JOHN
missionary to the Indians

STEWART, T. MC CANTS

STILES, EZRA

STILL, WILLIAM
Underground Railroad worker

STOKES, ANSON PHELPS
philanthropist
Stokes, Miss Caroline Phelps
STONE, LUCY
abolitionist

STONE AGE IN AFRICA

STOREY, MOORFIELD

Story, Joseph
United States Justice
see Supreme Court and the Negro

STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER
author of Uncle Tom's Cabin

Straker, David A.
see Literature of American Negro

Strandloopers, detribalized group of Hottentots
see South Africa

Strikes, Role of the Negro in
see Trade Unions

41-12E-115

41-12E-116

SUDAN, ANGLO-EGYPTIAN

SUDAN

Sugar Plantations
see Industry, Negro in

Suicide
see Health and Disease

SUFFRAGE
see also Enfranchisement and Disfranchisement

SUMNER, CHARLES

SUN DIATA, African Chieftain
see Delafosse

SUPERSTITIONS

SUPREME COURT AND THE NEGRO

SURINAM

Sylvis, William H.
labor leader
see Trade Unions

SYLVAIN, GEORGES

Syphillis, prevalence among Negroes
see Health and Disease

SYRIANS
relations with Negroes

SWAZILAND, SOUTH AFRICA

Taboo,
see Religion

TAFT, WILLIAM H.
President of the United States
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

Talbert, Florence Cole
see Music

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
Talladega, Alabama

Talmadge, James
Congressman from New York
leader of debates on slavery in territories
see Slavery Controversy

TANEY, ROGER B.
Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court

Tango, Negro
see Dance

TANNER, BENJAMIN TUCKER
Bishop

TANNER, HENRY O.
painter

TANGANYIKA, BRITISH AFRICAN MANDATE
see also German East Africa

Tapisco, Jacob
see A. M. E. CHURCH

TAPPAN, ARTHUR
abolitionist

TAPPAN LEWIS
abolitionist

TAXATION, Africa
America

Taylor, Zachary
see Slavery Controversy

Tochaka
see Chaka

TENNESSEE, NEGRO IN

TENTH CALVARY
see Military Service of Negro

TERRELL, ROBERT H.
Judge of the Municipal Court
Washington, D. C.

TERRITORIES, SLAVERY IN

TEXAS, NEGRO IN

THEODORE, Negus of Abyssinia

511-12 E-117

41-12E-118

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

Thierry, Camille
Louisiana poet
see Literature, American Negro

THIRKIELD, WILBUR P.
educator

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

Thomas, Albert
Secretary of the International Labour Office
see Labor Movement

THOMPSON, GEORGE
English abolitionist

Thompson, John
American Minister to Haiti
see Haiti

THOREAU, HENRY
first to make a public defense for John Brown

Thunderstones in African and Haitian Rituals
see Rituals and Ceremonies

TILLMAN, BENJAMIN RYAN
Negrophobe

TIMBUKTU

Tobago, Island of

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS CHARLES
Henri Maurice Clerelde
French political theorist

TOGOLAND: German, British, French Mandate

TOOMBS, ROBERT L.
leader of the old South

Tortola
see British West Indies

Tortuga, Island of
see British West Indies

TOTEMISM

TOURGEE, ALBION WINEGAR

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE

TRADE UNIONS

cape Transkei District, Cape Colony

TRANSVAAL

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT IN AFRICA

TRIBES OF AFRICA (some of the more important)

Amaswazi
Amazulu
Ashanti
Azande
Baganda
Baghirmi
Bahima
Bakongo
Bakuba
Bakwena
Baluba
Balunda
Bamangwato
Bambara
Bangala
Bantu
Bayoro
Bapedi
Barotse
Basuto
Bateke
Bechwana
Beja
Berbers
Bergdama
Bini
Bornu
Bushmen
Bushongo
Danakil
Dar Fung
Dinka
Ewe
Falasha
Fang
Fulani
Fung
Galla
Gricquas
Hausa
Herero-Ovambo
Hottentots
Ibo
Jaga
Jolof
Kafirs
Kikuyu
Kavirondo

41-12 E-119

41-12E-120

TRIBES OF AFRICA (continued)
Kitwara
Kongo
Lotuko
Makrizi
Mandara
Masai
Matabele
Mossi
Mpongwe
Nandi
Negritos
Nuba
Nubians
Nuer
Ovaherero
Ovambo
Pangwe
Semites
Senegalese
Senussi
Serer
Shilluk
Shona
Somali
Songhai
Suk
Swahili
Tuareg
Tukolor
Tungur
Turkana
Twi
Wolof
Xosa
Yoruba
Zulu-Xosa

TRINIDAD, BRITISH WEST INDIES

TRIPOLI

Trotter, James M.
see Politics, Negro in

TROTTER, WILLIAM MONROE
editor and militant fighter

TRUE REFORMERS

TRUTH, SOJOURNER

TUBERCULOSIS

TUBMAN, HARRIET
The "Moses" of her people

Tucker, Beverly
Virginia pro-slavery theorist
see Slavery Controversy

Tucker, St. George
Virginia pro-slavery theorist
see Slavery Controversy

Turner, Benjamin S.
Congressman from Alabama
see Reconstruction

TURNER, HENRY MCNEAL
Bishop

Turner, James Milton
Minister to Liberia
see Politics, Negro in

TURNER, NAT
leader of slave insurrection

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
Tuskegee, Alabama

TWENTY-FIFTH INFANTRY

TWENTY-FOURTH INFANTRY, UNITED STATES ARMY

Tyler, John
President of the United States
see Slavery Controversy

Types of Mankind
see Races

Tyree, Bishop Evans
see A. M. E. Church

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

UGANDA

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

United Automobile Workers of America
see Trade Unions

United Mine Workers of America
see Trade Unions

41-12E-121

41-12E-122

UNITED STATES ARMY, NEGRO IN

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

United Textile Workers of America

Universal Negro Improvement Association
see Garvey, Marcus

Universities
see Education

URUGUAY, NEGRO IN

URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO in Africa
United States

UTAH AND THE NEGRO

Van Buren, Martin
President of the United States
see Slavery Controversy

Van Jaarsbeld, Adrian
leader in First Kaffir War
see South Africa

VAN RIEBEECK, JAN
Commander of expedition to Cape Good Hope for Dutch East India Company

Variability
concept of in Anthropology, etc.
see Race

VARICK, JAMES
A. M. E. Zion Church

VASHON, GEORGE B.
Negro leader, poet

VASSA, GUSTAVUS

VEGA, LOPE DE

VEGETATION OF AFRICA

Venereal diseases, prevalence among Negroes
see Health and Disease

VENEZUELA, NEGRO IN

VERMONT AND THE NEGRO

VESEY, DENMARK
leader of slave insurrection

VILLAGE, THE AFRICAN

VIRGIN ISLANDS, American
British

VIRGINIA AND THE NEGRO

Vocational education
see Education

VOODOO

WADE, BENJAMIN F.
Reconstruction leader

WAGES

Wagner Act
effect on Negro labor
see Trade Unions

Walker, Ada Overton
see Theatre, Negro in

WALKER, MADAME C. J.

WALKER, DAVID

Walker, George
actor
see Theater, Negro in

WALKER, MAGGIE

Walker, Thomas
politician and lawyer
see Virginia, Negro

Wallace, John
Negro historian
see Florida, Negro

Walling, William English
liberal
see Social Development of the Negro

41-126-129

41-12E-124

Walls, Josiah T.
Congressman from Florida
see Florida, Negro in

WALTERS, BISHOP ALEXANDER
see A. M. E. Zion Church

WARD, SAMUEL RINGGOLD
abolitionist

WARE, EDMUND ASA
college president

WARMOUTH, HENRY CLAY
Reconstruction governor of Louisiana

Washington, D. C., Negro in
see District of Columbia

WASHINGTON, BOOKER T.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE

Watkins, Lucien B.
Negro poet
see Literature, American Negro

WATSON, TOM

Wayman, Bishop Alexander W.
see A. M. E. Church

Weld, Theodore Dwight
abolitionist
see Abolition

WESLEY, JOHN

WEST INDIES

WEST VIRGINIA, NEGRO IN

WHEATLEY, PHILLIS

Whipper, William
South Carolina politician
see South Carolina, Negro in

WHITE, GEORGE H.
Congressman from North Carolina

WHITEFIELD, GEORGE
evangelist

41-126-123

Whitfield, James M.
see Literature, American Negro

WHITMAN, ALBERY A.
see Literature, American Negro

WHITNEY, ELI

WHITTIER, JOHN GREENLEAF
abolitionist

WICKERSHAM (G. W.) COMMISSION
see National Commission on Law Observance and Law Enforcement

WILBERFORCE, WILLIAM
English emancipator

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY
Wilberforce, Ohio

WINDWARD ISLANDS

Wilkinson, Dr. Robert S.
educator
see Education

Williáms, Dr. Dan
see Physicians

WILLIAMS, EGBERT AUSTIN (Bert)
noted actor

WILLIAMS, FRANCIS
Jamaican scholar
see Jamaica

WILLIAMS, GEORGE WASHINGTON
historian

WILLIAMS, ROGER
founder of Rhode Island

Wilmington, North Carolina riot
see Riots

WILSON HENRY

Wilson, Joseph Thomas
Negro historian
see Literature, American Negro

41-12 E-126

Wilson, Woodrow
President of the United States
see World War

WITCHCRAFT

WOMEN, AMERICAN NEGRO

WOMEN, AFRICAN

WOODS, GRANVILLE T.

WOOLMAN, JOHN

World Anti-Slavery Convention, 1840
see Abolition

WORLD WAR, 1914-18

Wright, Elizur, Jr.
anti-slavery leader
see Abolition

WRIGHT, JONATHAN JASPER
Associate Justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court

WYOMING, NEGRO IN
XOSA CLANS
YORUBA, AFRICAN KINGDOM

YOUNG, COLONEL CHARLES

Young, Nathan B.
college president
see Education

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Zambesi River
see Georgraphy of Africa
Rivers

Zambos of Colombia
see Colombia

Zamor, Oreste
see Haiti

ZANZIBAR

ZAMBABWE

Zulu, see Races of Africa

ZULU-XOSA

A List of Suggested Subjects which an Encyclopaedia of the Negro should treat

Page 88: Housing

Housing in country districts, north and south

Housing in cities

Housing in sections of cities

Apartment houses

Cabins

Quarters

15-10-11

A List of Suggested Subjects which an Encyclopaedia of the Negro should treat

EDUCATION

- Admission of Negroes to white schools
- Schools for Negroes
- Schools organized by Negroes
- White teachers in Negro schools
- Negro teachers
- Public school systems in the south
- Segregated Public Schools in the south
- Negroes in northern Public schools
- Adult education
- Co-education
- Elementary education
- Educational Associations
- Industrial schools
- Kindergarten
- Nursery schools
- Rural education
- School administration
- Schools of art
- School and curriculum
- Schools, evening
- School and the home
- School houses
- School libraries
- Secondary education
- Students in school
- Subnormal and feeble-minded, education of
- Summer schools
- Supernormal children, education of
- Teachers, training of
- Teaching, methods of
- Technical training
- Vocational training
- Women's colleges
- Workers, education of (adult education)
- Early education of Negroes
  - Clandestine slave schools
  - Early Negro schools in northern states and cities
  - Free Negro schools in south
  - Negro schools in Philadelphia
  - Negro schools in New York
  - Negro schools in Cincinnati
  - Negro schools in Boston
  - Negro schools in other states and cities
- Early attitude of white schools and colleges
  - Lane Seminary
  - Oberlin College
  - Western Reserve
- Illiteracy
  - Color and nativity
  - Illiteracy by sex
  - Illiteracy by age
  - Illiteracy by sections, geographic divisions, and states
  - Illiteracy in counties and cities
  - Urban and rural illiteracy

15-10-4

School attendance
- Increase in school attendance
- School attendance by single years of age
- School attendance by sex
- School attendance in urban and rural areas
- School attendance by sections, divisions, and states
- School attendance in cities
- School attendance and gainful employment

Government Aid
- Smith-Hughes Appropriation for Vocational Education, 1917
- Smith-Lever Appropriation for Agricultural Education, 1913
- Additional Funds, 1928
- Agricultural Research, 1925

Industrial and Vocational Schools
- History of Hampton and Tuskegee
- Samuel Chapman Armstrong
- Booker T. Washington
- Work in Public Schools

Private Schools for Negroes
- Avery Institute
- Ballard Normal School
- Burrell School
- Dorchester Academy
- Emerson School
- Haven Academy
- LeMoyne Institute
- Penn School
- Stillman Institute
- Trinity School

15-10-5

Former Schools for Negroes
- Ashmun Institute
- Atlanta Baptist College (see Morehouse College)
- Beach Institute
- Biddle University (see Johnson C. Smith University)
- Central Tennessee College (see Walden University)
- Lincoln Institute (See Lincoln University, Missouri)
- Roger Williams University
- Selma University
- Storrs School
- Walden University

Professional Schools
- Theological
  - Bishop Payne Divinity School, Virginia
  - Gammon Theological Seminary, Georgia
  - Howard University, Washington, D. C.
- Medical
  - Meharry Medical College, Tennessee
  - Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Professional Education in White Schools

Libraries for Negroes
- Public Libraries
- Libraries in States and Cities
- Libraries in Colleges
- Rosenwald Aid
- Carnegie Aid

Philanthropic Educational Funds and Foundations
- Avery Fund
- Vilas Bequest
- African Third
- Buckingham Fund
- George Washington Fund
- Miner Fund
- Stewart Mission Foundation
- Daniel Hand Fund
- John F. Slater Fund
- Phelps-Stokes Fund
- Carnegie Corporation
- Julius Rosenwald Fund
- General Education Board

Scholastic and Other Distinctions
- Phi Beta Kappa
- Spingarn Medals
- Harman Awards
- "Who's Who in America"
- Medicine
- American Men of Science
- Order of the Coif

15-10-6

Education
- Education before the Civil War
- Education during the Civil War
- Founding of the Public School
- Reconstruction
- State Associations for Negro Teachers
- Association Ratings of Negro schools
- United States Bureau of Education
- Merger of Colleges
- Endowment of Negro education
- Denominational support of Negro education
- Educational Funds and Foundations
- Negro Libraries
- Public High Schools for Negroes

Lynching
- Before the Civil War
- Whites and Negroes
- Lynching by States
- Rape
- Causes of Lynchings
- Southern protests against Lynching

NEGRO BIOGRAPHIES

GROUP A

Captein, J. E. J.

Delany, Martin R.

Douglass, Frederick

Dwane, J. M.

Forten, James

Jabavu, John T.

Henson, Joseph

Kagwa, Sir Apolo

Khama

Knibb, William

L'Ouverture, Toussaint

Petion

Russwurm, J. B.

Sarbah, J. M.

Sharpe, Samuel

Washington, B. T.

Williams, G. W.

Group B

Liberians

Day, John

Dunbar, C. B.

Gardner, A. W.

Gripon, J. B.

Herring, Amos

Johnson, Elijah

Lewis, J. V.

Murray, R. E.

Prout, J. W.

Raye, E. J.

Roberts, Joseph Jenkin

Stewart, McCants

Teage, H.

Titler, Eph.

Wilson, B. R.

Americans

Cain, Richard H. (1825-87)

Chase, William Calvin

Clinton, George Wylie (1859-1921)

Cornish, Samuel

Crummell, Alex.

Dickson, Moses

Fortune, T. T. (1856-)

Garnett, Henry Highland

Holly, James T. A. (1829-)

Jones, Absalom

Lane, Lunsford

Mitchell, Samuel T. (1851-)

Pennington, James W. C.

Powell, W. T.

Remond, Charles Lenox

Smith, James McCune

Walker, David

Ward, Samuel R.

Whipper, William

West Indians

Firmin, A.

Oge, Vincent

Raymond, Julien

Scholes, Th.

RACE PROBLEMS

I. Race character, organization and relations.

II. Specific races and regions.

III. Supplement: articles treating race problems in a major subdivision or incidentally.

(This collocation of topics is a means of insuring completeness and a proper proportion of space in the articles that fall under the general heading mentioned. In its final form, of course, the Encyclopaedia will be arranged alphabetically, without division. Some topics mentioned here will be treated also from other points of view than that of the racial problem involved, which explains what may seem in these instances an undue allotment of space. The numerals indicate the number of words tentatively assigned. Texts have been appended to the more general titles to indicate the proposed main content of such articles.)

42-S-253

RACE PROBLEMS

I

Race character, organization and relations

Amalgamation: 1500

Biological amalgamation of racial groups; distinction from assimilation and the narrower meaning of miscegenation.

Anthropogeography: See Human Geography

Anthropometry: 1000

The development of measurement of physical characteristics and its importance in anthropology.

Aryans 1000

An account of the Aryan theory since 1786; its effects; criticism of the doctrine from the anthropological viewpoint.

Biometry See Anthropometry

Ethnic Communities 2500

Communities or communal subgroups organized on racial lines. Ghetto, immigrant communities urban and rural. Racial and cultural relations with surrounding communities.

Eugenics 3000

Theoretical bases of eugenics and its application to social problems. Practical programs and their opponents.

Heredity 3000

History and criticism of theories of heredity. The bearings of heredity on economic and social problems. Heredity and race theories and relations.

Human Geography 3000

Geography and the diffusion of human stocks and cultures. Trade routes, the shifting of population centers, the effect on institutional life, etc.

Inbreeding See Race. Heredity. Eugenics

Interracial Councils 1000

Forms of conscious social organization for the peaceful and scientific solution of problems of race contact.

Man 3000

A study of the species, man; his characteristics, antiquity; general mention of differentiation; geographic distribution of man; his social evolution; his importance in the natural order.

Mendelianism See Heredity

652-5-54

Miscegenation 1500

History and application of the concept; comparative study of its force in contemporary societies. Criticism of the concept.

Native Policy 4000

The general lines of treatment of natives in colonial or backward countries with special reference to policies concerned with social relations between racial groups and individual members of them.

Race 10,000

The origin and development of the concept of race; its earlier uses; modern concern with the problem. History and critical evaluation of theories of race differentiation, race character, etc. Recent trends of theory.

Race Character See Race

Race Consciousness See Racialism

Race Degeneration See Degeneracy

Race Equality See Race Prejudice; Race

Race Inferiority See Race Prejudice; Race

Race Mixture 4000

The process of race mixture. Theory of its effects. Criticism of the theory. Social problems involved in the process.

Race Purity See Race; Race Prejudice; Miscegenation; Race Mixture

Race Riots 1500

The causes and course of race riots. The attitude of government.

Race Psychology See Race

Race Prejudice 4000

Causes, content and validity of race prejudice. Its effects. Efforts to control.

Race Superiority See Race Prejudice; Race

Race Solidarity See Racialism

Racial Communities See Ethnic Communities

Racialism 2000

Manifestations of racial solidarity, especially among members of racial minority groups. Theoretical formulation of race consciousness and its expression in organization and endeavor.

SSE-5-44-855

II ARTICLES ON SPECIFIC RACES OR REGIONS

A Far East

Boxer Rebellion. See Chinese Problem.

Chinese Immigration See Oriental Immigration

Chinese Problem 4000

Far Eastern Problem 5000

Japanese Immigration See Oriental Immigration

Manchurian Problem See Far Eastern Problem, Chinese Problem

Kuo Min Tang See Chinese Problem

Oriental Immigration 4000

Pan Asianism 2500

Pan Islamism 2500

Yellow Peril See Oriental Immigration

B. India

Caste 2000

Civil Disobedience See Obedience, Political

Dyarchy See Empire

Indian Question 6000

Pariah 1000

Passive Resistnace See Indian Question

Swadeshi See Indism Question

Swaraj See Indism Question

C Jews

Anti-Semitism 3000

Balfour Delcaration See Zionism

Blood Accusation 1500

Diaspora 2000

Ghetto 1500

Jewish Autonomy 1500

752-5-EH

II Articles on specific races or regions

C Jews (continued)

Jewish Charities	See Charities, Community Organization, Social Work
Jewish Emancipation	1850
Jewish Migrations	1850
Marrano Changos	See Anti-semitism; Jewish Emancipation
Pale, Russo-Jewish	1900
Protocols of the Elders of Zion	See Anti-Semitism
Zionism	2000

D Near East

Balkan Problem	See Near Eastern Problem
Berlin, Congress of	See Near Eastern Problem
Comitadji	1900
Near Eastern Problem	1900
Pan Arabism	2000
Pan Islamism	2000
Pan Turanianism	2000

E Negroes

Abolition	1850
Civil Rights	1850
Convention Movement	1850
Freedmen's Bureau	See Negro Problem
Jim Crow Laws	See Negro Problem
Ku Klux Klan	1900
Lynching	1900
Mammissism	See Slavery, Serfdom
Militias	See Negro Problem
Negro Churches	See Negro Problem
Negro Suffrage	See Negro Problem
Negro Press	See Negro Problem, Press

42-5-354

II Articles on specific races or regions

E. Negroes (Continued)

Negro Problem I. Africa II. U.S. III. West Indies 10,000

Negro Troops See Negro Problem

Phelps-Stokes Fund See Endowments and Foundations

Rising Star Community See Colonization Movements

Pan-Africanism See Negro Problem

Slave Trade I. Historic II. Contemporary 5,000

Slavery I. Ancient II. Americas 10,000

Underground Railroad See Slavery

Vagrancy 2500

Voodoo See Magic

F. Miscellaneous

American Party See Parties, Political

Gypsy 1000

Indian Problem (U.S.) 6000

Irish Problem 4000

Know-Nothing Party See Parties, Political

Mountain Whites 1500

Mormons 1500

Oriental Immigration 4000

Pan Germanism 2000

Pan Latinism 2500

Pan Slavism 2500

Poor Whites See Mountain Whites

Slavophilism See Pan-Slavism

Tonga 1000

Young Turk Movement See Pan-Turanianism

252-S-44

III. The following articles not primarily concerned with racial matters will treat them either in a major subdivision or incidentally. Suggestions for additional articles should be made after considering the possibility of treating the subject involved under one of the following heads.

Acclimatization
Accomodation
Adaptation
Adjustment
Americanization
American Federation of Labor
Annexation
Anti-Radicalism
Assimilation, Social
Attitudes, Social
Autonomy
Backward Countries
Birth Control
Birth Rates (See Births)
Births
Buffer States
Capitulations
Central American Union
Charity Organization (See Social Work)
Chauvinism
Child mortality (See Births)
Citizenship
Civil Rights
Clan (See Social Organization)
Collective Behavior
Colonies
Colonization Movements
Communism
Community Organization
Communistic Settlements
Concubinage
Concessions
Conflict, Social
Consciousness, Social
Contract Labor
Corvee
Cosmopolitanism
Culture
Degeneration
Depopulation
Discrimination, Social
Disfranchisement
Disqualification, Political
Emancipation, Political
Environment
Equality
Emigration
Exterritoriality
Forced Labor
Foreign Language Press
Fraternal Orders
Friendly Societies
Group
Helots (See Slavery)
Immigration
Imperialism
Indentured Labor
Infant Mortality (See Child Mortality)
International Labor Office
Intervention
Intolerance
Irredentism
Jingoism (See Chauvinism)
Labor Organizations
Labor Tax (See Forced Labor)
Liberalism
Mandate
Manumission (See Slavery; Serfdom)
Mental Testing
Migration
Minorities, National
Missions
Mixed Courts
Mob
Mui-Tsai (See Slave Trade)
Mutual Aid Societies
Nation
Nationalism
Neo Malthusianism (See Birth Control)
Open Door
Padrone System (See Contract Labor)
Pawning (See Forced Labor)
Peaceful Penetration
Peonage
Population
Prejudice
Radicalism
Regionalism
Repatriation
Secret Societies
Segregation
Selection Social (See Darwinism, Social)
Self Determination, National
Separatism, Cultural
Slave Codes (See Slavery, Negro Problem)
Slave Trade
Slavery
Slavery Convention (See Slave Trade)
Social Organization
Social Relations
Social Settlements
Social Work
Socialism
Socialization
Standards of Living
Tropics
War
Westernization

47-5-97

[Encyclopaedia of the Negro]
Eve of the negro
Sources of Materials

Suggested Topics with Reference to the Negro in Brazil

(Together with names of individuals who might be induced to prepare articles)

1. Source materials for the study of (historical) - Gilberto Freyre, Pernambuco, author Casa Grande e Senzala and Sobrados e Mucambos, (studied with Shepherd and Boas).

2. Procedencia - Braz do Amaral, Bahia, historian, author O Grande Mercado dos Escravos Africanos.

3. Slave Traffic - J. F. de Almeida Prado, São Paulo, interested in source material on world traffic in slaves; Lawrence F. Hill, Ohio State, author "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil."

4. Dispersion (in Brazil) - Oliveira Vianna, Rio, author Evolução do Povo Brasileiro.

5. Slavery (sugar areas, diamond mines, cattle country, coffee fazendas, Negros de ganho of the cities) - Percy Martin, Stanford University, historian specializing in Latin American history with particular attention to Brazil; Mary W. Williams, Goucher College, similar interest; Herbert S. Alexander; Rüdiger Bilden, Fisk; Gilberto Freyre.

6. Fugitive slaves (quilombos, or settlements of fugitive slaves; Palmares, most famous settlement, endured 60 years, successfully resisted government arms over long period of time; capitão de matto, or professional hunter of fugitive slaves; Zumbis, famous quilombo leaders) - (see 5).

7. Slave insurrections (especially the Malê revolt in Bahia, 1835) - Braz do Amaral.

8. Manumission - (see 5).

9. Abolition movement - Percy Martin; Evaristo de Moraes, Rio, author A Escravidão no Brasil.

10. Miscegenation - Gilberto Freyre

11. The Mulatto (rise of) - Gilberto Freyre.

12. African contributions to Brazilian:

    a. Language - Renato Mendonça, Rio, author A Influencia Africana na Lingua Portuguesa; Jacques Raymundo, Rio, author O Elemento Afro-Negro na Lingua Portuguesa.

40-7J-1

b. Music (samba, etc.) - Mario de Andrade, São Paulo, music critic, interested especially in folk-music.

c. Cuisine - Gilberto Freyre

d. Disease - Octavio de Freitas, Rio, author As Doenças Africanas no Brasil.

13. The fetish cult (in Brazil) - Arthur Ramos, Rio, disciple of Nina Rodrigues, author O Negro Brasileiro, As Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo, and O Folk-lore Negro no Brasil; Frei Thomaz, Bahia, perhaps best informed student of the fetish cult in Brazil; Edison Carneiro, author Religiões Negras.

40-7J-2

14. Black Saints (São Benedito, Santa Efigenia) - Gilberto Freyre

15. Negro Heros (Henrique Dias, Luiz Gama, José do Patrocinio) -(see 5).

16. Crime and the Negro - João Mendonça, Bahia, official State Penetentiary and student of criminology.

17. Mental Disease and the Negro - Ulysses Pernambucano, Recife, author various monographs on subject.

18. The ama (slave nurse) - (see 5).

19. Castro Alves ("poet of the slaves") - João da Silva Campos, Bahia, author "Costumes dos Africanos na Bahia."

20. The Maracatus (Negro carnival organization, Recife) Mario Sette, Recife, author Maxambombas e Maracatus.

21. The cordões (Negro carnival organization, Bahia) Edison Carneiro.

22. The Balangandans (famed ornaments worn by Negro females at Bahia, ordinarily presents from white masters) - Pedro Calmon, Rio and Bahia, author A Historia Social do Brasil.

23. The Bahiana (famed Negro female type at Bahia, tall, well-built, dressed folk-costume) - Arthur Ramos; Gilberto Freyre.

24. The Morena (ideal type of female beauty; often, especially in Bahia, possesses Negro blood) - Gilberto Freyre.

25. Contribution of Negroes and Mixed-bloods to Brazilian Literature - Jorge Amado, Rio, novelist, particularly interested in portraying Negro life; José Lins do Rego, Rio, similar interest.

Sr. D. Arturo Ramos
Praia de Russell 164
Rio de Janeiro
Brasil

Dr. Fernando Ortiz
Calle L esq. 27
Vedado
Habana, Cuba

Exmo. Senhor Gilberto Freyre
c/o O Diario, Recife
Pernambuco
Brazil

Dr. Edgard Roquet Pinto
Director, Museu Nacional
Quinta Boa Vista
Rio de Janeiro
Brazil

Dra. Eloise Torres (anthropologist)
Museu Nacional
Quinta Boa Vista
Rio de Janeiro
Brazil

Senor Israel Castellanos (anthropologist)
c/o Dr. Fernando Ortiz
Calle L esq. 27
Vedado
Habana, Cuba

Dr. Pedro Weiss
Profesor de Antropologia
Universidad de San Marcos
Lima, Peru

Dr. Vicente Rossi (author of a book on the Negro of the River Plate region)
La Prensa
Buenos Aires

Senor Olmedo Alfaro
Panama
Panama

Add'l 137

A PROPOSED PLAN FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO AND THE WPA WRITERS' PROJECT

The Encyclopaedia of the Negro is in charge of a board of directors incorporated in the District of Columbia, May 10, 1932. This board has among other things assembled a list of two thousand possible subjects which an Encyclopaedia of the Negro might treat and a bibliography of all books and articles on the Negro from 1926 to 1936. Work's bibliography supplies the period before 1926.

46-5-109

I suggest that the Encyclopaedia appoint a board of consulting editors who should be at the service of the WPA in suggesting subjects and sources and in helping in the criticism of manuscripts. I suggest that all manuscripts prepared by the workers in the WPA be submitted, before their final form, to the criticism of this editorial board. I suggest that finally the manuscripts be brought together in one place, for instance, in the now unused Carnegie Library building of Atlanta University, either in published form or in manuscript.

It would be permissable, of course, for any manuscript to be published as a WPA enterprise. It would be possible to publish individual manuscripts in periodicals like PHYLON.

It would be the final plan to have the full board of editors of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro whenever the enterprise receives proper support to use the WPA material published and unpublished as the basis of its final articles. It being understood that if an article is used unchanged the WPA and the author will receive full credit. If it is used as a basis of a re-written article the WPA and the author would receive credit as source material.

10 March 1941

Found in Rubens
ad. of S.E. Conf.

- Memo for Dr. Du Bois
as Librarian

(1) The Catholic Univ. Library (D.C.)
is very strong in Latin Americana
and has the best collection of
books regarding Brazil in the
United States (over 20 000)

(2) The Pan-American Library
also has valuable material.

(3) Several of the missionary
libraries are very strong on Africa, eg

Day Missionary Library, Yale Univ.
Hartford Theol Sem", Hartford.
United Missionary Library in
N.Y. City (I have not exact name)

Enc.

A. P. S.

41/12F/21

Eve of the Negro

The Most Important Collections of Material Concerning the Negro in the United States and Abroad

1. Special collections in North American libraries taken from the file of the Library of Congress:

Negro authors.
Louisville Free Public Library, Louisville, Kentucky

Negro literature.
Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

New York Public Library, New York, N. Y. (Material listed in Locke, Alain L., "Plays of Negro Life in N. Y. P. L.) Also Arthur Alfonso Schomberg's, "A bibliographical check-list of American Negro Poetry. N. Y., 1916."

Negro race.
New York Public Library. Schomberg collection. . . 4,000 v., and pm., much manuscript material and prints. (Items written by or about Negroes. . . covers not only Africa and this country, but foreign books in many languages.)

Negroes.
Howard University Library, Washington, D. C. 6,000 v., 3,000 pm., and 300 v. periodicals. Moorland Foundation. Also includes Lewis Tappan. Francis Grimke collections.

U. S. Library of Congress. (Card catalog about 2,080 titles)

Morgan College Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. 1,500 v. (emphasis on the slavery, biography, literature and customs of Negroes in various parts of the world.)

Y. M. C. A. Graduate School, Nashville, Tennessee, 4,000 v.

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va. 3,060 v., 1,224 pm.

University of Virginia, University, Virginia. 400 items, James collection.

Negroes - Colonization.
New York Public Library

Negroes - Education.
General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York City. 3,500 v. and pms.

Negroes in Africa
Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tennessee. (Specializes in works on the Negro outside the U. S.)

Slavery.
Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut
Howard University Library, Washington, D. C. Moorland foundation.
U. S. Library of Congress (card catalog about 3,900 titles)
Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, 3,500 v. and bound pms.

ADB/mjl

Slavery (continued)

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. 1,000 v., and pms. Birney collection.

Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts. (Has William Lloyd Garrison letters . . .) Also Parker collection of Anti-slavery literature.

Brookline public library, Brookline, Massachusetts

Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts. More than 3,300 titles . . .

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Drew University Library, Madison, New Jersey. 451 v., 1,500 pms.

Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, New York

Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1,396 v., 3,000 pms. May collection.

New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y. 1,000 books and pms.

New York Public Library

Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio 1,700 v. including William Goddell collection

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio

Geneva College Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, Anti-slavery collection.

Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Purvis collection of anti-slavery.

Providence Public Library, Providence, R. I. Caleb Fiske Harris Collection of slavery and Civil War was 9,300 items in 1884. Added to . . .

Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas

Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin

2. Additions noted by the Division of Bibliography of the Library of Congress:

Chester, Pennsylvania
Bucknell Library. Crozer Theological Seminary. (52,000 v.) Negroes.

Chicago, Illinois
Chicago Public Library. George Cleveland Hall Branch
48th Street and Michigan Avenue
A special collection of 250 vols. on the literature and history of the Negro race in America. For reference use only.

Julius Rosenwald Fund - 4901 Ellis Avenue. (1,500 v.)
Special collections on books on the Negro, and costs of medical care.

HOB/1J/2

New York City
American Association for Adult Education - 60 East 42 Street
(400 v. 2,000 pms.)
Negro adult education

Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions - 150 Fifth Avenue
(2,337 vols.)
Negroes and Race relations

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Armstrong Association of Philadelphia - 1434 Lombard Street
(400 v. 800 pms.)
Important subjects: biographies and autobiographies of famous Negroes; Surveys of Negro achievements in various fields; Studies of Negro life in urban and rural communities; Negro fiction, poetry, folk-lore, music, art and sculpture; Social problems; other data on Negroes. Special collections: Census reports, Negro in Africa and Haiti; Negro slavery; Abolition movement and the Under-ground railroad; Reconstruction period.

Philadelphia Health Council and Tuberculosis Committee - Room 501, Social Service Building
311 South Juniper Street
Negro health

List of recent references on the Negro, with special reference to economic and industrial conditions compiled September, 1935

3. List of libraries with Negro material furnished by Monroe N. Work, editor of the Negro Year Book:

There are four major library centers in the United States which contain a very large percentage of the best books, manuscripts, etc., in this country on the Negro in Africa and America. These centers are:

1. Washington, with its many libraries, important among which are:
   a. The Library of Congress - 4,600,000 volumes
   b. The Smithsonian Institution Library - 800,000 volumes
   c. The Army Medical Library, Surgeon General Office, War Department 900,000 volumes. (On all phases of health of the Negro in America and Africa)

2. New York City, with its many libraries, important among which are:
   a. The New York Public Library, including the 135th Street Branch, 3,700,000 volumes
   b. Columbia University Library - 1,400,000 volumes
   c. Historical Society Library - 150,000 volumes
   d. American Museum of Natural History - 112,000 volumes

3. Boston
   a. Public Library - 1,650,000 volumes
   b. State Library of Massachusetts - 538,000 volumes
   c. Athenaeum Library - 325,000 volumes
   d. Massachusetts Historical Society Library - 250,000 volumes
   e. Harvard University Library - 3,475,000 volumes

HDB/IV/3

4. Chicago
   a. Public Library - 1,628,000 volumes
   b. John Crerar Library - 560,000 volumes
   c. Newberry Library - 495,000 volumes
   d. Historical Society Library - 65,000 volumes
   e. Field Museum of Natural History Library - 95,000 volumes
   f. University of Chicago Library - 1,050,000 volumes.

"I found in the four Library centers mentioned above, more than 80 per cent of the books, included in my Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America."

4. From Vernon Loggins "The Negro Author" page 408:

The Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, probably the most complete existing assembly of books by and about the Negro. Other libraries are either named in full or designated by the following abbreviations: AAS (American Antiquarian Society); BA (Boston Athenaeum); BPL (Boston Public Library); CHS (Connecticut Historical Society); COl U (Columbia University); Cor U (Cornell University); LoC (Library of Congress); MHS (Massachusetts Historical Society); MdHs (Maryland Historical Society); NYHS (New York Historical Society); NYPL (New York Public Library); PHS (Pennsylvania Historical Society); UTS (Union Theological Seminary); and YU (Yale University).

5. The Andrew D. White collection on the French Revolution and Santo Domingue at Cornell University

6. The John G. White Collection of Folklore and Orientalia of this Library (Cleveland Public) contains a large collection of books on Africa, not only its folk-lore, but also its ethnology and ancient history. There are several hundred volumes on African languages. Mr. Gordon W. Thayer, Librarian of the John G. White Collection, regrets that there is no complete bibliography of this material, but we believe you will be interested to know of its existence, and shall be happy to have you examine it and to be of help in any way in our power.

Miss May Klipple, Ball Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana, is compiling a bibliography of African folk-lore, which Mr. Thayer believes, from specimens submitted, will be quite comprehensive.

7. Rare manuscripts and other source material on the Negro Pioneers of California at the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Much of this has not been catalogued.

8. An outstanding collection of books and pamphlets about the Negro. I have been told it is one of the two or three finest in the United States. (Hampton Institute) There are in the collection several hundred books not listed in Work's Bibliography of the Negro. Mr. Arthur Schomburg examined the collection a year or so ago and spoke of it as especially rich in Americana. There are also many early books about Africa. The collection is housed in a special room planned for the purpose.

President Howe has suggested that I write you that the Record Office at Hampton Institute has very valuable historical material consisting of the letters of early graduates.

408/11/15

9. The collection of the late Ulrich B. Phillips, Professor of American History at Yale composed of both pamphlets and newspapers dealing with the economic history of the South, slavery, and secession. In addition there were a number of photostats, transcripts, and manuscripts, as well as many original letters of public interest. The latter included letters by such men of national importance as Edward Everett, Thomas H. Benton, James Monroe, Lewis Cass, etc. Many of the pamphlets could not be obtained without difficulty in the market at the present time. Among the important newspaper files included were runs of the Charleston Mercury, Charleston News and Courier, Richmond Examiner, The New England Galaxy, Boston Independent Chronicle (from 1777 to 1801), Massachusetts Gazette or Boston Weekly News Letter (1772, 1773, 1774). Papers dated between 1760 and 1770 in this collection numbered ninety, those between 1770 and 1781 numbered one hundred and one. The Boston Evening Transcript for the years 1846 through 1896, except those between 1850 and 1856, was purchased from the University of Chicago, bound.

10. Atlanta University Library Collection: General Negro material and special collection of manuscript material concerning John Brown and ~~Granville Sharp~~ Thomas Clarkson.

11. Library of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada
I think I would be correct in saying that there is more such material in the library of this university and in my own possession than anywhere else in Canada. This would include much material on the Negro in Canada.

12. List of all masters' and doctors' theses on the subject of the Negro from 1931-1937 are published in the Journal of Negro Education annually in the April number.

For masters' and doctors' theses before 1931:
As the author of the articles in the Journal of Negro Education entitled, "The Negro as a Subject of University Research", I have for sometime been interested in the project that you refer to. The Department of the Interior's recently launched "Projects in Research in Universities", are now being considered by our research department, and if we receive funds for conducting such research it is my desire to have collected and edited such lists both from the Library of Congress and the various university libraries. . .. Should the Federal Project not be undertaken, I will at least estimate the cost of compiling such a list from the Library of Congress and inform you of such an estimate. (Ellis O. Knox)

13. In Europe the main collections of Africana are as follows according to Monroe N. Work's Bibliography, page viii:
The British Museum, London; Library of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, Library of the Colonial Office, London; Public Records Office, London; Library of the Colonial Institute, Brussels; Bibliotheque de la Societe Belge de Missions Protestantes au Congo, Brussels; Library of the Colonial Institute, The Hague; Seminar for Oriental Languages (formerly Colonial Institute), Hamburg; Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Universitatsbibliothek, Berlin; Museen fur Tierkunde und Volkerkunde, Dresden; Library Evangelical Missionary Society, Basel; Libary of the League of Nations, Geneva; Bibliotheque de la Societe des Missions Evangeliques, Paris; Bibliotheque du Ministere des Colonies, Paris; Bibliotheque Publique de l'Agence Generale des Colonies, Paris; Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

To these may be added collections in the library of Moscow, Russia; the University of Breslau, Germany; the University of Vienna; and certain collections in Italy, Portugal, and Spain.

14. In the Journal of Negro Education of April, 1936, Volume 5, No. 32, article on "Library Sources for the Study of Negro Life and History": (by Dorothy B. Porter)

The Western Reserve Historical Society, incorporated in 1892 and located in what was once one of the most active anti-slavery centers, contains valuable documents for the study of the slavery argument. The collection of books and pamphlets in this library on the Civil War and Slavery is extensive and ranks among the best in the country on the subject. . . .

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia has important records for the study of slavery and of the free Negro, especially for the Negro in Pennsylvania. In addition to hundreds of pamphlets, books and clippings on the Negro and related subjects, the library contains the Correspondence and minutes of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Abolition and Slavery from 1785-1868. Other documents such as the Records of the Friends' Meetings lend valuable aid to the student of research. Among the rarities that may be found there are some of the original broadsides of the poems of Phillis Wheatley. A glance at the bibliography attached in the excellent study of the Negro in Pennsylvania, by Edward R. Turner shows that most of the material used in this study was found in this society.

It has been known for sometime that the New York Historical Society in New York City has both printed and manuscript materials. Much of it is still inaccessible as it has not been catalogued. The catalogued collection should be examined by the worker in the field of Negro history.

The writer, a few years ago while trying to locate imprints written by American Negroes prior to 1835, discovered that the majority of the titles found were in the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. Mr. Vail, the Librarian, does not know how many titles there are in the library on the Negro and slavery, but he writes that there are "thousands of them.". . .

At the turn of the century several states established state departments of archives and history or some corresponding department concerned with the custody and care of public archives. Of course the value of the records housed in State and County Archives is obvious. Their interest to the antiquarian is perhaps increased by the fact that these records are very often in manuscript form and are kept in fireproof vaults. The Virginia State Library at Richmond has a valuable manuscript collection of more than 1,500,000 pieces. These are Virginia items, for the most part, dating from colonial times. In addition the library has photostatic copies of original manuscripts of a vast number of church and local records. The collection of the Virginia State Library is probably next to the Library of Congress in size and value. The Civil War material is very extensive, especially that dealing with Virginia and the confederate States. . . .

A similar exploration of the records across the country in the County Archives in California reveals a considerable number of manumission papers issued to Negro slaves down to 1856. . . .

Numerous records of this genre can be found in these offices throughout the country and they are for the most part arranged in excellent order and show evidence of much care in their keeping.

Our National depository, The Library of Congress, in addition to the large collection of books and pamphlets has important manuscript material of great value. . . .

There is to be found in the archives of United States Government in the District of Columbia certain classes of material on the Negro. The Naval War Records Office in the Navy Department contains among other manuscripts fifteen volumes of letters on the African Squadroon. This material is of particular value since it relates to the slave trade in its earlier period. Certain records of Freedmen's Bureau may be found in the Adjutant General's Office in the Department of War. The Patents and Miscellaneous Division in the Department of the Interior has among its materials a valuable and interesting group "comprising the papers relative to the slave trade and to schemes for colonizing Negroes." These papers fill eight boxes and four volumes, between the years 1854 and 1872. The papers relating to the suppression of the slave trade "consist of correspondence with United States marshalls and attorneys, and with the President and members of the Slaver Augusta, 1861-1862, and of miscellaneous correspondence; those relating to the colonization schemes of correspondence with officers of the government, consuls, judges of mixed courts, emigration agents and commissioners, and officers of the American colonization Society."

The Department of State houses in its Bureau of Indexes and Archives documents on slave trade, mixed courts on the coast of Africa, 1862-1870, and "letters asking or in the name of the President directing the employment of vessels for executing such obligation as the suppression of the slave trade and opium traffic." The Department of Justice has letters transmitting "accounts for services arising under the execution of the fugitive slave law in Boston" (July 24, 1857). These archives should prove to be invaluable sources for the study of Negro life and history.

An idea of the various materials in the State and Historical Societies may be seen from an examination of Table I.

408/Ti/8

Collections of Negro Materials in State and Historical Societies

Name of Library	Subjects Represented	Volumes	Pamphlets
Massachusetts			
American Antiquarian Society (Worcester)	Slavery, The Free Negro	"Thousands"	"Thousands"
Boston			
Boston Athenaeum	South during the Civil War	632	
Congressional Library	Slavery	140	700
Massachusetts Commandery of Loyal Legion	Civil War	5,200	
Massachusetts Histori-	Civil War (Also Broadsides, 507, Maps 111)	3,323	6,337
New York			
New York Historical Society (New York City)	Slavery, Reconstruction, Civil War	"Thousands"	
Pennsylvania			
Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)	Slavery, Civil War Free Negro	"Many" items"	
Ohio			
Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland)	Slavery	"Very extensive"	
Illinois			
Chicago Historical Society	Slavery		572
Newberry Library (Chicago)	Slavery, Reconstruction, Civil War, Southern History	2,550	
Kansas			
Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka)	John Brown (Also 13 v. of clippings, hundreds of letters and MSS)	37	66
Virginia			
Richmond Confederate Memorial Library	South prior to the Civil War	1,600	
Virginia State Library	Civil War	2,400	
District of Columbia			
Library of Congress	Slavery, Negroes, African languages	6,480	
Louisiana			
Louisiana State Library (Baton Rouge)	Reconstruction	1,000	
Wisconsin			
State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Madison)	Slavery	500	"Hundreds"

408/7j/9

Public Libraries

Numerous public libraries throughout the country have made beginnings in the collection of Negro material. In some one or more specific aspects of history these collections are developing distinct values.

The Boston Public Library with its extensive collection of books, pamphlets, letters and manuscript papers on the Negro and slavery provides an invaluable reservoir for studies. The Parker collection was left to the library by the Reverend Theodore Parker, a well-known abolitionist of his day. At the death of Mrs. Parker in 1881, the library received 12,782 volumes and 4,617 pamphlets. In addition, the library contains about 6,000 letters in the Garrison collection; the Weston Papers, 1808-1885 of 3,000 titles; the Child Papers, 1808-1885, of 400 titles; the May Papers, 1834-1870 of about 500 titles; the Phelps Papers of about 3,000 titles, and numerous small collections of letters and papers relating to anti-slavery. The Civil War material in the library covers several thousand volumes.

Moreover, there are a number of rare broadsides in the Boston Public Library relating to the Negro. . . .

The Boston Public Library also has the Hunt Library of 700 volumes, manuscripts and charts relating to the West Indies and Slavery. The collection was bequeathed to the library by Benjamin P. Hunt of Port au Prince in 1877.

The Public Library of Brookline, Massachusetts, in addition to an ordinary collection of books on the subject in question has a valuable set of seventy-seven volumes of the laws of the slave-holding states which were given to the library by a prominent abolitionist, William I. Bowditch.

The Public Library in Cleveland, Ohio, because of its proximity to the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, does not specialize in material on the Civil War and Reconstruction. It has, of course, the usual materials on the subject that a library of its size would have. The main public library is building up a collection of material on slavery. It is important to know, however, that this library does possess the John Griswold White Collection of Folklore and Orientalia. (See No. 6 of this list) In it there are between four and five hundred books on African languages, including all magazines dealing with this subject. There are seven or eight hundred books with linguistic material in them on Africa. Many Bible translations into African language are in this collection. The books in this collection were given to the library by John C. White of Cleveland before his death or purchased since from his endowment to the White Collection. . . .

The Birmingham Public Library in Alabama, with an endowment of $50,000 for the building up of a collection on Southern History and Literature, has been interested in collecting material on the Negro, Slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many of the volumes in the library are descriptive of the Ante-Bellum South. In 1927 the library organized a separate Department of Southern History and Literature. At present there are 7,783 catalogued volumes. This fact would seem to indicate that in addition to the total number of 914 volumes classified under Civil War, Reconstruction, the Negro and Slavery there would be found a considerable amount of material on the Negro scattered through the other parts of the collection.

The New York Public Library, in addition to its very splendid collection on the Negro in the 135th Street Branch Library, has in the main library a collection of several thousand letters relating to Pierre Toussaint, the freed Santo Domingo Negro slave, which it received in 1903. The biography printed in 1854 of Toussaint has been long out-of-print. . . .

HOB/Ti/10

On the subject of Africa the library has in addition to old and modern histories, accounts of exploration and travel, a fine section of political and social periodicals, many of the special official reports of nations which have been or are interested in some portion of African territory and a large number of publications of museums and institutions devoted to the study of life and customs of the African peoples. The public documents which relate to Africa form one of the ranking collections in this country.

The Providence Public Libary in Providence, Rhode Island, acquired the Caleb Fiske Harris collection on slavery and the Civil War, of about 9,500 volumes, in 1884. The collection has since been greatly increased. "The collection is especially rich in original documents of the Confederate States, in foreign works on the North and South, in material on slavery in the British and French West Indies and in translations of Uncle Tom's Cabin." Mr. Brantz Mayer of Baltimore collected much of the Southern material. He also gathered the interesting collection of posters offering rewards for runaway slaves. In addition there is a good collection of slave narratives. The Civil War material is rich and contains the George H. Smith Scrapbook collection of 33 folio volumes, 1860-1864; the John Russell Bartlett Scrapbook collection of 60 folio volumes from 1860-1868; the Goddard Scrapbook collection which includes among other things a notable collection of pictorial envelopes used during the Civil War.

Table II indicates the extent of available sources concerning the Negro to be found in Public Libraries.

Collection of Negro Materials in Public Libraries

Name of Library	Subjects Represented	Volumes	Pamphlets
Massachusetts			
Boston Public Library	Negro, Slavery (also letters and MSS papers, 12,900)	12,782	4,617
Brookline Public Library	Slave laws of slave-holding states	77	
New York	Slavery, Negroes, Civil War		
Brooklyn Public Library	Reconstruction, South	3,803	
New York Public Library (New York City)	Slavery, Civil War, Africa	23,000	
Rhode Island			
Providence Public Library	Slavery, Civil War	9,500	
Ohio			
Cleveland Public Library	African languages	500	
Kentucky			
Louisville Free Public Library	Confederate literature	500	
Alabama			
Birmingham Public Library	Slavery, Civil War, Reconstruction Negroes, South	914	64
Texas			
Houston Public Library	Africa, Civil War, Slavery, Negro	1,390	
Iowa			
Burlington Free Public Library	Civil War	2,000	

408/13/11

University and College Libraries

There are many admirable collections on the Negro and related topics to be found in college and university libraries. Two large and important collections on anti-slavery literature are to be found in the Oberlin College Library and Cornell University Library. Oberlin has 1,700 volumes on slavery. Situated in what was once a center of the anti-slavery struggle it is natural that the documents on this subject are preserved there. Many of the slavery items were obtained when a campaign was undertaken at the time of the opening of the Spear Library building in 1885.

Three appeals for gifts to the "Historical Collection on Slavery" were made, with the plea - "We have a very valuable collection and hope to make it complete. We desire to secure a copy of every book, pamphlet, report, bearing upon the subject." As a result William Goodell's splendid collection representing every phase of the anti-slavery movement was secured through his grandson, Professor Frost. It lacks, however, periodicals and pro-slavery material. Other gifts of considerable importance were received. In 1932 there was printed A Classified Catalogue of Anti-Slavery Propaganda in the Oberlin College Library. It was compiled by Geraldine Hubbard as part of a thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts. As a classified and annotated list and index it is invaluable to the whole collection.

The Cornell University Library at Ithaca, New York received as a gift the private library of Samuel J. May, an abolitionist, in 1870. Small additions were made later by gifts from R. D. Webb of Dublin and Mrs. E. D. Nichols of Edinburgh. Occasional purchases have increased the collection. The library is also fortunate in possessing the letter books of the Freedmen's Aid Society. These are in manuscript form. There is no printed catalog of the collection. The whole collection has been listed on slips. In 1864 there appeared a printed list of books on slavery compiled by Samuel May. This list was more than likely made from the books in the possession of May. If so, they in all probability formed part of the collection which was presented to Cornell University.

The library at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts owes its collection of volumes on slavery very largely to Charles Sumner and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. The collection is made up of pamphlets bound together. In addition, there are many books on slavery and there is a representative number of rare items written by free Negroes before 1840. The subject catalogue has about 3,300 titles under slavery. On Africa the Harvard University library has 8,000 volumes. One thousand of these are on North Africa. Its collection of over 600 titles on the Bantu languages is the largest in the United States. This was made possible through the purchase of the Frederick Starr collection relating to the Congo language.

The Library of the University of Texas has a special fund for Southern History, presented by the late Major George W. Littlefield, an ex-confederate soldier of Austin, Texas. The Littlefield Collection was established in 1914, and (as is stated on the bookplates) "for the full and impartial study of the South and its part in American history." The main emphasis has been placed on the period from 1820-1867. This period includes "Southern imprints and any phase of political, industrial, social and literary history of the South". At the present time the card catalogue has approximately 1,000 entries under the subject Negro, 765 for Africa and 2,740 for the Civil War. There is much material that would be pertinent to the general subject Negro that is not brought out under these headings.

The Birney collection gathered by James G. Birney, the abolitionist, and his son General William Birney was presented to Johns Hopkins University in 1891. The collection contained over 1,000 volumes and pamphlets including many rare and early pamphlets. There are minutes of many of the meetings from the first abolition convention of 1790 to 1872; daily abolition newspapers, including the nearest complete set known of Lundy's Genius of Universal Emancipation and an especially rich collection of pamphlets for the political and religious controversies from 1835-1865. In the same year the library received 50,000 pamphlets, unpublished manuscripts, autographed letters, official documents and historical curios on Southern History and the war between the states and pertaining chiefly to the history of Maryland.

At Atlanta, the Emory University Library is building up a collection of Southern history and literature, about one-half of the thousand volumes collected thus far relate to slavery and the Civil War. There are over 500 titles by little known Southern writers. The family of Joel Chandler Harris has deposited the Harris manuscript material in a memorial room at Emory. In addition to the manuscript material there are copies of all of the published volumes of Harris, a file of the "Uncle Remus Magazine", photographs, scrapbooks and other material relating to the author. . . .

In the Southeastern libraries may be found more or less complete files of the Southern Literary Gazette, Southern Review, Southern Quarterly Journal, Sewanee Review, South Atlantic Quarterly, Virginia Quarterly Review.

The data in Table III show that there are valuable materials for the study of the Negro in College and University Libraries.

Collections of Negro Materials in College and University Libraries

Name of Library	Subjects Represented	Volumes	Pamphlets
Massachusetts			
Harvard University (Cambridge)	Africa, African Languages, Slavery	10,049	
Vermont			
University of Vermont (Burlington)	Civil War	2,000	
New York			
Cornell University (Ithaca)	Slavery	1,396	3,000
New Jersey			
Drew University (Madison)	Slavery, Negro question, Civil War, Reconstruction	1,185	1,500
Princeton University	Civil War	6,538	2,520
Illinois			
Chicago University	Civil War, Papers (10,000) Lincolniana (4,000 vols. and clippings)		
University of Illinois (Urbana)	Lincolniana	145	
Pennsylvania			
Geneva College (Beaver Falls)	Slavery (Files of Covenanter Church)	40	
University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)	Negro, Slavery, Civil War	"Several Thousand Cards in Catalogue"	
Ohio			
Oberlin College Library	Slavery	1,700	
District of Columbia			
Howard University	All subjects pertaining to the Negro	6,000	3,000
Virginia			
Hampton Institute (Hampton)	All subjects pertaining to the Negro	3,323	945
Maryland			
Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore)	Slavery, Southern History, Civil War	51,000	
Tennessee			
Fisk University (Nashville)	All subjects relating to the Negro	6,000	
Georgia			
Emory University (Atlanta)	Slavery, Civil War, southern History and Literature	1,000	
Texas			
University of Texas (Austin)	Africa, Reconstruction, Civil War, Negro	5,100	

To be added to:

The Most Important Collections of Material Concerning the Negro in the United States and Abroad

The most important documentary collection in Europe dealing with the Negro is the "Archives of the Indies" which, before the present Spanish Civil War, were in the cities of Simancas, Madrid, and Seville. Some of these have been calendared, notably in the "Hispanic American Historical Review", III, 292-332 and IV, 559; and in Roscoe R. Hill, "Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba." These compilations will greatly facilitate the search for documents pertaining to the Negro.

For slavery in the French colonies one should consult series Lk9 and Lk12 in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, and DXXV56 and DXXV110 in the Archives Nationales. The very valuable Cahiers de doleances de la colonie de Saint-Domingue were published for the first time in 1933. I have a copy.

Herbert C. Bell and David W. Parker have compiled a "Guide to British West Indian Archive Materials in London and the Islands for the History of the United States". M. S. Giuseppi has described the contents of the British Public Record Office in his "Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the British Record Office. The most important is that dealing with the slave trade - Series F. O. 84. There has also been published a "List of Colonial Office Records, Preserved in the Public Record Office", supplemented by the "Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum". Richard Pares has described the "Public Records in British West India Islands" in the Institute of Historical Research Bulletin, VII (February, 1930), 149-157. Norman Fee has prepared a "Catalogue of Pamphlets, Journals and Reports in the Public Archives of Canada, 1611-1867.

In Portugal the present national archives, the counterpart of the British Record Office, are described by Azevedo and Baiao in "O Archivo da Torre do Tombo."

Mexico began in 1930 an analysis of her archives in the "Boletin del Archivo General de la Nacion". Senor Rafael Heliodoro Valle will aid us in this.

For Argentina the "Boletin del Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas" has been publishing indexes to the archives.

In Brazil the "Publicacoes do Archivo Nacional, XIII, 5-124, gives a general indication of the materials in the national archives.

Vergaray Velasco has indexed the national archives of Colombia in "Republica de Colombia,"indice analitico, metodico y descriptivo which covers only the period 1544-1819.

There is a short appraisal, but no catalogue, of the materials in the national archives of Paraguay in Juan F. Perez, "Los Archivo de la Asuncion".

The "Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru" has been publishing a description of the contents.

The "Boletin del Archivo Nacional" is publishing archival indexes for Venezuela.

For France the most valuable guides are "Catalogue general des manuscrits des bibliotheques, publiques de France: Universite de Paris et universites des departements"; for the Bibliotheque Nationale, Catalogue general des manuscrits francais.

One should also consult the Manoel de Oliveira Lima Mss. in the Catholic University, Washington, and the very important collection of Braziliana at Duke University.

Rayford W. Logan

Notes by Professor Charles T. Loram:

Mendelsohn Collection "perhaps the best collection of South Africana in the world" at the Public Library, Capetown.

The Gibbins Collection, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, "famous".

Library of the Houses of Parliament, Capetown "reasonably good collection."

HOB/Fj/18

Libraries - Encyclopaedia

"The British Museum, London; Library of the Royal Colonial Institute, London; Library of the Colonial Office, London; Public Records Office, London; Library of the Colonial Institute, Brussels; Bibliothèque de la Société Belge de Missions Protestantes au Congo, Brussels; Library of the Colonial Institute, The Hague; Seminar for Oriental Languages (formerly Colonial Institute), Hamburg; Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Universitätsbibliothek, Berlin; Museen für Tierkunde und Völkerkunde, Dresden; Library Evangelical Missionary Society, Basel; Library of the League of Nations, Geneva; Bibliothèque de la Société des Missions Evangéliques, Paris; Bibliothèque du Ministère des Colonies, Paris; Bibliothèque Publique de l'Agence Générale des Colonies, Paris; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris."
(Preface, p. viii, Bibliography of the Negro, Work.)

41/125/84

Information from Index to Special Collections in North American Libraries.

(1)

408/7j/19

Negro authors.
Louisville Free Public Library, Louisville, Ky.

Negro literature.
Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.

New York Public Library, New York, N.Y. (Material listed in Locke, Alain L., "Plays of Negro Life in N.Y.P.L.) Also Arthur Alfonso Schomberg's, "A bibliographical check-list of American negro poetry. N.Y., 1916."

Negro race.
New York Public Library. Schomberg collection... 4,000 v., and pm., much manuscript material and prints. (Items written by or about negroes... covers not only Africa and this country, but foreign books in many languages.)

Negroes.
Howard University Library, Washington, D.C. 6,000 v., 3,000 pm., and 300 v. periodicals. Moorland Foundation. Also includes Lewis Tappan, Francis Grimke collections.

U.S.Library of Congress. (Card catalog about 2,080 titles)

Morgan College Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. 1,500 v. (emphasis on the slavery, biography, literature and customs of negroes in various parts of the world.)

Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, Nashville, Tenn. 4,000 v.

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va. 3,060 v., 1,224 pm.

University of Virginia, University, Va. 400 items, James collection.

Negroes - Colonization.
New York Public Library

Negroes - Education.
General Educational Board, 61 Broadway, New York City. 3,500 v. and pms.

Negroes in Africa
Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tenn. (Specializes in works on the negro outside the U.S.)

Slavery.
Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn.

Howard University Library, Washington, D.C. Moorland foundation.

U.S.Library of Congress (card catalog about 3,900 titles)

Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill., 3,500 v. and bound pms.

408/7/20

Slavery (Cont'd.)

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1,000 v., and pms. Birney collection.

Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass. (Has William Lloyd Garrison letters...)
Also Parker collection of Anti-slavery literature.

Brookline public library, Brookline, Mass.

Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass. More than 3,300 titles...

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

Drew University Library, Madison, New Jersey. 451 v., 1,500 pm.

Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 1,396 v., 3,000 pm. May collection.

New York Historical Society, New York, N.Y. 1,000 books and pm.

New York Public Library.

Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, O. 1,700 v. Including William Goddell collection.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

Geneva College Library, Beaver Falls, Pa., Anti-slavery collection.

Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Phila.,Pa.

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Purvis collection of anti-slavery.

Providence Public Library, Providence, R.I. Caleb Fiske Harris Collection
of Slavery and Civil War was 9,300 items in 1884. Added to...

Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas.

Wisconsin state historical society, Madison, Wis.

Encyclopaedia of the Negro- Sources of Material

41/12F/18

Foreign Office 84/1-1529 (vols.) Slave Trade

312/1-43 Slave Trade Cape Town

313/1-67 Slave Trade Havana

314/1-3 Slave Trade Jamaica

315/1-96 Slave Trade Sierra Leone

With bundles of papers of ships adjudicated - Brazilian, Netherlands Portuguese and Spanish

Treasury

70/1-1692 African Companies

71/1-1626 Slave Compensation Records

(signed) Ruth Anna Fisher

Encyclopaedia of the Negro - Sources of Materials

41/12F/20

1. The Catholic University Library (D. C.) is very strong in Latin Americana and has the best collection of books regarding Brazil in the United States (over 20,000).

2. The Pan-American Library also has valuable material.

3. Several of the Missionary Libraries are very stron on Africa, for example:

Day Missionary Library, Yale University

Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut

United Missionary Library in New York City (I have not the exact name)

(Signed) A. P. Stokes

Sept 37 - June 39

(1937)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH

AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Entries in this number cover publications from **September to November 1937.**

41/12D11

1. Anthropology and Sociology

Ashton, E. H. Notes on the Political and Judicial Organization of the Tswana. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 67-83.

Bartlett, F. C. Psychological Methods and Anthropological Problems. Africa, 10, 401-420.

Bittremieux, L. Brief van Musiri (uit het Kisanga vertaald). KO, 3, 5, 252-291.

Boccassion, R. 1937. La figura e le caratteristiche dell'Essere Supremo degli Acioli dell'Uganda. Roma: Bardi. XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientaliste.

Breuil, H. A Y-shaped Point in Natal, and a Big Palette from the Transvaal. Man, 37, 187, illus.

Chevalier, Aug. Les plantes magiques cultivees par les Noirs d'Afrique et leur origine. JSA, 8, 1, 93-105.

De Clercq, Mgr. A. Hoe het Tshiluba zich in Kasai verspreidde. KO, 3, 5, 241-244.

De Jonghe, E. Les arbres a esprits au Kasai. IRCB Seances, 1937, 2, 378-392.

Delcroix, Gerard. Enquete sur le Lahore de N'gaoundere. Bull. de la Soc. d'Etudes Camerounaises, 2, 1937, 49-60.

Elsdon-Dew, R. The Blood Groups of the Bantu of Southern Africa. Pub. S. Afr. Inst. Med. Research, 7, 1936, 217-300.

Field, M. J. 1937. Religion and Medicine of the Ga People. Oxford University Press. Pp. 214, illus., map. 17s. 6d.

Fortes, M. 1937. Marriage Law among the Talensi. Accra: Government Printer. Pp. 23.

Fouche, L., Ed. 1937. Mapungubwe. Ancient Bantu Civilisation on the Limpopo. Reports on Excavations at Mapungubwe. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 183, maps, illus. 50s.

Gluckmann, M. Mortuary customs and the belief in survival after death among the South-Eastern Bantu. Bantu St., 11, 117-136.

Gray, J. L. The Comparative Sociology of South Africa. S. Afr. J. Econ, 5, 1937, 269-284.

Grevisse, F. Les Bayeke (Katanga). BJIDCC, 5, 3, 97-113 (a suivre).

Griaule, Marcel. Blasons totemiques des Dogon. JSA, 8, 1, 69-78.

Guth, Die 'Mutter' im Sprachgebrauch der Asu. Z. Ethn., 69, 1-3, 1-7.

Haertter, G. Das Gottesgericht bei den Ewe. Z. Ethn., 69, 1-3, 63-78.

Hall, G. R. A Lake Village in West Africa. Man, 37, no. 188.

Hee, A. Le Ngo: Societe Secrete du Haut-Ogowe (Gabon). Africa, 10, 472-480.

Hofstra, S. Personality and Differentiation in the Political Life of the Mendi. Africa, 10, 436-457.

Ittmann, I. Leib, Seele und Geist im Dula. EMM, 89, 238-247.

Jones, G. I. Ohaffia Obu Houses. Nigerian Field, 6, 169-171, illus.

Kruger, F. Tlokwa traditions. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 85-115.

Kuczynski, R. R. 1937. Colonial Population. Oxford University Press. Pp. 101. 5s.

Laubscher, B. J. F. 1937. Sex, Custom and Psychopathology. A Study of South African Pagan Natives. London: Routledge. Pp. 347, illus. 21s.

Laidler, P. W. Beads in Africa south of the Zambezi (Part II). Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, 35, 35-48.

Lauwe, Paul-Henry De. Pierres et poteries sacrees du Mandara, Cameroun Nord (Mission Sahara-Cameroun). JSA, 7, 1, 53-67.

Lenzinger. Afrikanische Plastik. Mitt. d. Geogr.-ethnogr. Ges Zurich, 36.

Lesourd, Michel. Les femmes d'Incalah, mangeuses de chats a l'occasion de la fete Es Sabaa. J.SA, 8, 1, 1937, 33.

Lestrade, G. P. Some notes on the political organisation of certain Xhosa-speaking tribes in the Transkeian Territories. Trans. R. Soc, S. Afr., 24, 1937, 281-301.

Lotte, Lieut. Coutumes des Imraguen (Cote de Mauritanie, A. O.F.). JSA, 7, 1, 41-51.

MacCrone, I. D. 1937. Race Attitudes in South Africa. Historical, Experimental, and Psychological Studies. Oxford University Press. Pp. 328. 12s. 6d.

Manoly, J. Les arts traditionnels de quelques chefferies Katangaises. Bulletin des Amis de l'Art Indigene du Katanga, juillet 1937.

Mortier, R. De Bambenga-Pygmoiden in Ubangi. KO, 3, 5, 245-251.

Nadel, S. F. A Field Experiment in Racial Psychology. British Journal of Psychology, 28, 195-211.

_____ Experiments in Culture Psychology, Africa, 10, 421-435.

Paulme, Denise. La divination par les chacals chez les Dogon de Sanga. JSA, 7, 1, 1-14.

41/12B/2

Peeraer, S. Le Chant chez les Baluba. Bulletin des Amis de l'Art Indigene du Katanga, juillet 1937.

Pierret, Robert. Une carte des gravures rupestres et des peintures a l'ocre de l'Afrique du Nord. JSA, 8, 1, 107-123.

Rode, P. Sur la repartition des groupes sanguins chez les indigenes de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise. JSA, 7, 1, 37-49.

Savani, M. Notes sur les populations Namchis. Bull. de la Soc. d'Etudes Camerounaises, 2, 1937, 17-48.

Schmidt, W. Methode der kulturhistor. Ethnologie. 354 S. Munster: Aschend. RM. 8.50.

Schneider, M. Ueber die Verbreitung afrikanischer Chorformen. Z. Ethn., 69, 1-3, 78-88.

Seidel, W. Die Verbreitung der Inder in Ostund Sudafrika. Rostock: Leopold. 1937. xv[illegible]85 S., Kt. (Mitt. d. Geogr. Ges. Rostock, Beih. 7.) RM. 2.75. Diss.

Tercafs, J. Quelques aspects des croyances et des legendes des populations du territoire des Mangbetu. IRCB Seances, 1937, 2, 449-466.

Tiarko Fourche, J. A., Et Morlighem, H. La danse de Tshishimbi chez les Lulua du Kasai. IRCB Seances, 1937, 2, 395-429.

Tiarko Fourche, J. A., Et Morlighem, H. Les arbres a esprits au Kasai. IRCB Seances, 1937, 2, 347-377.

Van Den Eyvang, M. Notice historique sur les Balunda. Congo, 2, 2, 1937, 193-208.

Van Der Kerken, G. Enkele beschouwingen in verband met de studie der inlandsche volken van Belgisch Afrika. KO, 3, 5, 292-302.

Van Malderen, A. Bwanga bwa tambwe (Crimes et superstitions indigenes dans le territoire d'Ankoro). BJIDCC, 5, 3, 119-121.

Van Wing, J. Les danses Bakongo. Congo, 2, 2, 1937, 121-131.

Villeneuve, Annie De. Etude sur une coutume somalie; les femmes cousues. JSA, 7, 1, 15-32.

Wagner, G. Witchcraft among the Azande (review of E. E. Evans-Pritchard's book). JRAS, 36, 469-476.

Weekse, G. La peuplade des Ambundu. Congo, 2, 192, 1937, 13-35 and 150-166.

II. LINGUISTICS

A Practical Orthography for Tswana. Bantu st., 11, 137-148.

Bittremieux, L. De Kongolcesche spraakkunde op nieuwe banen. Congo, 2, 1, 1937, 36-64.

Bogearts, H. Onomasticon van 't Luntuvolk. Congo, 2, 2, 1937, 167-192.

Hulstaert, G. Considerations sur l'orthography Lonkundo-Lomongo. Aequatoria, 1, 1937, 12.

Lukas, J. Gibt es Klassensprachen im zenstralen Sudan? Forschungen und Fortschritte, 13, 30, 353-354.

Lukas, J., Ed. 1937. Zentralsudanische Studien. Worterverzeichnisse der Deutschen Zentral - Afrika - Expedition. Hamburg: Friedrichsen. Pp. 192. RM. 10.

Snegirev, I. L. 1937. Izinganekwane. Russian translation of Callaway's Zulu Folktales. Illus. by N. A. Ushin. Moscow-Leningrad: U.S.S.R. Academy of Science (Series: Languages and Literature of Africa). Pp. 246. 10 roubles. (Introductory chapter on 'Zulu and their Folklore' discussing Zulu society in relation to its folktales.)

41/12D/4

VERNACULAR BOOKS

Bantu

SWAHILI

Gleiss, F. 1937. David Livingstone, Barazani No. 1. Lwandai, P. O. Lushoto, T. T.: Usambara-Agentur. Pp. 40, illus. 20 cts.

Greenway, P. J. A Swahili Dictionary of Plant Names. Dar-es-Salaam: East African Agricultural Research Station, Amani, T. T.

Reusch, R. 1937. Jinsi Dini ya Islamu ilivyotungwa. Lwandai, P. O. Lushoto, T.T.: Usambara-Agentur. Pp. 63. 50 cts.

NYANYEKA

Os Evangelhos dos Domingos e Festas de Guarda em Portuguez e Lunyanyeka. 1934. Missao de Huila. Pp. 117.

Catecismo de Doutrina Crista Portugues-Olunyanyeka. 1936. Missao da Huila. Pp. 199.

Sudanic

FANTE

Neill, H. C., and Korsah, J. E. K. 1937. Kenkan me hwe. Nwoma a otsia ebien. Fante Series Reader II. London: Longmans. Pp. 64, illus. 10d.

III. EDUCATION AND MISSIONS

Anstey, F. Vice Versa. Simplified by M. West. 1937. New Method Conversation Course. London: Longmans. Pp. 78. 10d.

Broderick, G. E. P. 1937. Notes for Oversea Teachers on the Teaching of English History and Civics. London: Longmans. Pp. 104. 2s.

Dougall, J. W. C., Ed. 1937. Christianity and the Sex-Education of the African. Containing articles by G. Wagner, A. R. Barlow, A. J. Hopkins. London: S. P. C. K. Pp. 128. 1s. 6d.

Eeles, G. H. Problems of Teacher Training in Tanganyika Territory. O. Ed., 9, 22-28.

Field, M. J. Science in African Secondary Education O. Ed., 9, 1-21.

Fitikides, T. J. 1937. Common Mistakes in English (with exercises). London: Longmans. Pp. 86, 1s. 4d.

Gerdener, G. B. A. The Missionary Situation in South Africa. S. Afr. Outlook, 67, 78-84.

Gollock, G. A. 1937. Stories of Famous Africans. The New Method English Library. London: Longmans. Pp. 61. 9d.

_____ 1937. More Studies of Famous Africans. The New Method English Library. London: Longmans. Pp. 61. 9d.

4/11/2/5

Grieveson, E. T. Educational Needs of Urbanized Natives in South Africa. JRAS, 36, 321-336.

Hardy, Georges. Le probleme scolaire en Algerie. AF, i et 9, aout-sept. 1937, 419-422.

Heap, M. H. The New Method Book of Verse. London: Longmans. Pp. 60, illus. 9d.

Herbert, D. The Overseas Poetry Books. London: Longmans. Book I. 1937. 8d. Pp. 40, illus. Book II. 1937. Is. 4d. Pp. 119, illus.

Higher Education in East Africa. Report of the Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1937. London: H. M. Stationery Office. Pp. 136, map. 2s. 6d.

Lewis, R. H. Educational Co-operation of Government and Missions in Bechuanaland. OEd., 9, 17-21.

Macquarrie, J. W. Some needs of native education. S. Afr. Outlook, 67, 1937, 180-184.

Malherbe, E. G., Ed. 1937. Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society. Report of the South African Education Conference held in July, 1934, under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship. Capetown: Juta. Pp. xv/545.

Notcutt, L. A., and Latham, G. C. 1937. The African and the Cinema. An account of the work of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment. London: Edinburgh House Press. Pp. 256, illus. 3s. 6d.

Rousseau, H. J. Realism in African Education. S. Afr. Outlook, 67, 1937, 30-35.

Trott, W. Brauchtum und Sippenwesen der Basotho und der Aufbau der Kirche. NAMZ, 14, 10, 305-314.

Walton, G. The Scout Movement in Africa. JRAS, 36, 477-481.

Watson, C. R. 1937. What is this Moslem World? London: Student Christian Movement. Pp. 207. 5s.

Winstedt, R. O. 1937. Right Thinking and Right Living. The New Method English Library. London: Longmans. Pp. 91. 1s. 3d.

IV. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Arnett, E. J. A French View of Colonial Administration. JRAS, 36, 447-451.

Brownlee, F. The Administration of the Transkeian Native Territories. JRAS, 36, 337-346.

Clauson, G. L. M. Some Uses of Statistics in Colonial Administration. JRAS, 36 Supplement.

Davis, J. British Africa and the South. The Virginia Quarterly Review, Summer 1937, 362-375.

Desmore, A. The Cape Coloured People Today. JRAS, 36, 347-356.

Hofmeyr, J. H. The Approach to the Native Problem. JRAS, 36, 270-297.

Hore-Ruthven, C. M. The South-African Institute of Race Relations. JRAS, 36, 311-316.

Van Der Horst, S. T. Native Labour and Wages. Race Rel., 4, 1937, 66-70.

Keith, J. L. Native Progress in Northern Rhodesia. JRAS, 36, 482-489.

Labouret, Henri. Le Mouvement pan-negre aux Etats-Unis et ses repercussions en Afrique. Politique Etrangere, Paris, No. 4, aout 1937.

Lugard, Lord. British Policy in Nigeria (Review Article: M. Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria). Africa, 10, 377-400.

Matthews, Z. K. An African View of Indirect Rule in Africa. JRAS, 36, 433-437.

_____ The Native Laws Amendment Bill. S. Afr. Outlook, 67, 1937 104-107.

Meek, C. K. 1937. Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe. A Study in Indirect Rule. Oxford University Press. Pp. 372, map. 17s.

Record of the 23rd Meeting of the International Colonial Institute held in London in 1936. (French and English.) 1937. Bruxelles: Etablissments Generaux d' Imprimerie. Pp. 436.

Roberts, C. Clifton. 1937. Tangled Justice. Some Reasons for a Change of Policy in Africa. London: Macmillan. Pp. 157. 7s. 6d.

Scott, H. S. Education and Nutrition in the Colonies. Africa, 10, 458-471.

Hoernle, R. F. A. On the Future of the Native Peoples in South Africa. Race Rel. 4, 1937, 55-60

411/2D/6

National Council of Women of S. Africa. 1937. Report of Dominions Conference held in Johannesburg, November 1936. Johannesburg: The Council. Pp. 95. (Contains papers on Native policy, position of women, &c., by Mesdames Ballinger, Kuper, Hellmann, Masole, Mahanya, Rheinallt Jones.)

Nicholls, G. H. 1937. The problem of the native in South Africa. Pretoria: The Government Printer. Pp. 8.

Nielsen, P. 1937. The Colour Bar. Capetown: Juta. Pp. 148.

Trevor, D. Native provident societies in French West Africa. S. Afr. J. Econ., 5, 1937, 243-253.

Strickland, C. F. The Co-operative Movement in South Africa. JRAS, 36, 461-468.

Watson, M. Malaria and Nutrition in Africa. JRAS, 36, 405-420.

41/12/17

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Cheneveau, Dr. R. Notes psychiatres au Togo. Annales de Medecine et de Pharmacie Coloniales, 2, avril-mai-juin 1937, 431-462.

Curson, H. H., and Thornton, R. W. A Contribution to the Study of African Native Cattle. Onderstepoort J. Vet. Sci., 7, 1936, 613-739, illus.

Niven, C. R. 1937. Negro Year Book. An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro. 1937 - 1938. Tuskegee, Alabama: Negro Year Book Company. Pp. 575. $2.

Wyndham, H. A. 1937. The Atlantic and Emancipation. Oxford University Press. Pp. 300, map. 12s. 6d. (History of race relations in the 19th and 20th century.)

4DB/TJ/160

Galloway, A. Man in Africa in the Light of Recent Discoveries. S. Afr. J. Sci., 34, 1937, 351-64.

Ganay, Solange De. Notes sur le culte du Lebe chez les Dogon du Soudan francais. JSA, 7, 2, 1937, 203-211.

Gbaguidi, Benjamin. L'education dans la societe indigene (enquete). Education Africaine, Goree, 96, janv.-juin 1937, 48-57.

Grevisse, F. Les Bayeke. BJIDCC, 6, 7, 200-216.

Guenin, M. P. Au Congo belge: Un Medecin dans la brousse. Les Missions Dominicaines, nov.-dec. 1937, 169-184.

Hulstaert, G. 1938. Le marriage des Nkundo. Pp. 520, 1 carte. Bruxelles: Institut Royal Colonial Belge (Memoires). 100 frs.

Jak, J. Eenige Ethnographica over de Walengola-Babirs. Congo, 1, 1, 1938, 13-21.

Jones, A. M. The Study of African Musical Rhythm. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 295-319.

Kandamakumbo. Courtship and Marriage amongst the Vakaranga. Kutiza Makumbo. Nada, 15, 1938, 87.

____ 'Ordeals'. Nada, 15, 1938, 70-71.

Kane Issa. La circoncision chez les Toucouleurs. Education Africaine, Goree, 96, janv.-juin 1937, 42-47.

Karutz, R. 1938. Die afrikanische Seele. Basel. (brosch.) RM. 7.20.

Kenyatta, J. 1938. Facing Mount Kenya. The Life of the Gikuyu. Pp. 339, plates, Map. London: Seeker & Warburg. 12s. 6d.

Kohl-Larsen, L. Lai. Ein Burungimarchen. Z. Ethn., 69, 4-5, 234-264.

Krige, J. D. Traditional Origins and Tribal Relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 321-356.

Labouret, H. L'Alimentation des Autochtones dans les Possessions Tropicales. Africa, 11, 2, 160-173.

____ La geographie alimentaire en Afrique Occidentale. Annales de Geographie, oct. 1937, 591-610.

____ La condition des metis au Soudan francais. Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignments du Gouvernement General de l'A.O.F., Dakar, 134, 9 mars 1937, p. 3.

Labrecque, E. La sorcellerie chez les Babemba. Anthropos, 33, 1-2, 260-265.

Leakey, L. S. B. The Stone Age Cultures of Uganda. Man, 38, 60.

Lebeuf, Jean-Paul. Rapport sur les travaux de la 4e mission Griaule. JSA, 7, 2, 1937, 213-219.

____ La mission Sahara-Cameroun (4e mission Griaule). Cameroun, dec. 1937, 3-15, illus.

Leblanc, E., et Bergerot, J. Nouvelle contribution a l'etude de l'anthropologie anatomique des Touareg. Revue anthropologique, Paris, 46, 1936, 140-150

ADB 173/161

Millous, P. La frontiere ethnique soudano-bantou au Cameroun. L'Anthropologie, Paris, 47, 1937, 99-101.

Miske, A. Une tribu maraboutique du Sahel: les Ahel Barikalla. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 20, 4, oct.-dec. 1937, 482-506.

Murati, P. Le Maraboutisme ou la naissance d'une famille ethnique dans la region de Tobossa. Revue Africaine, 80, 371, 1937, 2, 256-315, illus.

Newberry, R. J. Some Games and Pastimes of Southern Nigeria. Nigerian Field, 7, 2, 85-90, illus.

Oberg, K. Kinship Organization of the Banyankole. Africa, 11, 2, 129-158.

Owen, T. R. H. The Madendowa, SNR, 20, 2, 183-208, plates.

Peeraer, S. Gouwzang der Bene-Lupulu (Baluba). Congo, 1, 5, 1938, 281-287.

Placidus, Tempels. De tolgebaren der Bashila. KO, April 1938, 49-53.

Pritchard, E. E. Evans. A Note on the Rain-Makers among the Moro (illus.). Man, 38, 49.

_____ Economic Life of the Nuer: Cattle, SNR, 20, 2, 209-245, plates.

Pumphrey, M. E. C. Shilluk 'Royal' Language Conventions. SNR, 20, 2, 319-321.

Quenum, Maximilien. 1938. Au pays des Fons (Us et coutumes du Dahomey). In-4°, seconde edition. Pp. 171, illus. Paris: Larose.

Ray, Joanny, Les travilleurs marocains de l'Anti-Atlas, chez eux, chez nous. Monde colonial illustre, fev. 1938, 28-29.

Rheinallt, Jones, J. D., and Doke, C. M. (Ed.). 1937. Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari. (Papers reprinted from Bantu Studies, vol. x, no. 4, and vol. xi, no. 2, together with some additional material.) Pp. 283, plates. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press. 18s.

Roberts, J. G. Totemism and Sexuality. Nada, 15, 1938, 44-61.

Sachs, Curt. 1938. Les instruments de musique de Madagascar. In-8°, Pp. 96, illus. Universite de Paris: Travaux et memoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, Tome XXVIII. 56 frs. 25.

Schaegelen, R. T. Th., C. S. Sp. La Tribu des Wagogo. Anthropos, 33, 1-2, 195-217.

Sieber, D. and J. Das Leben des Kindes im Nsungli-Stamm. Africa, 11, 2, 208-220.

Snowden, A. E. A Double-Storey Hut (illus.). Nada, 15, 1938, 65-68.

_____ Some Common Musical Instruments found among the Native Tribes of Southern Rhodesia (illus). Nada, 15, 1938, 99-103.

Taschdjian, E. Stammensorganisation und Eheverbote der Somalis. Anthropos, 33, 1-2, 114-118.

ADB.TJ.162

Thurnwald, R. C. The African in Transition. Some comparisons with Melanesia. Africa, 11, 2, 174-186.

Traoer, Dominique. Notes sur le royaume Mandinguc de Bobo. Education Africaine, 96, janv.-juin 1937, 58-77, Coree.

Van Bulck, V. XXI[e] Nederlandsche Ethnologendag. KO, April 1938, 54-81.

Van Caeneghem, R. 1938. Studie over de gewoontelijke strafbepalingen tegen het overspel bij de Balula en Bena Lulua van Kasai. Pp. 56. Bruxelles: Institut Roual Colonial Belge (Memoires). 10 frs.
_____1938. Kabundi Sprookjes. Pp. 240. Bruxelles: Vromant et Cie.

Vedder, H. Die Buschmanner Sudwestafrikas und ihre Weltanschauung. S. Afr. J. Sci., 34, 1937, 416-436.

Voinot, L. Confreries et Zaouias au Maroc oriental du Nord: Bulletin trimestriel de la Societe de Geographie et d'Archeologie d'Oran, 58, fasc. 206-207, juin-sept. 1937, pp. 125-149.

Wells, L. H. The Status of the Bushman as revealed by a Study of Endocranial Casts. S. Afr. J. Sci., 34, 1937, 365-396.

Williams, J. J. Africa's God. V. Congo and Angola. VII. East Africa. Boston College Press. $1 ea. Anthropological Series of the Boston College Graduate School, 2, 2, serial 6, 137.

II. LINGUISTICS

Alexandre, R. P. 1934. Lexique francaismore. Pp. 263. Maison Carree, Alger: Imprimerie des Peres Blancs.
_____1935. Dictionnaire more-francais. Pp. 1017. Maison Carree, Alger; Imprimerie des Peres Blancs.
_____1935. Grammaire more. Pp. 253. Maison Carree, Alger: Imprimerie des Peres Blancs.

Berger, P. Die mit B-ile gebildeten Perfektstamme in den Bantusprachen (Fortsetzung). Z. f. Eg., 28, 3 (Konde u. Safwa).

Burssens, A. Tonologisch onderzoek van het Luba. KO, Feb. 1938, 25-38; April 1938, 41-48.

Deschamps, Hubert. Le dialecte Antaisaka. In 4°, Pp. 126. Tananarive.

Hartley, C. H. Rungano Rgwo Kurowora Kwe Dvone (a story related by Enoch Chimanga). Nada, 15, 1938, 104-107.
_____Rungano Rgwe Vanakomana Vaviri (a story related by Amos Rgwatinyanya). Nada, 15, 1938, 108-112.
_____Rungano Rgwe Kondo Ne Njiwa (a story related by Enoch Chimanga). Nada, 15, 1938, 69-70.

Hoffmann, C. Sotho-Texte aus dem Holzbuschgebirge in Transvaal. Z. f. Eg., 28, 3, 174-198.

Jacottet, E., with additions by Jankin, H. E. 1936. Practical Method to Learn Sesuto, with exercises and a short vocabulary. Pp. 324. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Department

ADB.TU.163

Jalla, A. 1937. Elementary Grammar of the Lozi Language. Pp. 108. London: U.S.C.L.

____ 1937. Dictionary of the Lozi Language. Lozi-English. Pp. 393. London: U.S.C.L.

Lestrade, G. P. The Spelling of Names of Bantu Languages and Tribes in English. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 373-375.

Lukas, J. Wesen und Bedeutung der afrikanischen Sprachforschung. Afrika-Rundschau, 3, 10, 303-304.

_____ Sprichworter, Ausspruche und Ratsel der Nanuri. Z. f. Eg., 28, 3, 161-174.

Mabille, A., revised by Dieterlen, H. 1937. Sesuto-English Dictionary (6th edition). Pp. 495. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Depot.

Marole, L. T., and De Gama, F. J. 1936. English-Tshivenda Vocabulary. Pp. 93. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

Mayens, L. De Babira geschiedenis (Hun zwerftocht); avec textes indigenes. Congo, 1, 2, 1938, 146-153.

_____ Een geval van beheksing bij de Babira (Texte Kibira). KO, April 1938, 82-89.

_____ De bilabiale, stemhebbende implosief in het Kibira. KO, Feb. 1938, 23-24.

Plaatje, S. T. 1937. Dintshontsho. Translation (into Tswana) of the Tragedy of Julius Caesar, by William Shakespeare; revised and edited by G. P. Lestrade. Pp. xv-92. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.

Poux-Cransac, Germaine. Tage Rabobe, chanson de Babah. JSA, 7, 2, 1937, 173-187.

van Warmelo, N. J. 1937. Tshivenda-English Dictionary. Pp. 345. Union of S. Africa; Dept. of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications, vol. vi.

Ward, I. C. The Phonetic Structure of Banum. BSOS, 9, 2, 423-438.

Watkins, M. H. 1937. A Grammar of Chichewa. Pp. 158. Supplement to 'Language; Journal of Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 24, Apr.-June 1937.

VERNACULAR BOOKS

Bantu

KIKUYU

Tsingano Tsirano (Stories of famous Africans). 1938. Pp. 39. Nairobi, Kenya: C.M.S. Bookshop. 35 cts.

LOZI

Masoto A Testamente Ye Ncha (New Testament Stories.) 1935. Pp. 127. Sefula, N. Rhodesia; Paris Mission

MUKUNI

Kabuku Katanshi Kakubala Mu Bwine (First Mukuni Primer, Sut-St. A-new orthography).

ADB.TJ-164

1937. Pp. 28. Kafue, N. Rhodesia: Methodist Book Room.

Kabuku Kabili Kakubala Mu Bwino (Second Mukuni Primer, Sub-St. B new Orthography). 1937. Pp. 59. Kafue, N. Rhodesia: Methodist Book Room.

PEDI

Lethabo la Bosego bya Morena. Christmas Play. Pp. 23. Transvaal: Berlin Missionaries' Literature Commission.

SOTHO

Jacottet, E. 1935. Grammar E Nyenyane Ea Sesotho (Sesuto Grammar for Basuto children). Pp. 70. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Depot.
_____ 1937. Geography ea South Africa. Pp. 56. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Depot.

Melao Ea Motheo Le Boahloli Ba Makhotla a Basotho. New Native Court Regulations. Pp. 31. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

Tinling, C. T., Mather, E. L. (trans. by Dyke, A. M.). 1937. 'Hallo'! Ba Bacha. Translation into Sesuto of 'Hallo les Jeunes'. Examples of the evils of drink and the advantage of abstinence, taken from history. Pp. 110. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Depot.

Buka Ea Lipotso Ea Ba African M. E. Church (Catechism). 1937. Pp. 52. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

Henderson, C. M. Tekolo Ea Mosebetsi Oa Rona Oa Linku Le Oa Boea (Survey of our Sheep and Wool Industry). Pp. 15. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

SWAHILI

Raha Isiyo Karaha. (Happiness without End Christian Teaching on Islam.) 1938. Pp. 17, Nairobi, Kenya: C.M.S. Bookshop. 20 cts.

Allen, J. W. T. 1938. Swahili-Arabic Reader. Pp. 30. London: Longmans. 1s.

Mafunzo Ya Siku Za Jumapili (Sunday School Lessons.) 1937. Pp. 79. Nairobi, Kenya: C.M.S. Bookshop. 75 cts.

TAITA

Chuo Cha Mashomo Ca Kadadu (Third Reading Book for Taita). 1938. Pp. 46, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 4d.

TONGA

Chiswamsangu Makani Ghaku David Livingstone (Life of Livingstone). 1937. Pp. 42, illus. London: U.S.C.L.

TSWANA

Dyke, H. W. 1935. Boitekanelo (Health Reader). Pp. 34, illus. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

ADB. 7-J-164

1937. Pp. 28. Kafue, N. Rhodesia: Methodist Book Room.

Kabuku Kabili Kakubala Ku Bwine (Second Makuni Primer, Sub-St. B new Orthography). 1937. Pp. 59. Kafue, N. Rhodesia: Methodist Book Room.

PEDI

Lethabo la Bosego bya Morena. Christmas Play. Pp. 23. Transvaal: Berlin Missionaries' Literature Commission.

SOTHO

Jacottet, E. 1935. Grammar E Nyenyane Ea Sesotho (Sesuto Grammar for Basuto children). Pp. 70. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Depot.

_____ 1937. Geography ea South Africa. Pp. 56. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Depot.

Melao Ea Motheo Le Boahloli Ba Makhotla a Basotho. New Native Court Regulations. Pp. 31. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

Tinling, C. T., Mather, E. L. (trans. by Dyke, A. M.). 1937. 'Hallo'! Ba Bacha. Translation into Sesuto of 'Hallo les Jeunes'. Examples of the evils of drink and the advantage of abstinence, taken from history. Pp. 110. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Depot.

Buka Ea Lipotso Ea Ea African M. E. Church (Catechism). 1937. Pp. 52. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

Henderson, C. F. Tekolo Ea Mosebetsi Oa Rona Oa Linku Le Oa Boea (Survey of our Sheep and Wool Industry). Pp. 15. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

SWAHILI

Raha Isiyo Karaha. (Happiness without End Christian Teaching on Islam.) 1938. Pp. 17, Nairobi, Kenya: C.M.S. Bookshop. 20 cts.

Allen, J. W. T. 1938. Swahili-Arabic Reader. Pp. 30. London: Longmans. 1s.

Mafunzo Ya Siku Za Jumapili (Sunday School Lessons.) 1937. Pp. 79. Nairobi, Kenya: C.M.S. Bookshop. 75 cts.

TAITA

Chuo Cha Mashomo Ca Kadadu (Third Reading Book for Taita). 1938. Pp. 46, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 4d.

TONGA

Chiswamsangu Makani Ghaku David Livingstone (Life of Livingstone). 1937. Pp. 42, illus. London: U.S.C.L.

TSWANA

Dyke, H. W. 1935. Boitekanelo (Health Reader). Pp. 34, illus. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

40B-Fj-165

Trant, Dr. Hope. Kgakololo Mo Batsetseng (Advice regarding the confinement of Native women). Pp. 8. Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.

XHOSA

Macvicar, N. Izifundo ze mpilo za Bantwana he Sikolo. (Health Reader). (Lovedale Xhosa Readers, No. IV.) Pp. 96. illus. revised ed. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.

ZULU

Inhlangano (Zulu Virwa, Venda and Karanga Hymns). 1937. Pp. 55, S. Rhodesia: Church of Sweden.

Sudanic

GU

Hoffer, Alice. Gungbe A B D. Pp. 24. Porto-Novo, Dahomey: Mission Protestante.

IBO

Akwukwo Nke Kachasi Ebube N'Uwa (Most Wonderful Book in the World). 1938. Pp. 14. London: U.S.C.L.

TIV

Katekisema (Catechism). 1937. Pp. 74. London: U.S.C.L.

TWI

Wadley, W. J. D. 1938. Tetefo Anansesem Abiesa Bi. Pp. 89, illus. (Longmans' Twi Series.) London: Longmans: Accra: Scottish Mission Book Depot. 9d.

Nilotic

LUO

Weche Moko Mag Luo (Stories of Luo history). 1938. Pp. 70. Nairobi, Kenya: C.M.S. Bookshop. 65 cts.

III. EDUCATION AND MISSIONS

Azed. Les missions protestantes au Congo. Congo, 1, 3, 1938, 288-296.

Batten, T. R. 1938. Tropical Africa in World History. Pp. 148, illus. London: Oxford University Press. 1s. 6d.

Bentwich, J. S. 1938. How to use 'English for Beginners'. A Teacher's Handbook. Pp. 24. London: Longmans. 9d.

Beveridge, I. S. and E. M. The Teaching of Reading in the Infant School. Pt. II. Teachers' Journal (Gold Coast), 9, 3, 11-15.

ADB-T1-166

Broderick, G. E. P. 1938. Notes on General Science. The New Method English Library. Pp. 64. London: Longmans. 1s.

Culwick, A. T. Social Propaganda in Illiterate Africa. O. Ed., 9, Apr. 1938, 107-112.

Dumbrell, E. J. E. (Ed). 1938. More Letters to African Teachers. Pp. 107. London: Longmans. 2s. 3d.

Fraser, A. R. 1938. About Our Bodies. Pp. 63, illus. London: S.P.C.K. 9d.

Grieve, G. A. List of Forty Popular Books. Books for Africa, 8, 2, 21-22.

Hofmeyr, J. H. The Education of the South African Native. Graduation Address delivered at S. A. Native College, Fort Hare. JRAS, 37, April 1938, 147-155.

Jones, J. D. Rheinallt. Race Relations in 1937, a South African Survey. Race Rel., 5, 1938, 13-29.

Kendal, J. Getting across. Nada, 15, 1938, 40-43.

Keesing, F. M. 1938. Education in Pacific Countries. Pp. 226. London: Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.

Kelly, M. A conference on African Drama. O. Ed., 9, Apr. 1938, 120-126.

La sorcellerie dans les pays de Mission. (Compte rendu de la XIVe Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain.) 1937. Pp. 466. Bruxelles: L'Edition Universelle, S.A. 65 frs.

Lacops, M. Lager landbouwonderwijs in Belgisch Congo. Congo, 1, 1, 1938, 55-67.

Laughton, W. H. The Teaching of African Languages in Schools. A Note on the Position in Kenya. Africa, 11, 2, 221-225.

Liesenborghs, O. Naar een Afrikaansche Opvoedkunde. KO, Feb. 1938, 1-16.

McClenahan, R. S. The Problem of Evangelization through a Foreign Language. IRM, 27, Apr. 1938, 201-207.

Millman, E. R. and W. Manual a Arte de ser Mae. (Manual on Mothercraft in Portuguese). Pp. 82. London: Christian Literature Society. 1s. 6d.

Mumford, W. B., and Jackson, R. The Problem of Mass Education in Africa. Africa, 11, 2, 187-206.

Niven, C. R. 1937. A Short History of Nigeria. Pp. 262, map. London: Longmans. 5s.

____ 1938. The New Method Grammar. Pp. 216. London: Longmans. 8d.

____ 1938. How to use the New Method Grammar (a teacher's handbook). Pp. 32. London

ADB-TJ-165

Longmans. 8d.

Price, T. The Task of Mission Schools in Africa. IRM, 27, Apr. 1938, 233-238.

Robb, A. M. 1938. The Way to English. Books 1 and 2. Pp. 90, illus. London: Longmans. 1s. 1d. ea.

Sacre-Coeur, Soeur Marie-Andre Du. Vers l'evolution de la femme indigene en Afrique Occidentale Francaise. Le monde colonial illustre, avril 1938, 68-69.

South African Institute of Race Relations. Eighth Annual Report, 1937. 1938. Pp. 72. Johannesburg: The Institute.

Theobald, A. B. 1937. A Contemporary History for Students Overseas. Pp. 167, maps, London: Longmans. 2s. 6d.

Valrof, M. La vie scolaire de l'A.O.F. Education Afracaine, Gorse, 96, janv.- juin 1937, 79.

Workman, B. A.; Huggins, K. H.; Redfearn, J.C.B. 1938. The Standardised South African Atlas. Die Gestandardiseerde Suid-Afrikaanse Atlas. English and Afrikaans editions. Pp. 48. London: Longmans; Glasgow: Collins. 2s. ea.

IV. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Arnett, E. J. The French Mandate in Cameroons. JRAS, 37, April 1938, 191-198.

Bigwood, E. J., et Trolli, Dr. G. Probleme de l'Alimentation au Congo belge. Extrait du rapport du II° congres international de la Societe Scientifique d'Hygiene alimentaire, Paris. 1937, 59.

Brownlee, F. The Clash of Colour in South Africa. JRAS, 37, April 1938, 227-240.

Chassigneux, Edmond. 1937. Le probleme de l'eau dans l'Union Sud-Africaine. Etude de colonisation. In-8°, pp. 70, illus. Societe d'Editions geographiques, maritimes et coloniales.

Curtis, L. British Protectorates in South Africa. United Empire, Supplement, April 1938.

_____ The South African Protectorates. United Empire, Supplement, March 1938.

Devaux, V. 1938. Essai critique sur la situation juridique des indigenes au Congo belge. Pp. 132. Elisabethville: Editions de la Revue juridique du Congo belge.

Eltester, E. Eingeborenenbesteuerung in Kenya. KR, 29, 1, 45-47.

Hastings, L. A. M. The Settler and Native in Central Africa. United Empire, April 1938, Supplement.

Jones, W. J. A. The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. Crown Colonist, April 1938, 193-195.

League of Nations: Permanent Mandates Commission. Nov. 1937. Report to the Council on the work of the Commission. (C. 551. M. 338. VI. Extract.) Geneva.

ADB.II.162

Lewin, J. The Recognition of Native Law and Custom in British Africa. Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, Feb. 1938. Pp. 8.

Prunet. L'eau a Abidjan. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 20, 4, oct.-dec. 1937, 377-386.

Reglementation des contrats de travail des travailleurs indigenes. 1937. In-8°, pp. 268. Geneve: Bureau International du Travail.

Rohrbach, P. Sanierung und Wirtschaft im tropischen Afrika. KR, 29, 1, 1-8.

Smith, E. W. The South African Protectorates. JRAS, 37, April 1938, 199-205.

Thomas, H. B., and Spencer, A. E. 1938. A History of Uganda Land and Surveys, and of the Uganda Land and Surveys Department. Pp. 206, maps. Entebbe, Uganda: Government Printer. 7s. 6d.

Wallbank, T. W. American Reflections on Kenya. JRAS, Supplement, 37, April 1938. Pp. 21.

Wyndham, H. A. Union of South Africa: Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1936. JRAS, 37, April, 1938, 174-179.

Union of South Africa. 1937. Report of Commission of Inquiry regarding Coloured Population in the Union. Pp. 350. Pretoria: Government Printer. UG. 54. Yearbook of Compared Colonial Documentation: Year 1936. Vol. 2 (relating to French Territories and mandated countries: French Equatorial Africa, French West Africa, Madagascar, Togoland, Indo-China). Vol. 3 (relating to British Colonies or mandated territories: Bechuanaland, Gold Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Burma, Ceylon). Pp. 67-841 and an index. Brussels: International Colonial Library. International Colonial Institute.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Duggan-Cronin, A. M. 1938. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa; Vol. III, The Nguni: Section III, the Zulu (reproductions of photographic studies with an introductory article on the Zulu, bibliography and descriptive notes by D. Mc. K. Malcolm). Plates 81-120. Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co.; Kimberley: Alexander McGregor Memorial Museum. 25s.

Giordano, A. Fragen des italienischen Kolonialbesitzes. Z. f. Geopol, 15, 3, 190-194.

Grandidier, G., et Joucha, E. 1937. Bibliographie generale des colonies francaises. Bibliographie de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise par E. Joucha. In-8°, Pp. 704.

Halbfass, W. Der Bosumtwi-See in Ashanti. Peterm. Mitt., 84, 4, 128.

Herrmann, A. Die alteste Kolonialfahrt nach Oberguinea. KR, 29, 1, 8-31.

Laude, Norbert. Carte economique du Congo Belge. o, 80x0, 80 m. Anvers: Universitie Coloniale de Belgique. 40 frs.

AD 3-1-69

Coloniale de Belgique. 40 frs.

Mary, Gaston. 1937. Precis historique de la colonisation francaise en Afrique Occidentale depuis les premiers siecles jusqu'en 1910 (a l'usage des candidats aux carrieres coloniales). In-8° , Pp. 120. Paris: Larose.

Mertens, R. Uber eine herpetologische Sammlung aus dem Gebiet des Njarasa-Sarbens, Ostafrika, (Expedition Kohl-Larsen). Veroffentlichungen aus d. Deutschen Kolonial- und Übersee Museum in Bremen, 2, 1, 1-16.

Neitzel, L. H. Baumwollbedarf und Kolonialwirtschaft. KR, 29, 1, 31-44.

Van Bulck, G. Ethnologie et Ethnographie dans les Pays-Bas. Congo, 1, 3, 1938, 241-260.

Welsch, O. Neue Bewasserungsanlagen in Algerien. Geograph. Zeitschr., 44, 3, 97-100.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH AFRICAN

LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Entries in this number cover publications from December 1937 to February 1938.

I. Anthropology and Sociology

Arkell, A. J. Darfur Antiquities. SNR, 20, 1, 1937, 91-105, illus.

Barzun, J. 1937. Race: A Study in Modern Superstition. New York: Harcourt, Brace. London: 1938, Methuen, 10s. 6d.

Beecher, L. J. The Stories of the Kikuyu. Africa, II, 1, 80-87.

Birkeli, E. 1936. Les Vazimba de la cote ouest de Madagascar. Notes d'Ethnologie. Pp. 70. Tananarive: Memoires de l'Academie Malgache, Fasc. xxii.

Bittremieux, L. 1937. Symbolisme in de negerkunst. Brussel: Vromant. Pp. 83, illustre de figures symboliques. 20 frs.

Boccassino, R. La figura e le caratteristiche dell' Essere Supremo degli Acioli dell' Uganda. Estratto xix. Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti.

Costermans, B. J. De Efe van Watsa-Gombari. Congo, 2, 5, 526-532.

Daniel, F. The Stone Figures of Esie, Ilorin Province, Nigeria. JRAI, 47, 1937, 43-50, illus.

Dart, R. A. The Hut Distribution, Genealogy and Homogeneity of the /? Auni-/ Khomani Bushmen. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 159-174.

_____ The Physical Characters of the /? Auni-/ Khomani Bushmen. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 175-246.

Delachaux, Theodore. Ethnographie de la region de Cunene (2e mission scientifique suisse en Angola, 1932-1933). Bulletin de la Societe neuchateloise de Geographie, 1936.

Delcroix, Gerard. Enquete sur le Lahori de N'gaoundere. Bulletin de la Societe d' Etudes Camerounaises, 2, 1937, 49-60.

Denby, P. The Zulu at Home. United Empire, 29, Feb. 1938, 65-69, illus.

Donner, E. Togba, A Women's Society in Liberia. Africa, 11, 1, 109-111.

Dover, C. 1937. Half-Caste. London: Secker. Pp. 324.

Drascher, W. Zur Rassenfrage in Sudafrika. Z. f. Geopolitik, 15, 1, 13-18.

Drennan, M. R. Finger Mutilation in the Bushman. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 247-249.

Dreyer, T. F. The Study of Man in South Africa. ZR, 7, 1, 93.

4112D18

Dubie, Paul. Medecine Maure. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 20, 3, 1937, 312-335.

Dunglas, E. La peche dans le Bas-Oueme. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 20, 3, 1937, 350-359.

Eickstedt, E., Frh. v. 1937. Rassenkunde u. Rassengeschichte der Menschheit. 2. umgearb. u. erw. Aufl. in 2 Banden. Stuttgart: Enke-Verlag. Lieferung 1 u. 2.

Ellenberger, V. History of the Ba-ga-Malete of Ramoutsa (Bechuanaland Protectorate). TRSSA, 25, 1937, 1-72.

Emsheimer, E. Drei Tanzgesange der Akamba. Ethnos, 2, 4, 137-143.

Finch. F. J. Bari Child Names. SNR, 20, 1, 1937, 166-168.

Fortes, M. Communal Fishing and Fishing Magic in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. JRAI, 47, 1937, 131-142.

Gluck, J. 1937. Die Goldgewichte von Oberguinea. Heidelberg: Winter.

Gluckmann, M. Social Aspects of First Fruit Ceremonies among the South-Eastern Bantu. Africa, 11, 1, 25-41.

Gobin. Notes sur les vestiges des tombes du Zemmour. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 20, 1-2, 1937, 142-147, 1 planche.

Goichon, A. M. L'artisanat a Fes. Supplement a AF, decembre 1937, 113-120.

Goodwin, A. J. H.; Drennan, M. R.; Schofield, J. F. Archaeology of the Oakhurst Shelter, George. TRSSA, 25, 3, 1937, 229-324.

Grevisse, F. Les Bayeke (Katanga). BJIDCC, 5, 6, 165-175 (a suivre).

Griaule, Marcel. Notes sur la divination par le chacal (Population dogon de Sanga). Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 20, 1-2, 1937, 113-141, 5 planches.

Hambly, W. D. 1937. Source Book for African Anthropology. 2 vols. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History. Part I, pp. 404; Part II, pp. 407-953. Maps, illus.

Hellpach, W. 1938. Einfuhrung in die Volkerpsychologie. Stuttgart: F. Enke. pp. 176. RM. 8.

Hilderbrand, E. 1937. Die Geheimbunde Westafrikas als Problem der Religionswissenschaft. Leipzig: Jordan u. Gramberg. Pp. 170.

Hofstra, S. The Social Significance of the Oil Palm in the Life of the Mendi. Intern. Archiv f. Ethnographie, 34, 5/6, 105-117.

_____ 1937 De Sociale Aspecten van Kennis en Wetenschap. Amsterdam: Scheltma in Holkema, pp. 76.

Hulstaert, G. La coutume Nkundo (Mongo) et le decret sur la protection de la fille indigene non-pubere. Congo, 2, 3, 1937, 269-276.

Kirschstein, E. F. Some tales of Tanganyika Natives. TNR, Oct. 1937, 82-83.

Kirwan, L. P. A Survey of Nubian Origins. SNR, 20, 1, 1937, 47-62.

Kiti, G. Quelques coutumes des Gouns (Dahomey). Anthropos, 1937, 75-86.
_____Rites funeraires des Goun (Dahomey). Anthropos, 1937, 419-434.

Kohl-Larsen, L. Issangu-Marchen. Baessler Archiv, 20, 1, 1-68.

Kohl-Larsen, L. u. M. 1938. Felsmalereien in Innerafrika. Stuttgart: Strecker u. Schroder. RM. 15.

Koritschoner, H. Some East African Native Songs. SNR, 20, 1, 1937, 51-64.

Kretschmar, F. 1938. Hundestammvater u. Kerberos. Stuttgart: Strecker u. Schroder. RM. 22.

Kuhn, H. Das Alter der Felsbilder in Nordafrika. Ipek, 11, 132-133.
_____Neue Felsbilder in Nordafrika. Ipek, 11, 131-132.

Lagercrantz, S. Ethnographical reflections on 'Hottentot aprons'. Ethnos, 2, 4, 145-174.

Lancaster, D. Gordon. Tentative Chronology of the Ngoni, Genealogy of their Chiefs, and Notes. JRAI, 47, 1937, 77-90.

Lieberman, H. Ornamentation of South African Natives. Empire Revies, 445, Feb. 1938, 111-114.

Maingard, J. F. Some Notes on Health and Disease among the Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 285-294.

Malsten, K. A Benin Bench. Ethnos, 2, 4, 199-207.

Maquet, M. Les populations des environs de Leopoldville. Congo, 2, 3, 1937, 241-258.

Maslow, Boris. 1937. Les Mosquees de Fes et du Nord du Maroc. (Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, tome xxx.) 200 pp., illus. Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire. 90 frs.

Maupoil, B. Le culte du Vaudou. Outre-Mer, septembre 1937, 196-205.

Maurice, Pere. Le Pays des Bapimbwe. La Geographie, 64 (1934), 20, 228, 239; 66 (1935), 171; 67 (1936), 86, 147, 209; 68 (1937), 224, 289; 69 (1938), 18.

Meinhof, C. 1937. Brevier Meinhof. Festgabe z. 80. Geburtstag. Berlin: D. Reimer.

Moller, M. Einige Korbtypen bei den Buende. Ethnos, 2, 4, 219-229.

Monod, Theodore. Gravures et inscriptions rupestres du Sahara Occidental. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques d. l'A.O.F., 20, 1-2, 1937, 155-178.

411/2D/10

Mordini, A. Les inscriptions rupestres tifinagh du Sahara et leur signification ethnologique. Ethnos. 2, 5, 333-337.

Montenez, P. Organisation judiciaire des Tutsholwe. BJIDCC, 5, 6, 176-186.

Nadel, S. F. Gunnu; A Fertility Cult of the Nupe in Northern Nigeria. JRAI, 47, 1937, 91-130, with plates.

Negri, Mgr. Angelo. Alcuni tratti caratteristici della religione e della magia presso la tribu nilotica degli Acioli. Annali Lateranensi. 1.

Oberhummer, C. 'Nilotische' Sprachen und Volker. Z. Ges. f. Erdk., 1937, 194-200.

Olyech, E. The Anointing of Clan Heads among the Lango. Uganda Journal, 4, 4, 1937, 317-318.

Paul, Julien. Distribution of the blood groups in some peoples of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam., 40, 7, 631-639.
_____ Studies in bloodgroup correlations in some peoples of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 40, 7, 640-647.

Petit, G. Biogeographie et habitation indigene a Madagascar. Bulletin de la Societe des geographes francais, 106, mai 1937,

Pleasants, F. R. African Sculpture in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Ipek, II, 117-124.

Popplewell, G. D., and Harcus, T. E. Notes on the Geography of the Tunduru District of Tanganyika Territory. Geographical Journal (of Royal Geographical Society, London), 91, 1, 31-43.

Ray, Joanny. Le 'cinq' et son role protecteur dans le Sud Marocain. AF, dec. 1937, 272-274.

Read, M. The Moral Code of the Ngoni and their Former Military State. Africa, 11, 1, 1938, 1-24.

Revol, Lieut. Etude sur les fractions d'Imraguen de la Cote Mauritanienne. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 20, 1-2, 1937, 179-224.

Richards, A. I. Reciprocal Clan Relationships among the Bemba of N. E. Rhodesia. Man, 37, 1937, 188-193.

Roland, H. Recits historiques des Basanga. Bulletin des Missions, Suppl. 1, 1937, 9-32.

Sachs, W. 1937. Black Hamlet. London: Bles.

Santesson, C. G. Pfeilgiftstudien. Cortex Erythroplaci aus Zentralafrika. Ethnos, 2, 4, 230-234.

Savani, M. Notes sur les populations Namchis. Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, 2, 193, 17-48.

4112P111

Scrivenor, T. V. Some notes on Utani, or the Vituperative Alliances existing between the Clans in the Masasi District. TNR, Oct. 1937, 72-74.

Schebesta, P. Physiologische Beobachtungen an den Ituri-Pygmaen. ZR, 1937, 5, 113-123.

Schilde, W. Die Nilotenstellung. ZR, 1937, 5, 130-137.

Schmidt, P. Wilhelm. Die Religion der Galla. Annali Lateranensi, 1, 83-152.

Schneider, Marius. Gesange aus Uganda. Archiv f. Musikforschung, 2, 2, 185-242.

Shepherd, R. H. W. 1937. Children of the Veld. London: James Clarke and Co. Pp. 194, illus. 6s.

Siossat, J. Les coutumes des orpailleurs indigenes du Maramandougou. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 20, 3, 1937, 336-349.

Smith, E. W. 3rd ed. 1938. The Secret of the African. London: United Society's Press. Pp. 142. 2s. 6d. (First published in 1929.)

Snoxall, R. A. The Coronation Ritual and Customs of Buganda. Uganda Journal, 4, 4, 1937, 277-288, illus.

Tauxier, Louis. 1937. Moeurs et histoire des Peuls. Pp. 420, illus. Paris: Payot. 75 frs.

Thurnwald, R. Rassenwandel im Lichte der Volkerforschung. ZR, 1938, 7, 1, 1-13.

Tillion, G. Les societes berberes dans l'Aures Meridional. Africa, 11, 1, 42-54.

Vergiat, A. M. 1937. Moeurs et coutumes des Manjas. Pp. 326, illus. Paris: Payot. 40 frs.

von Sydow, E. Ancient and Modern Art in Benin City. Africa 11, 1, 55-62, illus.

Van Malderen, A. Crimes et superstitions indigenes (Haut-Katanga). BJIDCC, 5, 6, 187-189.

Weidenreich, F. The Relation of Sinanthropus Pikenensis to Pithecanthropus, Javanthropus and Rhodesian Man. JRAI, 47, 1937, 67-76, illus.

Williams, F. Lukyn. The Coronation of the Abakama of Koki. Uganda Journal, 4, 4, 313-316, illus.

_____ The Inauguration of the Omugabe of Ankole to Office. Uganda Journal, 4, 4, 300-312.

Williams, Dr. J. J. Africa's God. VI. Uganda. Anthropological Series of the Boston College Graduate School, 2, 3, Serial No. 7, 147-181.

K. W. The Procedure in Accession to the Throne of a Nominated King in the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. Uganda Journal, 4, 4, 289-299.

AH/12/12

II. LINGUISTICS

Basset, Andre. 1936. Atlat linguistique des parlers berberes. Algerie, territories du Nord (noms d'animaux domestiques). Grand in-4o, 91 pages et un atlas de 25 cartes. Alger: Publications de l'Institut d'etudes orientales de l'Universite d'Alger.

Beach, D. M. 1938. The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language. Cambridge: Heffer. Pp. 329, map, illus. 21s.

Berger, Paul. Die mit B-ile gebildeten Perfekstamme in den Bantu-Sprachen. Diss. Hamburg. Z. f. Eg., 28, 2, 81-122.

Birkeli, E. 1936. Le probleme linguistique Beosi (Chap. III de 'Les Vazimba de la Cote Ouest de Madagascar). Tananarive: Memoires de l'Academie Malgache, fasc xxii.

Bittremieux, L. Wederwraak op zijn heidensch (Texte indigene: Yombe). Congo, 2, 3, 1937, 291-299.

_____Het Kikongo. Congo, 2, 4, 427-32.

Bleek, D. F. Grammatical notes, texts and vocabulary of the/ Auni language. Bantu St., 11, 1937, 253-278.

Cohen, Marcel. 1937. Traite de langue amharique (Abyssinie). Travaux et memoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Universite de Paris, 24, xv-444 pp., 33 tableaux. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.

Dammann, E. Eine Suaheli-Dichtung uber Moses, den Habicht und die taube. Z. f. Eg. 28, 1, 1-14.

_____Zigula-Marchen. Z. f. Eg., 28, 2, 139-157.

Dennis, L. Jeux des enfants Bakongo (Textes indigenes). Congo, 2, 4, 1937, 412-426.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. The Non-Dinka Peoples of the Amadi and Rumbek Districts (includes word-lists in vernacular). SNR, 20, 1, 156-159.

Hoffmann, C. Sotho-Texte aus d. Holzbuschgebirge in Transvaal. Z. f. Eg., 28, 1 u. 2, 29-66, 123-138.

Hulstaert, G. Bibliographie van het Lonkundo-Lomongo. Congo, 2, 5, 1937, 533-555.

Ittmann, J. Allerlei Uberlieferungen der Kosi. Z. f. Eg., 28, 1, 14-28.

Klingenheben, A. Die Schnalze in den afrikanischen Sprachen. Schriften der deutschen Gesellschaft f. Tier- u. Ursprachenforschung, 3, 1937, 1-12.

Kluge, T. 1937. Die Zahlenbegriffe der Sudansprachen. Berlin.

Lennox, J. The African Author's Conference held at Johannesburg, on Thursday, 30th September, 1937. S. African Outlook, 67, 798, 1937, 246-249.

Lukas, J. 1937. Zentralsudanische Studien. Hamburg.

Marcy, Georges. Epigraphie berbere (numidique et saharienne), apercu d'ensemble. Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, 2, 1936, 128-164.

_____ 1936. Les inscriptions libyques bilingues de l'Afrique du Nord. Paris: Cahiers de la Societe Asiatique. 191 pages. 50 frs.

_____ Introduction a un dechiffrement methodique des inscriptions 'tifinagh' du Sahara central (tableau synoptique de l'alphabet libyque). Hesperis, 1937, 24, 1 et 2, 89-118.

Lifchitz, D. Projet d'une enquete sur la litterature orale en Afrique Noire. Outre - Mer, sept. 1937, 206-212.

Melzian, H. 1937. Bini Dictionary. London: Kegan Paul. Pp. 233. 15s.

Nebel, Fr. A. 1936. Dinka Dictionary with abridged Grammar. Verona: Missioni Africane. Pp. 171.

Potakey, F. K. Diacritical Marks used in Ewe writing. Teacher's Journal (Gold Coast), 9, 2, 1937, 128-130.

Roland, H. 1937. Grammaire de la langue Kisanga. Abbaye de St. -Andre-les-Bruges.

Toulmond, L. Essai de grammaire d'Ebudja. (Langue bantoue fortement apparentee au linginza, au lingombe et au lingala; elle est parlee par la peuplade des Budja situee sur la rive droite du fleuve Congo au nord de Bumba.) Congo 2, 4 and 5, 1937, 361-376 and 481-525.

Van Caeneghem, R. 'Geven aan anderman' in de spreekwoorden der Baluba-Menschen. (Textes luba.) Congo, 2, 4, 1937, 377-411.

van Warmelo, N. J. 1937. Tshivenda-English Dictionary. Pretoria: Union of South Africa, Dept. of Native Affairs. Ethnological Publications, vol. vi. Pp. 330. 15s.

Viellard, Gilbert. Poemes peuls du Fouta Djallon, transcrits et traduits. Bulletin du Comite d'etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 20, 3, 225-311.

AIII2D/14

VERNACULAR BOOKS

Bantu

CHANGA

Loze, P. 1936. Epistola Yo Ku Tungamira Ya Paulo Muapostolo Ku Va-Korinte (Corinthians Changa and Portuguese). Beira, Port. E. Africa. Pp. 50 and 67.

_____ 1937. Evangeli Ra Marcos (St. Mark Changa and Portuguese). Beira, Port, E. Africa. Pp. 91 and 91.

GANDA

Mukasa, Om. Hamu. 1938. Simuda Nyuma Ebiro Bya Mutesa. (Go Forward.) London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 91. 2s.

KONGO

Luzingu lu Mfumu eto Yezu Kristu. (La vie de Notre Seigneur J.-Chr.) 1937. Banningville: Vicariat du Kuango. Pp. 75. Katekisimu dindwelo di Malongi ma Bakristu. (Petit catechisme pour les chretiens.) 1937. Banningville: Vicariat du Kuango. Pp. 48.

Mkunga mi Mavula. (Livre de chants religieux.) 1937. Banningville: Vicariat du Kuango. PP. 88.

NYANJA

Lind, S. Peter. 1937. Mzimu Woyera (Work of the Holy Spirit.) Ncheu, Nyasaland: C. H. Fricke (mimeographed). Pp. 24.

Kapunzah, W. S. 1937. Angoni. Ncheu, Nyasaland: C. H. Fricke (mimeographed) Pp. 20, illus.

Fricke, C. H. 1937. Mulungu Ananenanji. (Bible Outlines.) Ncheu Nyasaland: C. H. Fricke (mimeographed) Pp. 18. illus.

SWAHILI

Mutasari ya Masomo ya Refresher Course ya Wanawake. (Lessons for Women.) 1937. Kenya: Jeanes School (mimeographed). Pp. 21.

Biblia (Bible). Translated by Pastor K. Roehl. 1937. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt. Pp. 1132 and 328 and 24 maps and illustrations.

TSWANA

Trench, V. 1938. Mokgoa o Banyana ba ka Rutoan ka one. (How to Teach Little Children.) London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 23, 3d.

XHOSA

Mpanza, J. S. 1937. Izimpi Zendlela Yonkrestu. (Hosts of the Christian Way.) Lovedale, S. Africa: Lovedale Press. Pp. 55. 10d.

ZULU

Stuart, J. 1938. u Vusezakithi (new ed.). (Longmans' Zulu Readers.) London: Longmans. Pp. 128, illus. 2s.
_____1937. u Vulingqondo. (Stuart Reader.) London: Longmans. Pp. 64, illus. is.

Nilotic

BARI

Francis, E. Carey. 1937. Todinet na Mungun. (Hygiene.) London: Sheldon Press Pp. 64., illus. 9d.

SUDANIC

BINI

Egharevba, Jacob U. 1937. Okha Edo. New Edition. Lagos: C. M. S. Pp. 111, illus. 1s. 3d.

FANTE

Annobil, J. A. Nworaba hon Ndobaa. Teacher's Journal (Gold Coast), 9, 2, 1937, 139-141.

Korsah, J. E. K. 1937. Kweku a Oridzi Ne Dew. Fante reader. London: Longmans. Pp. 48, illus. 1s.

IBO

Ihe-Mmuta Nke ala-eze Chineke (Parables). 1937. London and Umuahia: Atlantis Press. Pp. 46, [illegible]

TWI

Akrofi, C. A. 1937. Twi Kasa Mmara (Twi Grammar). London: Longmans; Accra: Scottish Mission Book Depot. Pp. 110. 2s. 6d.

Andrews-Ayeh, E. F. 1937. Tete Hellafo Anansesem (Translation of Kingsley's Heroes'). Longmans' Two Series. London: Longmans; Accra: Scottish Mission Book Depot. Pp. 147. 1s.

Galbraith, D. M. 1938. Kan me Nwe. Longmans' Twi Series: Reader 4. London: Longmans: Accra: Scottish Mission Book Depot. Pp. 91. 9d.

Osew, Emmanuel J. 1937. Nana Agyeman Nwehwe (A Twi play). London: Longmans; Accra: Scottish Mission Book Depot. Pp. 8,2, 1s. 4d.

Wilkinson, E. M. 1937. Mmayen ho Adesua. (Easy Lessons on the Care of Babies.) London: S.P.C.K.; Accra: Scottish Mission. Pp. 47. 6d.

VAI

Bragg, A. R. 1937. Ko munu be Kpoloe lo. A Vai Prayer Book. Sulima, Sierra Leone: American Church Mission. Pp. 131.

YORUBA

Ogun Mimo. (Bunyan's 'Holy War.'.) 1937. Lagos: C M.S. Pp. 126, illus. 1s. 9d.

III. EDUCATION AND MISSIONS

Ali Bey El Garem. 1937. Report on the teaching of Arabic and the training of Arabic teachers in the Sudan. Sudan: Sudan Govt. Pp. 15.

Attwater, D. The White Fathers in Africa. 1937. London: Burns Oates. Pp. 116, illus. 3s. 6d.

Bentwich, J. S. 1937. English for Beginners. Part I. New Method Series. London: Longmans. Pp. 48. 6d.
_____ 1938. English for Beginners. Part II. New Method Series. London: Longmans. Pp. 64. 8d.

Beveridge, E. M. Teaching of Reading in the Infant School. Teachers' Journal (Gold Coast), 9, 2, 1937, 112-115.

Briault, M. L'art indigene dans nos eglises de mission. Bulletin des Missions, 4, 1937, 322-330.

B., L. v. d. L'Art sacre aux Missions. Bulletin des Missions, 3, 1937, 210-213, illus.

Conceycaa, Frey Antonio Da. 1937. Relation de la vie et de la mort de sept jeunes gens que Mouley Hamet, Roi du Maroc, tua parce qu'ils etaient chretiens . . . le 4 juillet 1585. Traduit sur le manuscrit portugais et annote par le Rev. Pere Henry Koehler. Pp. 72, 2 pls. Rabat: Moncho.

Elliott, A. V. P. The Teaching of African Languages in African Schools: A Need for Improvement. Africa, 11, 1, 73-79.

De l'enseignement primaire en Afrique__Echange de vues entre missionnaires. AFER, 11, Nov. 1937, 65.

Franz, C. H. 1936. Makinta Tales. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter. Pp. 148, illus.

Graham, M. E. 1937. New Method Dictation Book. London: Longmans. Pp. 96. 1s. 6d.

Grebert, F. 1937. Hygiene et conseils divers pour les Africains de la zone tropicale. Illus. Societe des Missions Evangeliques.

Guernier, Eugene-L. Civilisations et doctrines d'enseignement. Communication a l'Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (seance du 17 octobre 1936). Pp. 38. Paris: Alcan. 5 frs.

Hussey, E. R. J. Higher Education in East Africa. (A review of the Report of the Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.) Supplement to JRAS, 36, 1937, 19.

International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa. Report, 1937. Books for Africa, 8, 1, 1-6.

Education Department (Kenya) Annual Report, 1936. 1937. Nairobi: Colony and Protectorate of Kenya. Pp. 113. R. 250.

Lagae, Mgr. Vijf en twintig jaar Dominikaansch Apostolaat in Uele. Congo, 2, 3, 1937, 259-268.

Lesourd, Paul. 1937. Histoire des missions catholiques. 498 p., illus. Paris: Librairie de l'Arc. 25 frs.

Locke, A. H. A New Day in Northern Nigeria. Moslem World, 28, 1938, 54-60.

Nyabongo, H. H. Prince Akiki K. 1937. The Bisoro Stories, Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 111.

Palmer, H. E. 1938. New Method Grammar. London: Longmans. Pp. 216. 2s. 3d.

Rodger, J. A. 1937. Agriculture for Village Teachers. London: Sheldon Press. Pp. 64. 9d.

Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa. A Summary of its Conclusions. O. Ed., 9, 2, 57-64.

Report of Lord De La Warr's Educational Commission. 1937. Sudan: Sudan Govt. Pp. 52.

Report, Annual, of the Education Department, Tanganyika Territory, 1936. 1937. Govt. Pp. 52.

Rolland, Dr. P. Guide pharmaceutique a l'usage des missions. La Chapelle-Montligeon (Orne).

Schumacher, P. Le Role du Missionnaire. AFER (Africanae Fraternae Ephemerides Romanae), 11, Nov. 1937, 57-62.

Stonelake, A. S. 1937. Congo Past and Present. Pp. 202, map, illus. London: World Dominion Press. 5s. (paper cover 3s. 3d).

A Survey of the Year 1937 (Including a Survey of Mission Work in Africa). IRM, 27, Jan. 1938, 60-77.

Syllabus in African Languages for the Cambridge School Certificate and Junior Examinations 1938. Teachers' Journal (Gold Coast), 9, 2, 1937, 144-145.

Tucker, A. N. 1937. The Disappointed Lion and other Stories from the Bari of Central Africa. London: Country Life Ltd. Pp. 97, illus. 7s. 6d.

Usill, H. V. (Ed.). 1938. Year Book of Education, 1938. (Section XI, by H. S. Scott, deals with the Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Contract.) London: Evans Bros. 35s.

Vincent, E. Wanted: West African Education Survey. West African Review, 9, 124, Jan. 1938, 10-11.

Wilbois, J. Institutions chretiennes et societe indigene. Bulletin des Missions, 4, 1937, 297-307.

World Atlas for Pupils in Arab Schools. 1937. London: Longmans. Pp. 32. 3s.

411.2d18

Wright, R. R. Wilberforce in South Africa. Opportunity, Oct. 1937, 306-310.

IV. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Baillaud, Emile. 1936. L'organisation economique de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise. 72 p. Marseille: Institut Colonial.

Bou Hasna. Structure administrative du Protectorat francais en Tunisie. AF, 1937, 472-476(Oct.); 545-550 (nov.); 575-578 (dec.).

Cameron, Sir Donald. Native Administration in Nigeria and Tanganyika. JRAS (Supplement), 36, 1937, 29.

Chavannes, C. De. 1937. Les origines de l'Afrique Equatoriale Francaise, tome ii. Le Congo Francais. Ma collaboration avec Brazza: 1886-1894. Nos relations jusqu'a sa mort: 1905. Paris: Plon. 40 frs.

Dietzel, K. K. Die englisch-franz. Mandats grenze in Kamerun u. ihr politischer Sinn. Z. d. Ges. f. Erdk. z. Berlin, 1937, 9/10, 321-348.

Essad Bey, Mohammed. 1937. Allah est grand! Decadence et resurrection du monde islamique. Preface et traduction de G. Montandon. Paris: Payot.

Godwin, G. Justice on the Gold Coast. Crown Colonist, Feb. 1938, 88-91.

Hardy, Georges. 1937. La politique coloniale et le partage de la terre aux xix^e et xx^e siecles. (L'evolution de l'humanite.) Pp. 500, illus. Paris: Albin Michel. 40 frs.

Herbot, Pierre. Le probleme des indigenes 'detribalises'. AF, dec. 1937, 270-272.

International Labour Conference: 24th Session. 1937. Regulation of Contracts of Employment of Indigenous Workers. Geneva: International Labour Office. Pp. 239.

Jagerschmidt, Alain. Les populations et la question indigene en Afrique australe britannique. La Geographie, 67, 273; 68, 143 et 270.

Jones, J. D. Rheinallt, and Bloom, H. S. Natives in Urban Areas. Race Rel., 4, 4, 1937, 75-88.

Junod, H. P. L'Afrique bantoue et les diverses methodes de colonisation des Puissances colonisatrices. Outre-Mer, sept. 1937, 191-195..

Labouret, Henri. La lutte contre les famines et la disette en Afrique tropicale. AF, 1937, 515-518, 561-565.

MacBride, D. F. H. Land Survey in the Kano Emirate, Northern Provinces, Nigeria. JRAS, 37, Jan. 1938, 75-91, map.

Meinhof, C. Europaer u. Afrikaner. Afrika-Rundschau, 3, 7, 200-202.

Nicholson, The Hon. Harold. The Colonial Problem. International Affairs, 17, 1, 1938, 32-50.

AM24119

Obst, E. Die britischen Eingeborenen-Protektorate in Sudafrika. Z. f. Geopolitik, 15, 1, 27-33.

Paterson, A. W. The Progress of the Co-operative Movement in the Gold Coast, Teachers' Journal (Gold Coast), 9, 2, 1937, 78-84.

Rapport annuel de l'Administration de la colonie du Congo belge pendant l'annee 1936. 1937. Bruxelles: Ancienne Imprimerie van Compel. Pp. 239.

Rensburg, F. J. van. Das sudafrik. Recht in seiner geopolitischen Gestaltung. Z. f. Geopolitik, 15, 1, 7-12.

Report of the Native Affaris Commission, 1936. S. African Outlook, 67, 799, 1937, 274-280.

Report on the Progress of Co-operation in Nigeria, 1935-1937. 1937. Lagos: Government Printer. Pp. ii-38. es.

Russell, C. E. B. The Leprosy Problem in Nigeria. JRAS, 37, 1938, 66-71.

Salvadori, M. 1938. La colonisation europeenne au Kenya. Paris: Larose. Pp. 228.

Spannaus, G. Die Eingeborenen-Politik der grossen Kolonialmachte in Negerafrika. Afrika-Rundschau, 3, 8, 245-247.

Union of South Africa. Report of the Police Commission of Inquiry, 1937. (U.G. 50, 1937.) Pretoria: Government Printer. Pp. 126.

Wengler, W. Die Verwaltungsorganisation der Kolonien im trop. Afrika. Schriften d. Akad. f. Deutsches Recht, 2.

Westermann, D. Die 'Indirect Rule' in englisch-afrikanischen Besitzungen. Z. f. Politik, 27, 11/12, 1938, 568-572.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Ainslie, J. R. 1937. A List of Plants used in Native Medicine in Nigeria. Oxford: Imperial Forestry Institute, Pp. 92. 5s.

Aubreville, A. Les forets du Dahomey et du Togo. Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A. O. F., 20, 1-2, 1937, 1-112, 9 planches.

Daumont, Maurice. 1937. L'essor industriel et l'imperialisme colonial (1878-1904). (Peuples et civilisations. Histoire generale. Publ. sous la direction de L. Halphen et Ph. Sagnac, t. xviii.) 610 p. Paris: Alcan. 70 frs.

Begue, L. 1937. Contribution a l'etude de la vegetation forestiere de la Haute-Cote d'Ivoire. (Comite d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise.) Pp. 128, pl., carte. Paris: Larose. 35 frs.

Cumming, D. C. The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka. SNR, 20, 1, 1937, 1-45.

Dardenne, Jean. Une conception etatiste de la colonisation commerciale: l'Empire portugais. Outre-Mer, sept. 1937, 250-263.

411/2d/20

De Cenival, P.; Funck-Brentano, C., and Bousser, M. 1937. Bibliographie Marocaine 1923-1933. Pp. 606. Paris: Larose. (A list of publications on Morocco: a section to each year 1923-1933; each section divided under headings General; Geography; Anthropology; Ethnology; Linguistics; Literature; History; Archaeology; Protectorate; Law and Administration).

Doveton, D. M. 1937. The Human Geography of Swaziland. Institute of British Geographers, Publication No. 8. London: George Phillip and Son. Pp. 110, maps, illus. 10s. 6d.

Hardy, Georges. 1937. L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise. Choix de textes precedes d'une etude. (Anthologies illustrees. Les colonies francaises.) 244 p., illus., cartes. Paris: Laurens.

Labouret, Henri. 1937. Monteil, explorateur et soldat. xiv-304 P., cartes et plans. Paris: Berger-Levrault.

Land usage and Soil Erosion in Africa. (Report of Speeches.) JRAS, Supplement, 37, Jan. 1938.

Mumford, W. B., and Smith, C. E. Racial Comparisons and Intelligence Testing. JRAS, 37, 1938, 46-57.

Schmidt-Pretoria, W. Der grosse Trek der Buren. Z. f. Geopol., 15, 1, 2-6.

Sharp, N. A. Dyce. Cape Coast, an Historical Sketch, from 1610 to 1725. (A paper read by Dr. Dyce Sharp before the Cape Coast Historical Society on August 29th, 1934.) Transactions of the Cape Coast Historical Society, 1, 1, 1936, 7-15.

Stamp, L. Dudley. Land Utilisation and Soil Erosion in Nigeria. Geographical Review (pub. by Geogr. Soc. of New York), 28, 1938, 32-45, maps and illus.

Storbeck, F. 1937. Gustav Nachtigal als Arzt in Sahara u. Sudan. Diss. Leipzig.

Trowell, H. C. 1937. Handbook for Dressers and Nurses in the Tropics. London: Sheldon Press. Pp. 612, illus. 7s. 6d.

Tuaillon, J. L. Bibliographie critique de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise. Paris: Lavauzelle.

Young, T. Cullen. The 'Native' Newspaper. Africa, 11, 1, 63-72.

41/129/21

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH AFRICAN

LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Entries in this number cover publications from August to October, 1938.

I. Anthropology and Sociology

Albert, R. P. 1937. Cameroun français au pays Bamileké, Bandjoun, croyances, coutumes, folklore. Pp. 173, 22 pl., 1 carte. Paris: Villen.

Basden, Rev. G. T. 1938. Niger Ibos. Pp. xxxii + 447, illus., map. London, Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd. 21s.

Beaton, A. C. The Poetry of the Bari Dance. SNR, 21, 1, 105-121.

Bouillié, Robert. 1937. Les coutumes familiales au Kanem. (Nord-est du Tchad.) Pp. 360, carte. Paris: Institut de droit comparé.

Chasseloup-Laubat, F. de. 1938. Art rupestre au Hoggar (Haut Mertoutch). Pp. 63, 32 pl. Paris: Plon. 80 frs.

Clarke. Les édits prononcés par Mushidi au Msiri, premier chef des Bayeke. BJIDCC, 6, 9, 259-260.

Clark, W. T. Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Northern Bega. SNR, 21, 1, 1-30.

Clerc, André. Marriage Laws of the Ronga Tribe. Bantu St., 12, 2, 75-104.

Corfield, F. D. The Koma. SNR, 21, 1, 122-166.

Costermans. De Kazibati (Population du Nord-est du Congo belge). KO, 4, 4, 1938, 177-184.

De Jonghe, E. A Propos d'exogamie clanique et d'endogamie tribale. IRCB Séances, 9, 1938, 2, 322-330.

Denolf, F. De Slaven bij de Basho, Bakuba en Baluba (einde). Congo, 2, 3, October, 1938, 296-308.

Desparmet, J. Le Panarabisme et la Berberie. AF (supplément), 48, 8 et 9, 1938, 194-199.

Enderlin, S. J. The Nubians of today. The Moslem World, 28, 2, 138-152.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. Economic Life of the Nuer: Cattle (Part II). SNR, 21, 1, 31-77.

41/12A/1

Fogg, W. A Tribal Market in the Spanish Zone of Morocco. Africa, 11, 4, 428-458.

Gateau, A. Ibn Abd Al-Hakam et les sources arabes relatives à la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne (suite). Revue Tunisienne, 33-34, 37-54.

Gobert, E. G. Les grains d'enfilage en test d'oeuf d'autruche. Revue Tunisienne, 33-34, 19-32.

Goodwin, A. J. H., and others. Archaeology of the Oakhurst Shelter, George. Trans. Royal Soc. S. Afr., 25, 3, 17-324.

Grebaut, Sylvain. 1938. Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Griaule. Pp. 320, in-8°, 8 planches. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.

Hall, R. de Z. The Study of Native Court Records as a Method of Ethnological Inquiry. Africa, 11, 4, 412-427.

Harris, P. G. Notes on the Dakarkari Peoples of Sokoto Province, Nigeria. JRAI, 68, Jan.-June 1938, 113-152.

Herskovits, Melville J. 1938. Dahomey (2 vols.). Pp. xi + 402; xv + 407, 101 plates. New York: Augustin. $12.

Hulstaert, G. 1938. Les sanctions coutumières contre l'adultère chez les Nkundo. Pp. 53. Bruxelles: IRCB Séances. 10 frs.

Jagerschmidt, Alain. Les populations et la question indigène en Afrique australe britannique (suite et fin). La Géographie, 69, 4, 1938, 209-224.

Kingdon, F. D. Bracelet Fighting in the Nuba Mountains. SNR, 21, 1, 197-199.

Kirwan, L. P. Recent Archaeology in British Africa. JRAS, 37, 149, 494-501.

Knops, P. L'enfant chez les Senoufos de la Côte d'Ivoire. Africa, 11, 4, 482-492.

Lebeuf, Jean-Paul. La mission Sahara-Cameroun. La Géographie, 69, 4, 1938, 225-230.

Lester, Paul. Le peuplement primitif de l'Afrique. Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 8, 8e série, 1937, 1-10.

Maes, J. 1938. Kabila--en grafbeelden uit Kongo. Pp. 65-148, Platen XXI-XXX. Tervueren: Annalen van het Museum van Belgisch Congo.

Marie-André du Sacré-Coeur, Soeur. La femme Mossi, sa situation juridique. L'Ethnographie, 33-34, 101-105.

Maurice, Père. Le pays des Bapimbwe (suite). La Géographie, 69, 5-6, 1938, 264-270.

Mélanges de Géographie et d'Orientalisme offerts à E. F. Gautier. 1937. Pp. 464, 10 pl. Tours: Arrault.

Montagne, Robert. L'évolution des pays de civilisation musulmane. AF (Supplément), 48, 8 et 9, 1938, 186-190.

41/12A/3

Nicolas, Francis. Les industries de protection chez les Twareg de l'Azawagh. Hespéris, 1er trimestre, 1938, 43-84.

Olbrechts, F. M. Kleine musea, en hoe ze te beheeren. KO, 4, 4, 1938, 185-202.

Owen, T. R. H. A Bega Game -- "Andat". SNR, 21, 1, 201-205.

Page, J. W. 1938. Primitive Races of To-day. Pp. 348, illus. London: George Harrap & Co. Ltd. 8s. 6d. (Part I describes African pygmies, and Part III deals with the primitive cultivators of Equatorial Africa.)

Quenum, Maximilien. 1938. Au pays des Fons. Us et coutumes du Dahomey. Pp. 167, illus. Paris: Larose.

---- Réglementation du travail indigène en Guinée. Gouvernement de la Guinée.

Renaud, H. P. J. Ibn Al-Bannâ de Marrakech, sûfî et mathématicien. Hespéris, 1er trimestre, 1938, 13-42.

Sachs, Curt. 1938. Les Instruments de musique de Madagascar. Pp. 96, illus. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, tome 28, 56 frs. 25.

Santandrea, Fr. S. Evil and Witchcraft among the Ndogo Group of Tribes. Africa, 11, 4, 459-481.

Santandrea, Fr. S. Il Gruppo Ndogo del Bahr-el-Ghazal. Ann. Lateranensi, 2, 1938, 175-353.

Schaegelen, R. P. Théobald. La tribu des Wagogo. Anthropos, 33, 3-4, 515-567.

Soualah, Mohammed. 1937. La société indigène de l'Afrique du Nord (Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc, Sahara). Pp. 547, illus., 3 vols., cartes. Alger: Carbonel.

Soupart, J. Les coutumes Budga. BJIDCC, 6, 10, 269-274 (à suivre).

Spillmann, G. La Zaouïa de Tamegrout et les Nasiriyine. AF (supplément), 28, 8 et 9, 1938, 205-223.

Tastevin, R. P. Le totémisme des VaNyaneka de l'Angola Méridional. L'Ethnographie, 33-34, 93-98.

Tempels, Pl. Raadsels in Midden-Katanga. KO, 4, 4, 1938, 203-209.

Van Caeneghem, R. 1938. Studie over de gewoontelijke strafbepalingen tegen het overspel bij de Baluba en Balulua van Kasai. Pp. 56. Bruxelles: IRCB Memoires. 10 frs.

Van der Kerken, G. Religion, Science et Magie au pays des Mongo. IRCB Séances, 9, 1938, 2, 202-292.

Van Wing, J. 1938. Religion et Magie (Études Bakongo, II). Pp. 307, 1 carte, 2 figs., 8 pl. Bruxelles: IRCB Mémoires. 60 frs.

Walschap, A. Tien Nkundo-Rouwklachten. KO, 4, 4, 1938, 210-214.

Williams, Joseph J., S. J. Africa's God. IX.-Conclusion. Anthropolog. Series of Boston College Graduate School, 3, 3, serial 11, 1938, 335-378. Massachusetts. $1.

Wolff, H. F. Die kultische Rolle d. Zwerges im alten Ägypten. Anthropos, 33, 3-4, 445-514.

Zenati, R. Le problème algérien vu par un indigène. AF (supplément), 48, 6, 1938, 81-103, 117-135.

II. Linguistics

Berger, J. Die mit B-île gebildeten Perfektstämme in den Bantusprachen. (Forts. u. Schluss.) Z.f.Eg., 28, 4, 255-286.

Boelaert, P. E. Vergelijkende Taalstudie II. Aequatoria, 6, 7, 1938, 1-8.

Burssens, A. Het Partikel -a in het Tshiluba (Toontaal). KO, 4, 4, 1938, 169-176.

Crazzolara, J. P. 1938. A Study of the Acooli Language. Pp. xv + 426. London: Oxford University Press, for the Intern. Inst. African Languages and Cultures. 21s.

Dammann, E. Sprichwörter der Zigula. Z.f.Eg., 29, 1, 71-76.

---- Bonde-Erzählungen. Z.f.Eg., 28, 4, 299-318.

Doke, C. M. The Earliest Records of Bantu. Bantu St., 12, 2, 135-144.

Gengenbach, K. Märchen in der Nyang-Sprache. Z.f.Eg., 29, 1, 1-37.

Hulstaert, P. G. Dialektale stroomingen in het Lomongo-Lonkundo. Aequatoria, 7, 8, 1938, 1-16.

Krüger, F. Brauche der Lovelu. Z.f.Eg., 28, 4, 241-255.

Lekgothoane, S. K. Praises of Animals in Northern Sotho. Bantu St., 12, 3, 189-214.

Leslau, Wolf. Contributions à l'étude du Harari (Abyssinie méridionale). Journal asiatique, 229, 1937, 431-479.

Lukas, J. Der hamitische Gehalt der tschadohamitischen Sprachen. Z.f.Eg., 28, 4, 286-299.

Mertens, J. 1938. Grammaire de l'Idzing de la Kamtsha. Pp. xxxi + 388. Bruxelles: IRCB Mémoires. 115 frs. (Les Badzing habitent la rive gauche du Kasai.)

Muratori, Rev. P. Carlo. 1938. Grammatica Lotuko. Pp. xxix + 497. Verona: Missioni Africane.

Mwenda II, chef des Bayeke. Lettre à Sa Majesté le Roi Albert (en Kibula Sanga avec texte français). BJIDCC, 6, 10, 275-283.

Ruskin, E. A., and L. 1938. Notes on the Lingombe Grammar. Pp. 215. Congo: Congo Balolo Mission.

Schapera, I. Ethnographic Texts in the Baloongwe Dialect of Sekgalgadi. Bantu St., 12, 3, 157-188.

Smith, Edwin, W. The Language of Pygmies of the Ituri. JRAS, 37, 149, 464-470.

Stamberg, F. Märchen der Dschagga (Mwika-Dialekt). (Neue Folge). Z.f.Eg., 29, 1, 38-71.

Vilakazi, B. W. The Conception and Development of Poetry in Zulu, Bantu St., 12, 2, 105-134.

41/12A/5

VERNACULAR BOOKS

Bantu

Basa

Ju Lilam. Beautiful Family (Primer). Pt. I. Arithmetic stories; II. O. T. stories. 1938. Pp. 95, illus. Elat, Cameroons: Halsey Memorial Press. 3 frs. 75.

Bemba

Umwa Kubelenga Ifintu fya mu Cipingo ca Kale. 1938. Pp. 176, illus. London: Cent. Africa District Committee of L.M.S. and C.M.M.L.

Bwaca 2 (Phonic Vernacular Readers). 1938. Pp. 68, illus. London: Cent. Africa District Committee of L.M.S. and C.M.M.L.

Kafwa I (1st reader). 1938. Pp. 32, illus. London: United Society.

Ganda

Anna, Sister, O.S.F. 1938. Ekitabo kya Petro (Primer). Pp. 46, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Enganikyo Ezindi (Third reading book for W. Uganda). 1938. Pp. 61, illus. London: Sheldon Press; Kampala Uganda Bookshop. 6d.

Laight, I. E. 1938. Jangu Osome. Ekitabo Ekisoka. (The Kampala Readers.) Pp. 48, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Kikuyu

Justin Itotia wa Kimacia. 1937. Kikuyu Customs. Pp. 160, illus. Nairobi, Kenya: Colonial Printing Works. 1s. 50c.

Kongo

Nsamu wa Bantu Banunga. Pt. I and II. 1936. Pp. 24. Kimpese: E.P.I. 2frs.

Nsamu wa Bantu Banunga. Pt. III and IV. 1937. Pp. 96. Kimpese: E.P.I. 3 frs. 50.

41/124/6

Lala

Akakutaticilamo. (Primer, Pt. 1). 1937. Pp. 14. London: Sheldon Press. 3d.

Icakupendamo. (Primer, Pt. 2). 1937. Pp. 27, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 3d.

Impwilo. (Primer, Pt. 3). 1937. Pp. 48. London: Sheldon Press. 6d.

Ififuto (Reader No. I). 1938. Pp. 88, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 8d.

Inyimbo sya Ŵaklistu (Hymn-book). 1938. Pp. 73. London: S.P.C.K. 6d.

Lamba

Inyimbo Isyakumucindika Le Sa (Hymns). 1938. Pp. 127. Ndola, N. Rhodesia: S. African Bapt. Mission.

Shambala

Mbuli za Mviko. 1938. Pp. 215. Vuga, Tanganyika: Bethel Mission.

Shona

Mackenzie, J. K. 1938. Mukadzi Wekutaura (Talking Woman). Pp. 63, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 6d.

Swahili

Njoo, Uone! Picha 100 za Biblia. (T.T.: Usambara Agentur: Lushoto Leipzig Mission, Moshi.) 1938. Pp. 100, illus. Stuttgart: Chama cha Wurttemberg kitoacho vitabu vya Biblia. 50c.

Hellier, A. B. (Ed.) 1938. Kibaraka na Hadithi Nyingine (Swahili Stories I). Pp. 48, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 3d.

---- 1938. Muhammad Seyid Din na Hadithi Nyingine (Swahili Stories II). Pp. 47, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 3d.

Butt, H. T. H. 1938. Msaidizi wa watu waliojeruhiwa (First Aid Illustrated -- English, Swahili, Luganda). Pp. 96, illus. London: Longmans. 1s. 4d.

Sudanic

Fante

Neill, H. C., and Korsah, J. E. K. (Ed.) 1938. Kenkan Me Hwe. Nwoma a Otsia Ebiasa. Longmans Fante Series, Reader Three. Pp. 95, illus. London: Longmans. Cape Coast: Methodist Book Depot. 1s. 2d.

41/12A/7

Ibo

Okwu Igbo Nke Mbu. (Longmans' Ibo Series, Reader I.) 1938. Pp. 48, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Nilotic

Teso

Wilkinson, E. M. 1938. Nukaisa Iidwe Lumukerun (Care of Young Infants). Pp. 17, Oxford: Dr. C. Wiggins.

III. EDUCATION AND MISSIONS

Brodrick, G. E. P. 1938. Notes on General Science (New Method English Library). Pp. 64. London: Longmans. 1s.

Carpenter, A. J. 1938. A West African Nature Study. Pp. 370, illus. London; Longmans. 5s.

Fortes, M. Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland. Africa, 11, 4, Supplement and Memorandum No. 17, 64, illus.

Frémont, Isabelle. 1938. The Oxford English Readers for Africa. Book One. Pp. 66, illus. London: Oxford University Press. 9d.

Guillot, R. Contes d'Afrique. Pp. 94, illus. Numéro spécial, Bulletin de l'enseignement de l'A.O.F.

Hoernlé, R. F. A. Native Education at the Cross-roads in South Africa. Africa, 11, 4, 389-411.

Ladreit de Lacharrière, J. L'enseignement élémentaire des indigènes en Algérie et la question des écoles coraniques. AF, 48, 7, 1938, 302-308.

Raum, O. F. Some Aspects of Indigenous Education among the Chaga. JRAI, 68, Jan.-June 1938, 209-222.

Rigault, Georges. 1937. Histoire générale de l'Institut des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes. Pp. 628. Paris: Plon. 60 frs.

Scott, H. S. The Effect of Education on the African. JRAS, 37, 149, 504-509.

Shropshire, D. W. T. 1938. The Church and Primitive Peoples. The Religious Institutions of the Southern Bantu and their bearing on the Problems of the Christian Missionary. Pp. xxxiii + 466. London: S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

South African Outlook. Missionary Conference Number, 68, 809, 1-44.

The Christian Handbook of South Africa. 1938. Pp. 289. Lovedale, Cape. Lovedale Press. 4s.

Uganda. 1937. Annual Report. Education Department. Pp. 91. Entebbe: Uganda Government. 4s.

Westermann, D. Die Völker Afrikas heute und morgen. Scientia, 32, 4, 221-228.

Winter, A. J. E. 1938. English Composition for Bantu Students. Books I-III. Pp. each 42, illus. London: Longmans. 10d. each part.

IV. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Bou Hasna. Structure administrative et institutions du Protectorat français en Tunisie. AF (supplément), 28, 7, 8-9, 1938, 164-176, 228-231.

Chauleur, Pierre. L'oeuvre de la France au Cameroun. Pp. 270. Yaoundé.

Fayet, F. La justice itinérante au Sénégal. AF (supplément), 48, 8 et 9, 1938, 186-190.

Frager, Serge. 1938. Les doubles impositions dans les rapports entre la France et son empire colonial. Pp. 153, Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence. 30 frs.

Hailey, Lord. 1938. An African Survey. Pp. xxi + 1837, maps. London: Oxford University Press. 21s.

James, L. Indians in East Africa. United Empire, 29, 9, 412, 414.

Kayser, K. Bevölkerungsdichte, Wanderarbeit u. eur. Arbeitsbedarf in Ostafrika. Leiden: Comptes Rendus du Congrès Internationalde Géographie, Amsterdam, 1938, 441-457.

Labouret, Henri. Politique indigène en Afrique tropicale. AF, 48, 5, 203-206; 48, 6, 267-270.

Les Nouvelles (Corpus Juris Belgici). Droit Colonial, t. iii. 1938. Pp. 666. Bruxelles: F. Larcier. 250 frs.

Lewin, Julius. The Recording of Native Law and Custom. JRAS, 37, 149, 483-493.

Nigeria. 1937. Annual Report of the Northern Provinces. Pp. 58, map. Kaduna: Government Printer. 4s. 6d.

Permanent Mandates Commission, Report to League of Nations. C. 216. M. 119. 1938. 6. Extract.

Pim, Sir Alan. Anthropological Problems of Indirect Rule in Northern Rhodesia. Man, 38, 205, 180-185.

Ponton, G. Voies d'évacuation de l'A.É.F. AF (supplément), 48, 7, 1938, 150.

Simons, H. J. The Study of Native Law in South Africa. Bantu St., 12, 3, 237-242.

Westermann, D. Der afr. Mensch u. d. europ. Kolonisation. Das Meer, 3, Kolonialprobleme der Gegenwart, 67-81.

Yearbook of Compared Colonial Administration, Vol. I, 1937. 1938. Pp. 959 + clxiv. Bruxelles: Institut Colonial International.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Bantu Welfare Trust, Second Annual Report. 1937-38.

Bequaert, M. 1938. Les Fouilles de Jean Colette à Kalina (Léopoldville). Pp. 25-88, Planches VI a XIII. Tervueren: Annales du Musée du Congo Belge.

Callaway, Godfrey. 1938. Pioneers in Pondoland. Pp. ix+199, map, illus. Lovedale, Cape: Lovedale Press. 5s.

Coupland, R. 1938. East Africa and its Invaders. From the Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1856. Pp. 584, maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 30s.

Daize, L. 1938. Les Boules de Pierre et les Pierres perforées des collections de pré-histoire du musée du Congo. Pp. 89-140, Planche XIV. Tervueren: Annales du Musée du Congo belge.

Devroez, E. Le Problème de la Lukuga, exutoire du Lac Tanganyika. IRCB Mémoires, 1, 3, 1938, 130, planche.

De Wildeman, E. Dioscorea alimentaires et toxiques (Morphologie et Biologie), espèces et variétés congolaises. IRCB Séances, 7, 2, 1938, 262.

Egerton, F. Clement C. 1938. African Majesty. A Record of Refuge at the Court of the King of Bangangté. Pp. xx + 348, 2 maps, illus. London: Routlege. 18s.

Fortie, Marius. 1938. Black and Beautiful. Pp. xii + 320, 2 maps, illus. London: Hale. 15s.

41/12A/9

41/12A/10

Gerstner, J. A Preliminary Check List of Zulu Names of Plants. Bantu St., 12, 3, 215-236.

Hall, H. E. F. How Peace came to the Kikuyu. JRAS, 37, 149, 432-448.

Hoge, J. Rassenmischung in Südafrika im 17. u. 18. Jahrh. Z. f. Rassenkunde, 8, 2, 1938, 138-151.

Hutt, W. H. Economic Aspects of the Report of the Cape Coloured Commission. S.A. Jnl. Econ., 6, 2, 117-133.

Jones, G. I. The Distribution of Negro Sculpture in S. Nigeria. Nigerian Field, 7, 3, 102-108.

Joucla, E. 1937. Bibliographie de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. Pp. 704. Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales. 110 frs.

Kalu, Eke. An Ibo Autobiography. Nigerian Field, 7, 4, 158-170.

Ladreit de Lacharrière, J. A l'Institut International des langues et civilisations africaines. AF, 48, 6, 1938, 250-252.

Lebel, Charles. 1938. La standardisation des produits à Madagascar. Pp. 190, Librairie technique et économique.

Macnaghten, T.C., and others. 1938. Empire Opportunities. A Survey of the Possibilities of Overseas Settlement. Pp. vi + 265, maps. London: Blackie. 7s. 6d.

Maroix, General. 1938. Le Togo, pays d'influence française. Pp. 136, illus. Paris: Larose.

Maud, J. P. R. 1938. City Government: The Johannesburg Experiment. Pp. xv + 412, 8 plates, and maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 21s.

Meinhof, C., and others. 1938. Afrika. Beiträge z. Völker- und Wirtschaftskunde. Pp. 92. Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt.

Mouvement commercial de la côte française des Somalis. Colonies Autonomes, déc. 1937, 27-28.

Obst, E. Die heutigen Kolonialreiche in Afrika. Das Meer, 7, Kolonialprobleme der Gegenwart, Berlin, 1939, 82-105.

Piccioli, Angelo (Direttore), et al. Gli Annali dell' Africa Italiana, 1, 1938, 414, map, illus.

Salmon, R. (footnotes by Newbold, D.). The Story of Sheikh Abdullahi Ahmed Abu Gelaha. SNR, 21, 1, 70-103.

Schwetz, J. Recherches sur le paludisme endémique du Bas Congo et du Kwanto. IRCB Séances, 7, 1, 1938, 164, map.

Situation économique d'ensemble. A.O.F. Bulletin mensuel de l'Agence Économique, 211, juillet 1938, 206-218.

Stebbing, E. P. Africa and its Intermittent Rainfall. JRAS (supplément), 37, 148, 32.

Sudan Government. 1937. Annual Report, Department of Economics and Trade. Pp. 250, map, graphs. Khartoum. 4s. 2d.

Tate, H. R. Two African Explorers. II. Joseph Thomson. JRAS, 37, 149, 449-463.

41/12A/11

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH AFRICAN

LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Entries in this number cover publications from November 1938 to January, 1939

41/12A/31

I. ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Ashton, E. H. Political Organisation of the Southern Sotho. Bantu St., 12, 4, 1938, 287-320.

Bell, C. W. Nuba Agricultural Methods and Beliefs. SNR, 21, 2, Dec. 1938, 237-249 (illustr.).

Bardin, P. Les terres collectives et le paysannat indigène dans le sud de la Tunisie. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 2, 1938, 65-72.

Das wahre Gesicht des Bushmannes in seinen Mythen und Märchen. Aus dem Sammlungen von W. H. J. Bleek und L. C. Lloyd übersetzt von Käthe Woldmann. 1938. Pp. 138. Basel.

Boelaert, E. De Nkundo-Mongo. Aequatoria, 8, 9, 1938, 1-24.

---- De rechtsproeven bij de Nkundo. Congo, 2, Dec. 1938, 526-546.

Brookes, E. H. Race Relations of the Future in the Light of the Past. Race Rel., 5, 4, 1938, 86-88.

Cabu, Francis, et Van den Brande, M. Contribution à l'étude de la répartition des Kwés au Katanga. (Bushmen's rings.) Annales du Musée du Congo belge, 1938, pp. 141-244.

Colin, G. S. Origine arabe des grands mouvements de populations berbères dans le Moyen-Atlas. Hesperis, 25, 2-3, 265-268.

Decary, R. Races et moeurs. La Revue de Madagascar, 23, 1938, 7-34, carte.

De Cleene, N. Het nut van de studie der Volkenkunde in de opleiding tot den Territorialen Dienst. Le Trait d'union (Anvers), fasc. 1, 1939, 31-38.

De Jonghe, E. Over stam- en klanwezen in Belgisch-Congo. Congo, 2, Nov. 1938, 434-446.

Denis, L. La supputation du temps et le calendrier chez les Bakongo. Congo, 2, Dec. 1938, 481-489.

Deschamps, H. Ingahisola (conte malgache). La Revue de Madagascar, 23, 1938, 35-45.

d'Orgo de Marchovelette. Étude sur l'organisation judiciare indigène de la chefferie Kayamba (District du Lualaba). BJIDCC, 6, 12, 333-341.

Driberg, J. H. A Note on the Classification of Half Hamites in East Africa. Man, 39, 1939, no. 19.

---- Clan Functionaries. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 65-73.

Estermann, C. Coutumes des Mbali du sud d'Angola. Africa, 12, 1, 74-86.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. A note on Ingassana marriage customs. SNR, 21, 2, Dec. 1938, 307-313.

Even, A. La grossesse, la naissance et la prime enfance chez les Bakota du Haug-Ogooué et du Nord de Mossendjo (Moyen-Congo). Les Recherches Congolaises, 26, 1938, 5-21.

Fontoynont et Raomandahy. La Grande Comore. Pp. 110, illus., carte. Mémoires de l'Académie Malgache, 23.

Gorju, Mgr, et al. 1938. Face au Royaume Hamite du Ruanda. Pp. 118, map, illus. Brussels: Vromant. Bibliothèque Conto, nouvelle série, 3.

Hall, H. U. 1938. The Sherbro of Sierra Leone. Pp. 15, map, illus. Philadelphia, Pa.: University Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania. 9s.

Hambly, Wilfrid D. Anthropometry of the Ovimbundu Angola. Anthropological Series, Field Museum of Natural History, 25, 2, 1938, 79, illus.

Handy, E. S. Craighill. The Religious Significance of Land. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 114-123.

Herskovits, Melville J. Les noirs du Nouveau Monde: sujet de recherches africanistes. JSA, 8, 1, 65-82.

Hulstaert, G. Notes sur le mariage des Ekonda. Aequatoria, 11, 1938, 1-11.

James, L. The Kenya Masai: A nomadic people under modern administration. Africa, 12, 1, Jan. 1939, 49-72.

Junod, H. P. 1938. Bantu Heritage. Pp. vi + 155; 40 plates. Johannesburg: Hortors.

Laidler, P. W. South African Native Ceramics: their Characteristics and Classification. TRSSA, 26, 2, 1938, 93-172.

Lebeuf, Jean-Paul. La circoncision chez les Kotoko dans l'ancien pays Sao. JSA, 8, 1, 1-9.

---- Rapport sur les travaux de la 4e mission Griaule. Les Recherches Congolaises, 26, 1938, 179-186.

Lekgothoane, S. K. Praises of Animals in Northern Sotho. Bantu St., 12, 3, 1938, 189-213.

Maillet, J. Étude sur les jurisdictions indigènes. BJIDCC, 6, 11 and 12, 297-298 and 326-332.

41/12h/32

Malinowski, B. The Present State of Studies in Culture Contact: Some Comments on an American approach. Africa, 12, 1, Jan. 1939, 27-47.

Marquard, L., and Standing, T. G. 1939. The Southern Bantu. Pp. v + 262, maps. London: Oxford Univ. Press. 7s. 6d.

Mathews, Z. K. Future Race Relations in South Africa. Race Rel., 5, 4, 1938, 84-86.

Monod, T. 1938. Gravures, Peintures et Inscriptions rupestres. Pp. 158, carte, illus. Publ. du Com. d'Études hist. et scient. de l'A.O.F., série A 7.

Nobles, K. J. The Burial of a Nuba Mek at Dunger. SNR, 22, 2, Dec. 1938, 325-326, illus.

Owen, Ven. Archdeacon W. E. The Kombewa Culture, Kenya Colony. Man, 38, Dec. 1938, no. 218, illus.

---- An Amateur Field Collector in Kavirondo. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 124-131.

Pages, P. Notes sur le régime des biens dans la province du Bugoyi. Congo, 2, Nov. 1938, 392-433.

Philby, H. St. J. B. African contacts with Arabia. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 33-45.

Piquet, André. Un siècle d'évolution de la communauté israélite de Miliana (Algérie). La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 44-63.

Reyneke, Rev. F. Race Relations of the Future in the Light of the Past. Race Rel., 5, 4, 1938, 88-90.

Ruhlman, A. Une exploitation de sel à l'époque néolithique dans la vallée de l'Oued Beth. Bulletin de la Société de Préhistoire du Maroc, 11, 1-2, 3-30.

Santandrea, Rev. Father. Minor Shilluk Sections in the Bahr el Ghazal. SNR, 21, 1, Dec. 1938, 267-289.

Soupart, J. Les coutumes Budja. BJIDCC, 6, 11, 299-310.

---- Les tatouanges chez les Budja. BJIDCC, 6, 12, 317-325.

Schapera, I. Ethnographical Texts in the Bolcongwe dialect of Sekgalagadi. Bantu St., 12, 3, 1938, 157-187.

Schebesta, Paul, S. V. D. 1938. Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri. Pp. xviii + 438, map, illus. Brussels: IRCB Mémoires, vol. i.

Shaw, (Miss) M. Ovambo Knives. Annals, S. African Museum, 24, 5, 1938, 253-275, illus.

---- Native Pipes and Smoking in South Africa. Annals, S. African Museum, 24, 5, 1938, 277-302, illus.

---- South African Native Snuff-boxes. Annals, S. African Museum, 24, 5, 1938, 221-252, illus.

41/2A/33

Malinowski, B. The Present State of Studies in Culture Contact: Some Comments on an American approach. Africa, 12, 1, Jan. 1939, 27-47.

Marquard, L., and Standing, T. G. 1939. The Southern Bantu. Pp. v + 262, maps. London: Oxford Univ. Press. 7s. 6d.

Mathews, Z. K. Future Race Relations in South Africa. Race Rel., 5, 4, 1938, 84-86.

Monod, T. 1938. Gravures, Peintures et Inscriptions rupestres. Pp. 158, carte, illus. Publ. du Com. d'Études hist. et scient. de l'A.O.F., série A 7.

Nobles, K. J. The Burial of a Nuba Mek at Dunger. SNR, 22, 2, Dec. 1938, 325-326, illus.

Owen, Ven. Archdeacon W. E. The Kombewa Culture, Kenya Colony. Man, 38, Dec. 1938, no. 218, illus.

---- An Amateur Field Collector in Kavirondo. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 124-131.

Pages, P. Notes sur le régime des biens dans la province du Bugoyi. Congo, 2, Nov. 1938, 392-433.

Philby, H. St. J. B. African contacts with Arabia. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 33-45.

Piquet, André. Un siècle d'évolution de la communauté israélite de Miliana (Algérie). La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 44-63.

Reyneke, Rev. F. Race Relations of the Future in the Light of the Past. Race Rel., 5, 4, 1938, 88-90.

Ruhlman, A. Une exploitation de sel à l'époque néolithique dans la vallée de l'Oued Beth. Bulletin de la Société de Préhistoire du Maroc, 11, 1-2, 3-30.

Santamarea, Rev. Father. Minor Shilluk Sections in the Bahr el Ghazal. SNR, 21, 1, Dec. 1938, 267-239.

Soupart, J. Les coutumes Budja. BJIDCC, 6, 11, 299-310.

---- Les tatouanges chez les Budja. BJIDCC, 6, 12, 317-325.

Schapera, I. Ethnographical Texts in the Bolcongwe dialect of Sekgalagadi. Bantu St., 12, 3, 1938, 157-187.

Schebesta, Paul, S. V. D. 1938. Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri. Pp. xviii + 438, map, illus. Brussels: IRCB Mémoires, vol. i.

Shaw, (Miss) M. Ovambo Knives. Annals, S. African Museum, 24, 5, 1938, 253-275, illus.

---- Native Pipes and Smoking in South Africa. Annals, S. African Museum, 24, 5, 1938, 277-302, illus.

---- South African Native Snuff-boxes. Annals, S. African Museum, 24, 5, 1938, 221-252, illus.

411/24/33

Simons, H. J. The Study of Native Law in South Africa. Bantu St., 12, 3, 1938, 237-242.

Stopa, R. 1938. Studies on the population and culture of South-West Africa. Pp. 134. Warsaw: Biblioteka Polska. (In Polish, with abstract in English)

Stubbs, Capt. J. M., and Morrison, C. G. T. Land and Agriculture of the Western Dinka. SNR, 21, 2, Dec. 1938, 251-265.

Tanghe, B. Histoire générale des migrations des peuples de l'Ubangi. Congo, 2, nov. 1938, 361-391.

Tripe, W. B. The Death and Replacement of a Divine King in Uha. Man, 39, 1939, no. 21, illus.

Van Lille, A. J. 1938. The Native Council System, with special reference to the Transvaal Local Councils. Pp. xx + 149. Pretoria: J. H. de Bussy. 4s. 6d.

Van Malderen, A. Funérailles d'un chef "Mulomotwa" (Territoire de Sampwe, Katanga). BJIDCC, 6, 11, 311-313.

Van Warmelo, N. J. (Ed.). 1938. History of Matiwane and the Amangwane Tribe, as told by Msebenzi to his kinsman Albert Hlongwane. (Supplemented by Archive Documents and other material.) Pretoria: Government Printer (Ethnological Publications, vol. vii). Pp. 275, illus. 7s. 6d.

Wagner, G. The Changing Family among the Bantu Kavirondo. Africa, 12, 1 (Suppl.), Jan. 1939, pp. 52, illus.

Wild, R. P. The Manufacture of a "Ntiriba" hairpin at Ohuasi, Ashanti. Man, 39, 1939, no. 17, illus.

Williams, J. J., S. J. The Maroons of Jamaica. Anthrop. Series, Boston College Graduate School, 3, 4, 1938, 379-480.

Wilson, Godfrey. 1938. The Land Rights of Individuals among the Nyakyusa. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Pp. 52. 2s.

II. LINGUISTICS

Agar-O'Connell, R. M. 1938. Iintsomi. Bantu Folk Stories. Pp. 47, illus. Lovedale, Cape: Lovedale Press. 2s.

Burssens, A. Tonologisch onderzoek van de copula di in het Tshiluba. KO, 4, 5, 1938, 275-285.

Castex, Docteur. Vocabulaire comparé des principaux dialectes ayant actuellement cours en Haut-Ogooué (Moyen-Congo). Les Recherches Congolaises, 26, 1938, 23-54.

Cerulli, E. 1938. Studi Etiopici III. Il linguaggio dei Giangerò ed alcune Sidama dell' Omo. Pp. 231. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.

Decary, R. Les appellations horaires chez quelques tribus de Madagascar. Revue de Folklore Français, 9, 1, 33-41.

Fontoynont et Raomandahy. Vocabulaire Comorien-Français. Mémoires de l'Académie Malgache, 23, 93-105.

Gaudiche, Capitaine. La langue Boudouma (Niger). JSA, 8, 1, 11-32.

Gengenbach, K. Märchen in der Nyang-Sprache. (Fortsetzg.) Z.f.Eg., 29, 2, 119-145.

Gerstner, J. A Preliminary Check List of Zulu Names of Plants. Bantu St., 12, 3, 1938, 215-236.

Hennings, Helene. Studien zur Bedeutungsbildung im Bantu. Leipzig: Akadem. Verlagsgesellschaft. Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie, 1938. 101, 463-533.

Liesenborghs, O. Wat is Kingwana? KO, 4, 5, 1938, 233-249.

Lifszyc, Déborah. Les formules propitiatoires chez les Dogon des falaises de Bandiagara (Soudan français). JSA, 8, 1, 33-55.

Lukas, J., and Volckers, O. G. Nachtigal's Aufzeichnungen über die Sprache der Mimi in Wadai. Z.f.Eg., 29, 2, 145-154.

Macdonald, Duff. Yao and Nyanja Tales. Bantu St., 12, 4, 1938, 251-286.

Maeyens, L. Het inlandsch Lied en het muzikaal Accent met semantische functie bij de Babira. KO, 4, 5, 1938, 250-259.

Moreno, M. M. 1938. Introduzione alla Lingua Ometo. Pp. 194. Milan: Mondadori.

---- Note di lingua burgi. Rivista degli Studi Orientali, 17, 1938, 49.

Ratcliffe, B. J. The Ideophone in Swahili. Inter-territorial Language (Swahili) Committee, Bull. 12, 1939, 9.

Rowling, Canon F. The Mother Tongue for African Readers. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 133-144.

Westermann, D. The Study of African Languages: Present results and future needs. Africa, 12, 1, 12-25.

41/12A/35

VERNACULAR BOOKS

Bantu

Bemba

Fox-Pitt, T. S. L. 1939. Chibemba Notebook. Pp. 84. London: Longmans. 3s. 6d.

Ganda

Anna, Sister. 1938. Ekitabo kya Petro (Luganda Primer). Pp. 46, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Laight, I. E. 1938. Jangu Osome. I. Ekitabe Ekisuka (Kampala Readers, I). Pp. 47, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Kele

Lioi lia Mungu Ende Bato (Comment Dieu parle avec l'homme). 1938. Pp. 46. Yakusu, Congo: B. M. S.

Mambwe

Ilandwe Lya Mpiti mu Kyimambwe (O.T. Stories). 1939. Pp. 73, illus. London: United Society.

Nyanja

Mackenzie, J. K., trans. by Biton Banda. 1939. Mkazi Wokamba Nkhani (Talking Woman). Pp. 60, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 6d.

Shambala

Mbulu za Mviko. 1938. Pp. 210. Vuga. T.T.: Bethel Mission 2s.

Sotho

Mohapeloa, J. P. 1935. Meloli le Litmallere tsa Africa (African songs), sol-fa. Pp. 89. Morija, Basutoland: Sesuto Book Dept.

Swahili

Mafunzo ya Uzalisha (Teaching in Mid-wifery). 1938. Pp. 30, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 4d.

Reusch, R. 1938. Mwongizi wa Kufahamu Agano Jipya. Pp. 166. Lushoto, T.T.: Usambara Agentur. 2s.

Kalendari 1939. 1938. Pp. 55, illus. Lushoto, T.T.: Usambara Agentur. 30 cts.

Mfanyi Biashara wa Venice (Merchant of Venice). 1939. Pp. 32, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 3d.

41/124/37

Tumbuka

Mkani xa Kusopa mu Fuko la Israeli na Umo Kukakurira (History of Israel). 1939. Pp. 92, map. London: United Society.

Uelle-Bangala

Bakula Buku na Nzambe Amenisi (Doctrine Handbook). 1938. Pp. 122. Aba, Congo Belge: Africa Inland Mission.

Xhosa

R. T. Bokwe, Y. Mbali, J. J. R. Jolobe. 1938. Udaba Olusingiswe Kulutsha (Message on Purity). Pp. 16. Lovedale Press. 1d.

Zulu

Dent, G. R. 1938. Incwadi Yokuqala Yesizulu (primer). Pp. 32, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Inhlangano Yabefundi Bebaibeli (N.T. Reading Card, 1939). 1939. London: Scripture Union.

Sudanic

Fante

Edited by H. C. Neill and J. E. K. Korsah. 1938. Kenkan me Hwe. Nwoma a Otsia Ebiasa (Reader III). Pp. 95, illus. London: Longmans; Cape Coast: M. M. S. 1s. 2d.

Hausa

Muir, E. 1938. Kuturta. (A treatise on Leprosy.) Pp. 9. Kaduna: Government Printer.

Abubakar Kagara. 1938. Magana Jari Ce. Pp. 147. Zaria: Literature Bureau. (Hausa Stories.)

Ibo

Iye-Aka N'Uzo Kraist (Help on Christ's Road). 1939. Pp. 22. London: United Society.

4/1/2A/37

Reusch, R. 1938. Mwongizi wa Kufahamu Agano Jipya. Pp. 166. Lushoto, T.T.: Usambara Agentur. 2s.

Kalendari 1939. 1938. Pp. 55, illus. Lushoto, T.T.: Usambara Agentur. 30 cts.

Mfanyi Biashara wa Venice (Merchant of Venice). 1939. Pp. 32, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 3d.

Tumbuka

Mkani xa Kusopa mu Fuko la Israeli na Umo Kukakurira (History of Israel). 1939. Pp. 92, map. London: United Society.

Uelle-Bangala

Bakula Buku na Nzambe Amenisi (Doctrine Handbook). 1938. Pp. 122. Aba, Congo Belge: Africa Inland Mission.

Xhosa

R. T. Bokwe, Y. Mbali, J. J. R. Jolobe. 1938. Udaba Olusingiswe Kulutsha (Message on Purity). Pp. 16. Lovedale Press. 1d.

Zulu

Dent, G. R. 1938. Incwadi Yokuqala Yesizulu (primer). Pp. 32, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Inhlangano Yabefundi Bebaibeli (N.T. Reading Card, 1939). 1939. London: Scripture Union.

Sudanic

Fante

Edited by H. C. Neill and J. E. K. Korsah. 1938. Kenkan me Hwe. Nwoma a Otsia Ebiasa (Reader III). Pp. 95, illus. London: Longmans; Cape Coast: M. M. S. 1s. 2d.

Hausa

Muir, E. 1938. Kuturta. (A treatise on Leprosy.) Pp. 9. Kaduna: Government Printer.

Abubakar Kagara. 1938. Magana Jari Ce. Pp. 147. Zaria: Literature Bureau. (Hausa Stories.)

Ibo

Iye-Aka N'Uzo Kraist (Help on Christ's Road). 1939. Pp. 22. London: United Society.

Ikwu Igbo Nke Mbu (Reader I). 1938. Pp. 48, illus. London: Longmans. 6d.

Moru

Kito Moru Ro (Sudan Reader II). 1939. Pp. 47. London: Sheldon Press. 4d.

Twi

Akrofi, C. A., and Rapp, E. L. 1938. A Twi Spelling Book. Pp. 109. Accra: Government Printing Office.

III. EDUCATION AND MISSIONS

Bentwich, J. S. and Mendelow, A. A. 1938. How the English are Governed. Pp. 148. London: Longmans. 1s. 9d.

Dodd, A. D. 1938. Native Vocational Training. A Study of Conditions in South Africa, 1652-1936. Pp. 155. South Africa: Lovedale Press. 2s. 6d.

Dougall, J. W. C. The Case for and against Mission Schools. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 91-108.

Findings of the Bantu Juvenile Delinquency Conference. South Africa Outlook, 68, 812, 1938, 266-271.

Harman, H. A. 1938. The Citizen of Africa. A study of his past, present and future needs. Pp. xi + 288. London: Longmans. 4s.

Higgins, R. A Domestic Science Experiment in Southern Rhodesia. O. Ed., 10, 2, Jan. 1939, 75-79.

Leusner, H. Das Schulwesen für Inder im brit. Mandat Tanganjika-Territorium. KR, 29, 4, 254-258.

Maus, A. Le nouveau programme de l'enseignement libre (à suivre). Congo, 2, déc. 1938, 490-525.

Mayhew, A. Aims and Methods of Indigenous Education in Primitive Societies. O. Ed., 10, 2, Jan. 1939, 68-74.

Smith, H. B. Missions in North Africa. Moslem World, 29, 1, 1939, 13-30.

Thurnwald, R. Europäer und Eingeborener in Ostafrika. Reale Accademia d'Italia, 16, 1938, 1-14.

Tiltack, C. Der missionarische Neuaufbruch des Islam. Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte, 9, 104, 963-978.

41/124/39

Valade, P. L'horticulture et l'enseignement agricole dans le zone de Tanger. Bulletin de l'enseignement public au Maroc, 161, 471-475.

---- L'école musulmane de Berkane. Bulletin de l'enseignement public au Maroc, 161, 456-471.

Wilbois, J. En Afrique: Obstacles que le matriarcat oppose à l'évangélisation. Bulletin des Missions, 3, 1938, 161-166.

Young, R. R. 1939. Principles and Methods in the Christian School. A Handbook for Teachers in Africa. Pp. 198. London: Longmans. 3s.

IV. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Annuaire de Documentation Coloniale Comparée, Année 1937, Vol. 3, 1939. Pp. 567 + lviii. Brussels: Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale. 60 Belgas.

Annuaire statistique de l'Algérie, 1936. 1937. Pp. 682. Alger: Gouvernement Général.

Annual Report on the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, 1937. 1938. Pp. 71. Lagos: Government Printer. 6s.

Barbut, M. L'amélioration des façons culturales chez les indigènes d'Algérie. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 2, 1938, 73-83.

Eltester, P. Die Eingeborenenbesteuerung in Kenya. KR, 29, 4, 244-247.

Guyader, A. Les Tripolitains en Tunisie. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 33-43.

Hoernlé, R. F. A. The Future of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I. Race Problems -- Strategy -- Foreign Policy and Constitutional Relations. S. A. Jnl. Economics, 6, 4, 1938, 365-377.

Hoffherr, René. L'économie de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Empire français. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 20-31.

Karstedt, O. 1938. Der weisse Kampf um Afrika. Bd. I, Englands afrikanisches Imperium. Bd. II, Deutschland in Afrika. Pp. 532 and 360. Berlin: Otto Stollberg.

Kayser, K. Bevölkerungsdichte, Wanderarbeit und europäischer Arbeitsbedarf in Ost-Afrika. Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Amsterdam, 1938, 441-457.

Montagne, Robert. Comment étudier l'évolution politique et sociale de l'Afrique du Nord. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 5-19.

Rapport annuel sur l'administration du Congo belge pendant l'année 1937. 1938. Pp. 255. Bruxelles: Van Gompel.

Valade, P. L'horticulture et l'enseignement agricole dans le zone de Tanger. Bulletin de l'enseignement public au Maroc, 161, 471-475.

---- L'école musulmane de Berkane. Bulletin de l'enseignement public au Maroc, 161, 456-471.

Wilbois, J. En Afrique: Obstacles que le matriarcat oppose à l'évangélisation. Bulletin des Missions, 3, 1938, 161-166.

Young, R. R. 1939. Principles and Methods in the Christian School. A Handbook for Teachers in Africa. Pp. 198. London: Longmans. 3s.

IV. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Annuaire de Documentation Coloniale Comparée, Année 1937, Vol. 3, 1939. Pp. 567 + lviii. Brussels: Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale. 60 Belgas.

Annuaire statistique de l'Algérie, 1936. 1937. Pp. 682. Alger: Gouvernement Général.

Annual Report on the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, 1937. 1938. Pp. 71. Lagos: Government Printer. 6s.

Barbut, M. L'amélioration des façons culturales chez les indigènes d'Algérie. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 2, 1938, 73-83.

Eltester, P. Die Eingeborenenbesteuerung in Kenya. KR, 29, 4, 244-247.

Guyader, A. Les Tripolitains en Tunisie. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 33-43.

Hoernlé, R. F. A. The Future of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I. Race Problems -- Strategy -- Foreign Policy and Constitutional Relations. S. A. Jnl. Economics, 6, 4, 1938, 365-377.

Hoffherr, René. L'économie de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Empire français. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 20-31.

Karstedt, O. 1938. Der weisse Kampf um Afrika. Bd. I, Englands afrikanisches Imperium. Bd. II, Deutschland in Afrika. Pp. 532 and 360. Berlin: Otto Stollberg.

Kayser, K. Bevölkerungsdichte, Wanderarbeit und europäischer Arbeitsbedarf in Ost-Afrika. Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Amsterdam, 1938, 441-457.

Montagne, Robert. Comment étudier l'évolution politique et sociale de l'Afrique du Nord. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 5-19.

Rapport annuel sur l'administration du Congo belge pendant l'année 1937. 1938. Pp. 255. Bruxelles: Van Gompel.

Reste, Gouverneur. 1938. Action politique, économique et sociale en A.E.F. Pp. 221, illus., carte. Brazzaville: Gouvernement Général.

---- 1938. Circulaire sur la mise en valeur de l'Afrique Équatoriale Française. Pp. 185. Brazzaville: Gouvernement Général.

Scemama, Robert. 1938. La Tunisie agricole et rurale et l'oeuvre de la France. Pp. 532. Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence.

Sermaye. Les coupeurs de cèdres au Maroc organisent leur profession. Le Monde Colonial Illustré, 187, 1939, 5.

Surugue, P. Quelques aspects de la question du paysannat marocain. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 2, 1938, 84-92.

---- La Participation des paysans marocains à l'établissement de l'assiette de l'impôt. La France Méditerranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1938, 64-75.

Thurnwald, R. Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, Eingeborenenrecht u. Kolonialrecht. Z. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, 53, 1, 1-9.

Westermann, D. Eingeborenenverwaltung in Westafrika. Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung, 51, 2, 37-41.

---- Afrikaner im Umbruch. Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung, 51, 1, 4-8.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Bain, Graham C. B. 1938. Crime. The American Negro and the Urban Native in South Africa. Pp. 67. Pretoria, S. A.

Batten, T. R. 1939. Tropical Africa in World History. (Africa in Modern History, Book III.) Pp. xi + 195. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 3d.

Bayens, J. 1938. Les sols de l'Afrique Centrale, spécialement du Congo belge. Pp. 375. Bruxelles: I.N.E.A.C. 150 fr.

Brownlee, Frank. Kalahari Irrigation. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 109-113.

Coupland, R. The Hailey Survey. Africa, 12, 1, 1-10.

De Villard, Ugo Monneret. 1938. Storia della Nubia Cristiana. Pp. 250. Rome: Institutum Orientalium Studiorum.

Firth, Raymond. 1939. Human Types. Pp. 207. London: Nelson. 2s.

Flohr, E. F. "Afrikaner" und "Südafrikaner" Weltanschauliche Triebkräfte in der südafrikanischen Politik. KR, 29, 5/6, 279-312.

41/12A/41

Frankel, S. Herbert. 1938. Capital Investment in Africa. Its cause and effects. Pp. xvi + 487, 102 tables, 6 charts, 2 maps. London: Oxford Univ. Press. 10s. 6d.

A la mémoire d'Alfred Grandidier. Mémoires de l'Academie Malgache, 22, 1-116, illus., carte.

Halbfass, W. Der Tanasee in Abessinien. Petermanns Mitteilungen, 84, 12, 373-374.

Harlech, Lord, and collaborators. Lord Hailey's African Survey. JRAS Supplement, 38, 150, 1939, 70.

Hofstra, S. Hoe leeft een Natuurvolk? Leven en Werken, Amsterdam, 2, 7/8, 1-9.

---- Eenige gegevens over het schip "Lodewijk" en over den handel van Rotterdam op West Afrika in de 19de cent. Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje, 1938.

Keller, H. Zur Wasserwirtschaft in Owamboland (Südwestafrika). KR, 29, 4, 227-232.

Luther, H. J. Zur Frage des Arbeitermangels in Afrika. Afrika-Rundschau, 4, 8, 204-206.

Leprosy Review, East Africa Number, 10, 1, 1939.

Mai, E. Das Usambara-Gebirge in Deutsch-Ostafrika une seine Pflanzungen. KR, 29, 5/6, 352-362 (11 Photos, 4 Kt.).

Maurette, Fernand. 1938. Afrique équatoriale, orientale et australe. (Tome xii de la Géographie Universelle.) Pp. 400, illus., carte. Paris: Colin. 150 fr.

Oberdörffer, M. Die Lepra als Schlusselproblem westafrikanischer Kolonisationsarbeit. KR, 29, 4, 218-227.

Percival, D. A. Notes on the Count of a Pagan Tribe in West Africa. Journal Royal Statistical Society, 101, 3, 1938, 606-616.

Philipps, Tracy. The Volta Meeting. JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 19-31.

Picciolo, Angelo (Direttore), et al. Gli Annali dell' Africa Italiana, 1, 2, pp. 732, maps, illus.

---- Gli Annali dell' Africa Italiana, 1, 3, pp. 1417, maps, illus.

Pritsch, E. Die islamische Staatisidee. Ein geschichtlicher Uberblick. Z. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, 53, 1, 33-72.

Rudin, H. R. 1938. Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914. Pp. 456. London: Cape. 15s.

Second International Conference for the Protection of the Fauna and Flora of Africa. Final Act. 1938. Pp. 149. London: H.M.S.O. 2s. 6d.

24/42/114

Taylor, F. W. The Word "Nigeria". JRAS, 38, 150, 1939, 154-159.

Van der Kerken, G. Enkele Beschouwingen in verband met de studie der inlandsche volken van Belgisch Afrika (vervolg). KO, 4, 5, 1938, 260-274.

Weigt, E. Das Gebiet von Kihuiro (Deutsch-Ostafrika). KR, 29, 5/6, 312-316.

Worthington, E. B. 1938. Science in Africa. Pp. xiii + 746, map. London: Oxford University Press (for Committee of African Research Survey). 10 s. 6d.

408.Tj.170

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Entries in this number cover publications from November 1939 to January 1940.

I. ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Abd-Ul-Jalit, F. J. Le Coran et la pensée musulmane. En terre d'Islam, 4e trim., 1939, 303-316.

Amrouche, J. 1939. Chants funèbres de Kabylie. Tunis: Monomotapa.

Ashton, E. H. A Sociological Sketch of Sotho Diet. TRSSA, 27, 2, 1939, 147-214.

Balde, S. Les associations d'âge chez les Foulbé du Fouta Djallon. Bulletin de l'Inst. Français d'Afrique Noire, janvier 1939, 89-109.

Baumann, H., Thurnwald, R., and Westermann, D. 1940. Volkerkunde von Afrika. Pp. xv/665. Essener Verlagsanstalt. RM. 20.

Beemer, H. Notes on the Diet of the Swazi in the Protectorates. Bantu St., 13, 3, 1939, 199-236.

Bittremieux, L. I. De Wondervogel. — II. Vaders Vogel. (Legends of the Bantu.) Congo, octobre 1939, 274-319.

Boelaert, E. Eene en Maledictie bij de Mundo. Congo, novembre 1939, 376-379.

Bogaerts, H. Iets over stamboomen (Pedigrees). Congo, novembre 1939, 410-425.

——— Gewoontelijke strafbepalingen tegen het overspel bij de Babindi (Kasai). Congo, decembre 1939, 533-536.

Brownlee, F. Some Experiences of Native Superstition and Witchcraft. JRAS, 39, Jan 1940, 54-60.

Buisson, E. M. Notes ethniques sur le pays dit 'N'Gama-Luto' (Subdivision de Fort-Archambault). BSRC. 27, juin 1939. 107-115.

Buttafoco, Mme de. Instantés congolais. N'Dona, BSRC, 27, juin 1939, 95-105.

Denis, L. Chansons des Bakongo. Congo, novembre 1939, 380-409.

Deschamps, H. 1939. Folklore Antaisaka. Pp. 17. Tananarive, Pitot de la Beaujardiere.

Deschner de Coninck, E. Un sacrifice au lac des caïmans sacrés à Anivorano. Journal des Missions Evangeliques, juillet 1939, 489-491.

(Divers.) 1939. Coutumiers Juridiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. Tome II, Soudan. Pp. 400. Paris: Larose.

ADB.Tj.1711

D'Orjo de Marchovelette, E. Étude sur l'organisation judiciaire indigène de la chefferie Kayamba (Baluba). BJIDCC, sept.-oct. 1939, 152-160.

Ellenberger, V. History of the Batlôkwa of Gaberones. Bantu St., 13, 3, 1939, 165-198.

Ellero, G. I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende. Bolletino della reale Soc. italiana, ser. 7, vol. 4, nov. -déc. 1939, 835-852.

Enquête sur les utilisations modernes de la pierre en A. E. F. BSRC, 27, juin 1939 165-169.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. Bibliographical note on the ethnology of the Southern Sudan. Africa, 13, 1, 1940, 62-67.

Fortes, M. Divination among the Tallensi of the Gold Coast. Man, 40, 9, 1940.

Fourche, J. A. T., et Morlinghem, H. 1939. Les Communications des Indigènes du Kasai avec les âmes des morts. Pp. 78. Bruxelles: Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Mémoires. 12 frs. belges.

Francolini, B. I Somali del Harar. Gli Annali dell' Africa Italiana, 3, 4, 1938, 1113-1130.

Fritz, A. De L'araire au multisoc. Monde Colonial Illustré, 17 nov. 1939, 248-250.

Gérard, F. L'art chez nos frères les noirs. Missions franciscaines, déc. 1939, 375-381.

Giaccone, E. L'impero africano d'Italia nella storia, nella politica e nell'economica. Milan: Bocca. (CR. Universo, décembre 1939, 976-977.)

Gillet, J. Een oud zandee-verhaal: De Zoons van Bagbaya: Tule en Atali. Congo, décembre 1939, 537-539.

Gray, E. Some riddles of the Nyanja People. Bantu St., 13, 4, 1939, 251-292.

Huntingford, G. W. B. On the Classification of the Half Hamites of East Africa. Man, 39, 185, 1939.

Joubert, Lieutenant. Les coutumes et le droit chez les Kal Tadélé, Bull. de l'Inst. Français de l'Afrique Noire, janvier 1939, 245-281.

Lagercrantz, S. 1939. A contribution to the study of Anomalous Dentition and its ritual significance in Africa. Pp. 43 (maps). Stockholm: Ethnographica Museum of Sweden.

Landra, G. Gli studi anthropologico-etnologici e la criminologia indigena nell' Impero. Rassegna Sociale dell' Africa Italiana, 11, 8, 1939, 921-930.

Laoust, H. Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taimiya. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Recherches d'arch, de philologie et d'histoire, t. X. Pp. 768.

ADB. Ti. 172

Les Mpilalas. Service intercolonial d'information et de documentation, 22 nov. 1939, 6.

Mair, L. P. Modern Marriage in Buganda. Man, 40, 8, 1940.

Manicacci, A. Les incursions malgaches aux Comores. Revue de Madagascar, 26, avril 1939, 73-101.

Maquet, M. Sur les flancs du Pic Sörensen (Étude se rapportant à la vie religieuse des Lunda). Congo, octobre 1939, 271-273.

Marsac, G. Le quatrième pilier. En terre d'Islam, 4° trim., 1939, 333-343.

Mathews, Z. K. Marriage Customs among the Barolong. Africa, 13, 1, Jan. 1940, 1-24.

Monteil, V. Chroniques de Tichit (Sahara occidental). Bull. de l'Inst. Français de l'Afrique Noire, 1, janvier 1939.

Ortoli, H. Le gage des personnes au Soudan Francais. Bull. de l'Inst. Français de l'Afrique Noire, 1, janvier 1939, 313-328.

Peeraer, S. Toespraken tot jonggehuwden bij de Baluba (Katanga). KO, December 1939, 241-276.

Perier, G. D. Formes congolaises et architectures. Bulletin des Missions, 18, 3, 211-220.

Possoz, E. Mariage et droits féodaux (Selon le droit Mongo et Nègre en général). Aequatoria, December 1939, 137-142.

Problèmes du travail en Afrique Noire. Univers, avril-mai 1939, 115-120; novembre-décembre 1939, 263-268.

Questionnaire ethnographique. Congo, décembre 1939, 473-511.

Renaud, H. P. J. Sur une tablette d'astrolabe appartenant à M. H. Terrasse. Hespéris, 26, 2e trim., 1939, 157-169.

Scarone, F. Le henné dans le monde musulman. L'Agronomie coloniale, avril 1939, 97; mai 1939, 129-140.

Schaeffner, D. Un voyage au Musée de l'Homme. Monde Colonial illustré, janvier 1940, 10-11.

Schneider. Le Tibesti. BSRC, 27, juin 1939, 5-93.

Sohier, A. Notes sur l'organisation et la procédure judiciaires coutumières du Congo belge. Africa, 13, 1, 1940, 25-42.

Tyan, E. Histoire d'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam. (CR. Hespéris, 2e trim., 1939, 183-185.

ADB.T.173

Van Avermaet, G. Nota over de Bofomela (Pratique magique chez les Nkundo). Aequatoria, December 1939, 133-137.

Van Zyl, H. J. Some of the commonest Games played by the Sotho People of Northern Transvaal. Bantu St., 13, 4, 1939, 293-306.

Wright, A. C. A. Hypothesis of Migration in East Africa. Man, 40, 10, 1940.

II. LINGUISTICS

Barbera, B. G. 1939. Dizionario maltesearabo-italiano con una grammatica comparata arabo-maltese. Vol. I, A-E. Pp. 338.

Bennie, W. G. A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-speaking. Pp. 169. Lovedale Press. 3s.

Bercher, L. 1938. Lexique arabe-français suivi d'un index français-arabe. Contribution à l'étude de l'arabe moderne. Paris: Centre d'études de politique étrangère et l'inst. des études islamiques. (CR. Hespéris, 1939, 102-103.)

Burssens, A. 1939. Tonologische Schets van het Tshiluba (Kasayi). Pp. xiv/236. Antwerpen: De Sikkel. 96 frs. belges.

_____ Linguistisch Onderzoek in Centraal-Katanga. Het kiluba als toontaal. KO, December 1939, 277-315.

Filby Dabo Sissoko. Glossaire des mots français passés en Malinké. Bull. de l'Inst. Français d'Afrique Noire, 1, janvier 1939, 325-366.

Homburger, L. 1939. Études de linguistique négro-africaine. 1. Les formes verbales. Pp. 94. Chartres: Durand.

Hulstaert, G. Schets van het Lontomba (Langue de la cuvette centrale du Congo belge). KO, October 1939, 205-221.

Krumm, B. 1940. Words of Oriental Origin in Swahili. Pp. 187. London: Sheldon Press. 12s. 6d.

VERNACULAR BOOKS

Bantu

BASA

Kinyihop Talking Woman. 1939. Pp. 30. Elat, Cameroons: Halsey Memorial Press.

KONGO

Malongi mantete ma kutomisa ku maya (2e degré, 3e primaire). 1939. Pp. 53. Banningville.

Nkanda utangila kikongo mvu untete (1er degré, 1ère année). 1939. Pp. 44. Banningville.

408.Tj.174

Nkanda utangila kikongo mvu utatu (2e degré, 1ère année). 1939. Pp. 88. Banningville.

Nkanda utangila kikongo mvu utanu (2e degré, 3e année). 1939. Pp. 106. Banningville.

NCALA

Homéletiques. 1939. Pp. 15. Aba, Congo belge: Africa Inland Mission.

Kula na Sambo (Géographie biblique). 1939. Pp. 20. Aba: Africa Inland Mission.

Buku Muke na kukaba kula na biblia (Petites études bibliques). 1938. Pp. 26. Aba: Africa Inland Mission.

NGOMBE

Cork, M. 1939. Minde de Ngombe. (Fables of the Ngombe). Pp. 55. Bocandanga, Congo belge: Congo Baloio Mission.

NYANJA

Fricke, Rev. C. H. 1939. Ndi Mzimu Wanga (More Bible Outlines). Pp. 20. Ncheu, Nyasaland: Chiole Press. 1d.

SWAHILI

Bunting, R. H. 1939. Habari za Vitu Vyenye Uhai (Story of Living Things). Pp. 70, illus. London: Longmans. 1s.

Hellier, A. B. 1939. Hama wa Kambo, Sultani Darai, Sultani Majinuni (Swahili Stories, 6,7,8). Pp. 48-64, illus. London: Sheldon Press. 3d. each.

Sehoza, S. (Trans.). 1939. Kumfuata Kristo (De Imitatione Christi, II). Pp. 32, illus. London: S.P.C.K. 4d.

TETELA

Evandgelio. 1938. Pp. 80. Tshumbe Ste Marie, Congo belge.

Okanda wa akumi. 1938. Pp. 50. Tshumbe Ste Marie.

Hygiène. 1938. Pp. 28. Tshumbe Ste Marie.

TONGA-SHANGAAN

Chawner, C. A. 1939. Sana u ti twile? (Have you heard?) Pp. 12. Transvaal: Imprensa Emmanuel Press.

TSWANA

Mpepi. Sub-Standard A. Reader (new orthography). 1939. Pp. 32, illus. Tiger Kloof, Cape Province: L.M.S. 6d.

Tshipidi. Sub-Standard B. Reader (new orthography). 1939. Pp. 71, illus. Tiger Kloof, Cape Province: L.M.S. 1s.

ADB-J-175

XHOSA

Bennie, W. G. 1939. Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-speaking. Pp. 169. Lovedale, Lovedale Press. 3s.

ZULU

Vilakazi, B. W. 1939. Udingiswayo Kajobe (Story of Dingiswayo). Pp. 220. London: Sheldon Press. 3s.

Nilotic

ALUR

Premier livre ku ddu Alur. 1939. Pp. 24. Aba: Africa Inland Mission.

SUDANIC

FANTE

Acquaah, C. R. 1939. Nsem a Nonyin. Stories that grow. Pp. 47, illus. London: Longmans. 8d.
1939. Oguaa Aban. Cape Coast Castle poem. Pp. 46, illus. London: Longmans. 1s. 6d.

III. EDUCATION AND MISSIONS

Clarke, A. F. An Experimental School in Nigeria. JRAS, 39, Jan. 1940, 36-53.

J. M. D. Vers la réhabilitation de la femme en Afrique Occidentale Française. Bulletin des Missions, 18, 3, 221-225.

Liesenborghs, O. Bijdrage tot de kennis der lichamelijke ontwikkeling van de Kongoleesche schooljeugd. KO, October 1939, 193-204.

Mayhew, A. A German Survey of Colonial Education. O.Ed., 11, 2, 1940, 73-82.

McMath, A. M. Developments in Female Education in Sierra Leone. O.Ed., 11, 1, 1939, 30-34.

Miller, D. S. The Central Village School System, Co-education, and School Councils in N. E. Rhodesia. O.Ed., 11, 1, Oct. 1939, 14-20.

Nève, Th. Deux capitales spirituelles du Congo belge. Bulletin des Missions, 18, 3, 193-204.

Raum, O. F. Educational Psychology in the Speech of the Chaga. Bantu St., 13, 3, 1939, 237-242.

Sudan Govt. 1938. Annual Report of the Education Dept. Pp. 42. Khartoum.

Uganda Govt. 1939. Annual Report of the Education Department, 1938. Pp. 113. Entebbe: Govt. Printer. 4s.

ADB Ji 176

Ward, W. E. F. 1939. Music, a Handbook for African Teachers. Pp. 148. London: Longmans. 2s. 6d.

Welch, J. The Goal of Women's Education in Africa. O.Ed., 11, 2, 1940, 65-72.

IV. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Day, R. Native administration, Education in Nigeria. O.Ed., 11, 2, 1940, 91-94.

Hoernle, R. F. A. 1939. South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit. Pp. 186. Lovedale Press. 5s.

Labouret, H. France's Colonial Policy in Africa. JRAS, 39, Jan. 1940, 22-35.

Report on the Progress of Co-operation in Nigeria, 1938-1939. 1939. Lagos: Govt. Printer. 2s.

Sohier, A. Le sacre des eveques noirs et la politique coloniale belge. Bulletin des Missions, 18, 3, 233-236.

Yearbook of Compared Colonial Documentation, 1938. Vol. I. 1939. Pp. 774. Bruxelles: International Colonial Library.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Aubert De La Rue, E. 1939. La Somalie francaise. Pp. 162. Paris: N.R.F.

Audoin-Dubreil, L. Toumbouctou hier et aujourd'hui. La Geographie, aout-sept. 1939, 85-96..

Corts, Lieut.-Col. 1939. France d'Afrique. Paris: Lavauzelle.

Cranworth, Lord. Kenya Chronicles. London: McMillan. 16s.

Gertsner, J. A Preliminary Check List of Zulu names of Plants. Bantu St., 13, 4, 1939, 307-326.

Guemoun, S. La Haute Moulouya. Renseignements Coloniaux et documents publiés par le Comité de l'Afr. française et le Comité du Maroc, dec. 1939, 225-240.

Juglas, J. J. La Somalie française. L'Information d'Outre-Mer, 2, mars-avril 1939, 68-71.

Le Neveu, C.-A. 1939. Les Empires coloniaux. Pp. 184. Paris: Gallimard.

Le Niger de l'Ouest. Service intercolonial d'information et de documentation, 3, nov. 1939, 5.

Magini, M. 1939. Variazioni territoriali nell' A.O. dal 1880 al 1938. (Biblioteca di Studi Coloniali, 5.) Pp. 109. Firenze: Carlo Cya.

Martonne, E. De La délimitation du Cameroun. La Géographie, 72, 2, aout-sept. 1939, 115-119.

Moulaert, G. 1939. Problèmes Coloniaux d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Bruxelles: Édition Universelle. 50 frs. belges.

ADB.L.1.EE

_____. Colonisation européenne au Congo. Congo, novembre 1939, 361-375.

Nelson's Wall Pictures by African Artists: 1. Christ as a Boy on the Hillside, by F. Wamala; 2. A Market Scene, by F. Wamala; 3. Christ Walking on the Water, by K. Namadu. Reproductions in full colour from paintings by young African artists, chosen from among those shown at an Exhibition in the Imperial Institute, London, during the Spring of 1939. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1s. each. Average size of printed area, exclusive of white border, 20 ins. by 14 ins.

Problems of Nutrition in South Africa. Race. Rel., 6, 3, 1939, 86-131.

Report of theSudan Medical Service, 1938. Pp. 118. Khartoum: McCorquodale.

Statistique de la Population Algérienne, t. I. Département d'Oran, 1938. Gouvernement général de l'Algérie, Direction des Services Économiques, Service Central de Statistique. 1939. Alger: Imbert.

Sudan Govt. 1938. Annual Report of the Dept. of Economics and Trade. Pp. 242. Khartoum.

Thomas, H. B. 1939. The Story of Ugnada. Pp. 94. London: Oxford University Press. 1s.

Set. 4 or 5 left

Hutton, Prof. J.H. The Burial Customs of the War Tribe, Man, 39, 54(illus.). period.

Ibrahim Effendi Bedri. Dinka Beliefs in their Chiefs and Rainmakers. SNR, 22, 1, 1939, 125-131.

Krüger, F. Märchen der Sotho. Z. f. Eg., 29, 3, 189-215. no spacing period-space

Laffitte, Numa. La pêche dans the cercle de Porto-Novo. Dakar: Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 187, 78-79.

Lafond, F. Le Gandoul et les Niominkas (Sérères). Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 21, 3, 385-458, illus.

Lagercrantz, St. Zur Verbreitung der Monarchie. Z. Ethn., 70, 3-5, 199-208. no spacing

Laffitte, Numa. La pharmacopée indigène en A.O.F. Dakar: Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 193, 159-165.

---La hiérarchie mossi. Dakar: Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 199, 306-307.

Lang, A., et Tastevin, C. 1939. Mission Rohan-Chabot. Tome V. Ethnographie, La Tribu des Va-Nyaneka. Pp. 200, illus. Corbeil: Imprimerie Créto. small

LeBeuf, J. P. Les Rites funéraires chez les Fali. JSA, 8, 2, 1938, 103-122.

Leenhardt, La notion de mariage au Basutoland. Le Bulletin des Missions, 18, 1, 1939, 99-104.

Le Goff, G. L'habitation indigène de certaines régions soudanaises. Dakar: Bulletin d'information et de Renseignements, 184, 54. Fouta.

---L'élevage au Fouta. Dakar: Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 200, 326-328.

---Les Bellah, captifs libérés. Dakar: Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 201, 354-356.

Leydevant, P. Au Beau Pays des Basuto. Le Bulletin des Missions, 18, 1, 1939, 11-19.

KR-

Lichtenecker, K. H. Das Mischlingsproblem, dargestellt am Beispiel der Hottentotten, KR, 30, 1, 29-38. one word two words

Liesenborghs, O. Nog over de Banioro. KO, 5, 2, 1939, 82-84.

Lindblom, K. G. 1939. Wire-Drawing, especially in Africa. Pp. 37. Stockholm: [redacted] Ethnological Museum of Sweden

---Einige Benin-Bronzen im Staatl. Ethnographischen Museum in Stockholm. Z. Ethn., 70, 3-5, 18-

Lukas, J. Die Verbreitung der Hamiten in Afrika. Scientia, 33, 1939, 4e série, 108-118.

---Aus d. Leben d. Kanuri, ihre grossen Tage, ihre Wohnung, Z. f. Eg., 29, 3, 1939, 161-188. no spacing

Verbreitung

41/129/52

Maenhaut, M. Les Walendu, BJIDCC, 7, 1, 1-7 (à suivre).

Maes, J. Les Lukombe ou instruments de musique à cordes des populations du Kasai-Lac Léopold II-Lukenie. Z. Ethn., 70, 3-5, 240-254.

Malcolm, J. M. Mende Warfare. Sierra Leone Studies, 21, Jan. 1939, 47- 52.

Marchal, R. Renseignements historiques relatifs à l'exploitation des mines de cuivre par les indigènes de la région de Luishia. Note complémentaire. BJIDCC, 7, 1, 10-18.

Marie-André Du Sacré-Coeur, Soeur. La femme Mossi: sa situation juridique (Niger). L'Ethnographie, 1938, 35-36, 15-33, illus.

Marwick, B. A. 1939. An Ethnographic Account of the Natives of Swaziland. Pp. 320, illus. Cambridge University Press.

Maurice, Père. Le Pays des Bapimbwe (suite). La Géographie, 5-6, 1938, 264-270.

Mertens, J. Syonya (Sorcellerie chez les Bayaka). Congo, janvier 1939, 21-26.

---Le Ngwoomo (Crimes et superstitions indigènes chez les Bamfunuka). BJIAEE, 1, 1, 14-21.

Miollan. La médecine magique chez les Berbères. En terre d'Islam, 1939, 5, 27-37.

Moreau, Paul. La propriété foncière indigènes en A.O.F. Dakar: Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 191, 115-116.

Musa, F. G. Superstition and Farming in Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone Studies, 21, Jan. 1939, 103-105.

Native Customs in Nyasaland: Marriage, Divorce, Succession, Inheritance. NADA, 16, 1939, 37-47.

Perrin, J. Notice sur l'alimentation et l'habitation indigène en pays foulah. AF, Renseignements Coloniaux, 1938, 11, 302-304; 12, 328-329.

Prost, R. P. André. L'industrie du fer en Afrique Noire Occidentale. AF, Renseignements Coloniaux, 1939, 3, 82-85.

Rinchon, R. P. Dieudonné. 1938. Le trafic négrier. Tome I. Pp. 384, illus, planches. Paris: Vanelsche. 54 frs.

Schapera, I. 1939. Mekgwa le Melao ya Batswana (Customs and Laws of the Batswana). Pp. 202. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.

Schapera, I., and Bennie, W.G. 1939. 'A Select Bibliography of the Xhosa and Thembu Peoples.' The Bantu Tribes of South Africa, vol. iii, sect. i, pp. 43-57. Cambridge University Press.

Schebesta, Paul. 1938. Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri. Vol. i. Demographie und Anthropologie der Ituri-Bambuti. Pp. xviii + 430, illus. Brussels: Falk.

Schilde, W. Likundu. Z. Ethn. 70, 3-5, 254-262.

Seligman, Prof. C. G. 1939. Races of Africa(revised edition). Pp.247, with maps. London: Thornton Butterworth. 2s. 6d.

Senior, H. S. Sukuma Salt Caravans to Lake Eyasi. TNR, 6, Dec. 1938, 87-90.

Sesay, A. Funeral Ceremonies among the Temne. Sierra Leone Studies, 21, Jan. 1939, 94-100.

Tanghe, Mgr. Ngombe en Nyi in Ubangi. Aequatoria, 2, 2, 1939, 13-17.

---Zeijn de Nyi oorspronkelijke Bantoe-negers. KO, 5, 1, 1939, 40-41.

Thilmany, M. Organisation politique et judiciaire des indigènes de la Chefferie Rutuku(Territoire d'Albertville, Congo belge). BJIDCC, 7, 1, 8-9.

Urvoy, Y. Peintures rupestres de Takoutala(Soudan français). JSA, 8, 2, 97-101, illus.

Van der Kerken, G. Enkele beschouwingen in verband met de Studie der inlandsche Volken van Belgisch-Afrika. KO, 5, 2, 1939, 85-100.

Wilson, Godfrey. Nyakyusa Conventions of Burial. Bantu St., 13, 1, 1939, 1-31.

Windels, A. Jeux et Divertissements chez les Mpama-Bakutu. Aequatoria, 2, 2, 1939, 18-23.

Wagner, G. Initiation rites among the Bantu of Kavirondu. Man, 39, 1939, 66.

Westermann, D. So, der Gewittergott der Ewe. Z. Ethn., 70, 3-5, 152-159.

Belgisch

van Wurmelo, N.J. 1939. 'The Nguni,' The Bantu Tribes of South Africa, vol. iii, sect. 1, pp. 9-18. Cambridge University Press.

II. LINGUISTICS.

Boelaert, E. Batetela-Zuid-Mongo. KO, 5, 2, 1939, 77-81.

--- Breve Método da Língua Kunyaneka. 1938. Pp. 145. Huila.

II - Linguistics. Feb to April, 1939.

Burssens, A. Tonologisch Onderzoek van het 'Aanwijzend-Woord' in het Tshiluba. KO, 5, 1, 1939, 28-35.

---Tonologisch Onderzoek van het Substitutieve Pronomen in het Tshiluba. KO, 5, 2. 1939, 49-57.

De Boeck, Mgr. E. Vingernamen bij de Kinderen en Kinderspelen. KO, 5, 1, 1939, 36-39.

De Clercq, A. 1939. De BaKongo in hun taal. Pp. 296. Brussel: Vromant. 65 frs.

Dhinaw, A. Notes sur la phonétique et la morphologie du parler des Harbaâ. (Haghouat). Revue Africaine (Alger), 326-327, 1938, 313-353.

Doke, Clement M. 1938. Text Book of Lamba Grammar. Pp. 476. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

East, Rupert. 1938. Language Examinations (Hausa). Pp. 136. Jos: S.I.M. bookshop.

Gengenbach, K. Märchen in der Nyang-Sprache (Schluss). Z. f. Eg., 29, 3, 216-233.

Guthrie, Malcolm, 1939. Grammaire et Dictionnaire de Lingala. Pp. 191. Cambridge: Heffer, for C.P.C. Léopoldville. 4s. (30 frs. belges.)

--- 1939. Dictionnaire et Manuel de Conversation Lingala. Pp. 105. Cambridge: Heffer, for C.P.C. Léopoldville. 10d. (6 frs. belges.)

II. LINGUISTICS (Feb-April, 1939)

Boelaert, E. Batetela-Zuid-Mongo. KO, 5, 2, 1939, 77-81.

---Breve Método da Língua Lunyaneka. 1938. Pp. 145. Huila.

Burssens, A. Tonologisch Onderzoek van het 'Aanwijzend-Woord' in het Tshiluba. KO, 5, 1, 1939, 28-35.

---Tonologisch Onderzoek van het Substitutieve Pronomen in het Tshiluba. KO, 5, 1939, 49-57.

De Boeck, Mgr. E. Vingernamen bij de kinderen en kinderspelen. KO, 5, 1, 1939, 36-39.

De Clercq, L. 1939. De Bakongo in hun taal. Pp. 296. Brussel: Vromant. 65 frs.

Dhina, A. Notes sur la phonétique et la morphologie du parler des Larbaâ. (Laghouat). Revue Africaine (Alger), 376-377, 1938, 313-353.

Doke, Clement M. 1938. Text Book of Lamba Grammar. Pp. 476. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

East, Rupert. 1938. Language Examinations (Hausa). Pp. 136. Jos: S.I.M. bookshop.

Gengenbach, K. Märchen in der Nyang-Sprache(Schluss). Z.f.Eg., 29, 3, 216-233.

Guthrie, Malcolm. 1939. Grammaire et Dictionnaire de Lingala. Pp. 191. Cambridge: Heffer, for C.P.C. Léopoldville. 4s. (30 frs. belges).

----1939. Dictionnaire et Manuel de Conversation Lingala. Pp. 105. Cambrdige: Heffer, for C.P.C. Léopoldville. 10d. (6 frs. belges).

Hulstaert, G. 1939. Praktische Grammatica van het Lonkundo (Lomongo) (Belgisch Kongo). Pp. 272. Antwerp: de Sikkel. 45 frs. belges.

Ittman, J. 1939. Grammatik des Duala(Kamerun). Pp. 250. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

Leslau, M. W. 1939. Contributions à l'Étude du Harari(Abyssinie Méridionale). Pp. 606. Paris.

Lukas, J. und Völckers O. G. Nachtigal's Aufzeichnungen über die Sprache der Mimi in Wadai. Z.f.Eg., 29, 2, 1939, 145-154.

Meinhof, C. Die Entstehung der Bantu-sprachen. Z.Ethn., 70, 3-5, 144-152.

Moreno, M.M. I recenti studi italiani sulle lingue 'Sidama Orientali' e la loro classificazione. Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana, 1, 3-4.

---Appunti di Cambatta e di Alaba. Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. ii, 14, 3-4, 269-279.

Mouchet, Jean. Vocabulaires comparatifs de 15 parlers du Nord-Cameroun. JSA, 8, 2, 123-143, carte.

Rendiconti

x Sic.

II. LINGUISTICS (Feb-April, 1939)

Mouradian, Jacques. Note sur les altérations du nom de 'Mohammad' chez les Noirs islamisés de l'Afrique Occidentale. Bulletin du Comité d'Études historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F., 21, 3, 459-462.

van Bulck, V. Die Ubangi-Uele-Sprachen gruppe im nördlichen Belgisch-Kongo. Z.Ethn., 70, 3-5, 176-192.

Van Caeneghem, R. De gastvrijheid in de spreek-woorden der Luba-menschen. Congo, mars 1939, 295-310(à suivre).

Ward, I. C. 1939. The Pronunciation of Twi. Pp. 23. Cambridge: Heffer. 2s. 6d.

VERNACULAR BOOKS (Feb.-April 1939)

Bantu

Ganda

Luganda Mateka(Primer). Pp. 15. Kampala, Uganda: Uganda Bookshop.

Omukwano ogw' Akasomi Akatabo Akasoka(First Luganda Reader, Part I). Pp. 40, illus. Nsambya, Kampala, Uganda: Catholic Mission. 1s.

Omukwano ogw'Akasomi Akatabo ak'Okubiri(First Luganda Reader, Part II). 1938. Pp. 54, illus. Rome: Sodality of S. Peter Claver, for Catholic Mission, Kampala. 1s.

Omukwano ogw'Akasomi Akatabo ak'Okusatu(First Reader, Part III). 1938. Pp. 71, illus. Rome: Sodality of S. Peter Claver, for Catholic Mission, Kampala. 1/20s.

Nyanja

Fricke, C. H. 1939. Muzindikire Mulungu. Illustrated Bible Outlines. Pp. 26, illus. Blantyre, Nyasaland: Z.I.M. 2d.

--- 1939. Buku Loyamba. Class I Reader in Chinyanja. Pp. 23, illus. Ncheu, Nyasaland: Chiole Press. 1d.

---1939. Buku Laciwiri. Class 2 Reader in Chinyanja. Pp. 27, illus. Ncheu, Nyasaland:Chiole Press. 2d.

Rundi

Amagambo Meza Mu Kirundi(Primer). 1939. Pp. 24. London: S.P.C.K. 3d.

Rwanda

Amagambo Meza Mu Runyarwanda(Primer). 1939. Pp. 25. London: S.P.C.K. 3d.

Swahili

Madhara ya Kulika Udongo na Njia za Kuhifadhi Nchi(What is Soil Erosion?). Pp. 32, illus. Kenya: Government Printer.

Hamitic

VERNACULAR BOOKS (Feb.-April 1939)

Hamitic (Italics)

Hausa

M. Abubakar Imam Kagara(Ed.). Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo(Hausa newspaper), Jan. 1939, 1st number, pp. 8, illus.(Literature Bureau, Zaria.) 1d.

Sudanic (Italics)

Ibo

Iye-Aka n'uzo Kraist. 1939. Pp. 22. London: Society for Christian Literature. 1 1/2d.

Twi

Monninger, Rev. Fr. 1939. Ohene Dawid asetra mu nsem(Practical lectures on the life of King David). Pp. 110. Basel: Basel Missions.

III. Education and Missions (Feb.-April 1939)

Adandé, Alexandre. Au secours de l'art noir qui végète. L'Education Africaine(Gorée), 1938, 99-100, 28-32.

Batten, T. R. 1939. Tropical Africa in World History, Bk. III. Africa in Modern History after 1800. Pp. 189, illus. Oxford University Press. 2s. 3d.

Coulibaly, Ouezzin. Sur l'éducation des femmes indigènes. L'Education Africaine(Gorée), 1938, 99-100, 32-36.

Currey, W. M.,and Fouché, R. 1939. Handboek in Huishoudkunde vir Sud-Afrikaanse Skole. Pp. 225. London: Longmans. 4s.

Griffiths, V. L., and Abd El Rahman Ali Taha. 1939. Beginning Geography in Africa and Elsewhere. Pp. 118, illus. London: Evans Brothers. 5s.

Jones, J. D. Rheinallt. The Crisis in Native Education in South Africa. IRM, 28, 110, Apr. 1939, 191-204.

Liesenborghs, O. Beschouwingen over het Onderwijs in Belgisch Kongo. Bij het jongste ontwerp van Hervorming. KO,5, 2, 1939, 58-76.

Maus, A. Le nouveau programme de l'enseignement libre(fin). Congo, jan. 1939, 1-20.

Pells, E. 1938. European,coloured and native education in South Africa, 1652-1938. Pp. 148. Capetown:Juta.

Robin, Robert. La documentation scolaire. L'Education africaine(Gorée), 1938, 99-100, 37-40.

Winter, A. J. E. 1939. African Education. Pp. 192. London: Longmans. 2s. 9d.

Young, R. R. 1939. Principles and Methods in the Christian School. Pp. 193. London: Longmans. 3s.

IV. Native Administration (Feb-April, 1939)

Carde, Gouverneur Jules. La colonisation indigène dans la vallée du Niger. Le monde colonial illustre, 189, 52-55.

Changes in Native Land Laws. Race Rel. News, 9, Mar. 1939, 1-3.

Cornelis, A. A. De Ekonomische evolutie der inlandsche gemeenschap in Midden-Afrika. KO, 5, 1, 1939, 12-27.

Coutumiers Juridiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise. Tome i, Sénégal. 1939. Pp. 348. Paris: Larose.

Gluckman, M. The Balance between European and Native Political Authorities in Zululand. Man, 39, 1939, 40.

Labouret, Henri. La 'Codification des coutumes indigènes en A.O.F. Dakar, Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 194, 187-189.

Lewen, P. E. 1939. The Germans and Africa. Pp. xii + 372. London: Cassell.

Moreau, Paul. La condition des métis. Dakar, Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 190, 102-104.

Report of the Permanent Mandates Commission. 1938. Pp. 14. League of Nations. C418. ~~M262~~ M.261. 1938. vi.

Wengler, W. Die Rechtsformen der 'indirect rule' in den mittelafrikanischen Kolonien. Z.f. ausländisches öffentl. Recht und Völkerrecht, & 7, 2, 360-373.

V. Miscellaneous

Callaway, R. G. 1939. Pioneers in Pondoland. Pp. 19. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.

Fox, F. W. Some Bantu Recipes from Eastern Cape Prov. Bantu St., 13, 1,1939, 65-74.

Friedensburg, F. Der Bergbau in den französischen Kolonien und Mandatsländern, KR, 30, 1, 1-17.

Gerstner, J. A Preliminary Check List of Zulu names of Plants. Bantu St., 13, 1, 1939, 49-64.

Laffitte, Numa. L'alimentation des indigènes en A.O.F. Dakar. Bulletin d'Information et de Renseignements, 132, 141-142.

Nutrition in South Africa, Problems of (Symposium) Race Rel. 6, 1, 41.

Von Hellmer-Wullen, H. Der Sklavenhandel--die historische Grundlage der Negerfrage in Amerika. Z.f.Rassenkunde, 9, 2, 97-103.

Bibliography -- Africa

Klingberg, Frank J., "A Survey of Recent Books on British Africa, with Special Reference to the Native Problem," Journal of Modern History, X (March, 1938), 77-93.

30-33-13

ARGENTINA

A0B/Rj/1104

Aita, Antonio, La literatura Argentina contemporanea, 1900-1930, B. A., 1931

L. J. Rosso

Angelio, Pedro de, Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos a la historia del Rio de la Plata, 5 vols. ed. Buenos Aires. 1910.

Anuario bibliografico; letras, historia, educacion y filosofia. La Plata. 1926.

Apuntes para una bibliografia de la historia de corrientes. Corrientes. 1929 Imprenta del estado.

Argentina, H.A.H.R.,XI, 119 ff.

Ayala Duarte, C., Historia la la literatura argentina. Caracas., 1930

Parra Leon hermanos

Baidaff, Leon, "Extrait d'un journal de voyage fait en 1707, 1708, ec aux costes de guinee en affrique et a Buenos Aires...par le vaissu du Roy: la Sphere avec la carte de la Riviere de la Plata", Bol. del Inst. de Inv. H., April-June (No. 40)

_____, Memoria sobre las Provincies de la Plata. ibid.

Boletin bibliografico, publicacion mensual. Buenos Aires, 1928 Review directed by Emilo Vera y Gonzalez. Included list of books copyrighted in Argentina

Bol. del Inst. de Inv. Hist., contents of, H.A.H.R., XIV, pp. 264-268.

Most of, not all, have already been listed.

Boletin of the Instituto de Invest. Hist. de la Facultad de Flosofia y Letras B. A., No. I (Relaciones documentales)

"Un cemso de la provincia de Buenos Aires de la Epoca de Rosas, Cino, 1836 by Emilio Ravignani.

No. 34. "Esclavos blancos en las Indias Occidentales by Jose Torre Revello. H.A.H.R.,X, 105.

ADB/rjl105

No. 37 "Un Mineralogista afrancesado", by P. Grenon (see also, Original documents Nos. XI-XII in vols. XVIII-XIX and other vols.)

Barrenechea, Mariano Antonio, "Los origenes argentinos", Nosotros VIII, pp. 215-220, July, 1912

Caillet-Bois, Ricardo R., Contribucion a la Bibliografia de David Pena Boletin, No. 46, Inst. de Invest. Hist.

Candioti, Marcial R., "Bibliografia doctoral de la Universidad de Buenos Aires" in Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires January-July, 1920

Canter, Juan, Jr., Bibliografia de impresos Argentinos hasta 1852 in Biblioteca Argentina de Libios Raros published by the Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas de Buenos Aires.

H.A.H.R., VI, p.p. 292-3.

Carbia, Romulo D., Historia de la historiografia Argentina, La Plata. 1925. Biblioteca Humanidades

Carbia, Romulo D., Historia de la historiografia Argentina B. A., 1925

Was one of lecturers at the Centro de Est. de Historia

Catalogo de la coleccion de folklore donada porel consejo nacional de educacion. Buenos Aires. 1925.

Catalogo Metodico de la Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires.

Catalogo de Exposiciao de Historia do Brazil realizada pela Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. "indispensable"

Boletin Bibliographico da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro

Boletin Bibliografico del Museo Social Argentino

Revista de Bibliografia Chilena y Extranyera

La Laval, Ramon A., Bibliografia de Bibliografias Chilenas-Santiago. 1915.

Binayan, Narciso, Bibl. de Bibl. Arg. B.A., 1919- Trelles, Carlos, M. Bibl. de Bibl. cuv. in Bibl. Cuv. del Siglo XIX, 287-292.

Cervera, Manuel M., Historia de la Cindad y Provincia de Santa Fe, 1573-1853. 2 vols-Santa Fe(Argentina), 1907.

H.A.H.R., XI, 120

Coester, Alfred, A Bibliography of Belle-lettres of Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Stanford Univ.

Documentos para la historia Argentina. Comercio de Indices. Consulado, comercio de Negros y de extranjeros (1791-1809) Nosotros, 24: 134-135. October, 1916. A Review.

Echague, Juan Pablo, Paisajes y Figuras de San Juan. Buenos Aires. 1933.

Facultad de Humanidades y Crencias de la Educacion, Universidad de la Plata, publishes an Anuario Bibliografico that "takes the places in Argentina of Miss Griffin's Writings in American History. H.A.H.R., X, 406.

Gaceta de Buenos Aires. 1810-1821 Facsimilar ed. 6 vols. B. A., 1910.

Antonio Zinny compiled an index of the original B. A., 1875.

Gandia, Enrique de, "Etnografia del Rio de la Plata en el Siglo XVI" La Revista Americana de Buenos Aires, No. 98 (June, 1932.)

Garzon, Ignacio, Cronica de Cordoba - 2 vols. Cordoba (Argentina), 1898-1902. H.A.H.R., XI, 121.

Gitlespie, Alexander: Buenos Aires y el interior.....1806 y 1807. Transl. by Carlos A. Aldao. Buenos Aires 1921.

Edit or Tip. Vaccaro. Trace the original

Gomez, Hernan Felix.....Historia de la Provincia de Corrientes. Corrientes. 1929. H.A.H.R., XI, 121

Haas, Alberto, "Psicologia del pueblo argentino" Revist de Filosofia (September, 1921) H.A.H.R., IV, 842.

Hudson, Damian, Decuerdos historicos sobre la Provincia de cuyo. 2 vols. B. A., 1898. H.A.H.R., XI, 122

Ingenieros, Jose, Sociologia argentina. 2nd. ed. Madrid. 1913. 7th ed. Buenos Aires. 1918.

ADBIBJ 1100

ARGENTINA continued

"Inventario de documentos publicados" Boletin de Investigaciones Historicas (Buenos Aires) January-March, 1926, pp. 64-112.

Lacasa, Pedro, Vida militar y politica del general Don Juan Ravalle. Buenos Aires. 1924. "La Cultura Argentina" H.A.H.R., VI, 156.

Lamas, Andres, ed., Coleccion de Memorias y Documentos para la historia y Geografia de los Publos del Rio de la Plata Montevideo 1850

Leavitt, Sturgis, E., Argentine Literature, etc. Chapel Hill (University of N. C. Studies in Language and Literature) 1924.

_____, "A Bibliography of Peruvian Literature (1821-1919)", Romanie Revisto XIII (Apr.-June, 1922) 151-194.

_____, Urguguayan Literature", Hispania (Stanford Univ.) V., 121-132.

Leguizamon, Martiniano P., Etnografia del Plato; el origen de las boleadoras y el lazo. Buenos Aires. 1919.

Talleres Graficos del Ministerio de Agricultura.

Levene, Ricardo, Investigaciones acerca de la historia economica del Virreinato del Virreinato del Plata. 2 vols. La Plata. 1927-1928.

Levene, R., Lecciones de historia argentina. 2 vols. B.A., 1925. H.A.H.R., VIII, 287 ff.

Levillier, Roberto, Les origines argentines; la formation d'un grand peuple. Paris, 1912. Sp. ed. Paris, 1912.

Mendilaharzu, Fortunato, comp. Bibliografia general Argentina. B. A., 1929.

L. J. Rosso

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Cueto (sic), (Buenos Aires)

Boletin Internacional de Bibliografia Argentina

H.A.H.R., 1931 p.43.

Museo de La Plata Indice Bibliografico de sus publicaciones, comp. by R. Lehmann-Nitsche Buenos Aires, 1928

ADB/Fij/108

Muzzio, Julio A., Diccionario historico y biografico de la Republica Argentina. Buenos Aires. 1920. 2 vols. J. Roldan

Muzzio, Julio A., Diccionario historico y biografico de la Republica Argentina. B. A., 1920

H.A.H.R., XI, 110

Muzzio, Julio A., Diccionario historico y biografico de la Republica Argentina. " vols. Buenos Aires. 1920.

J. Roldan.

Nunez, Ignacio Benito. An Account, historical, political, and statistical of the U. P. of the Rio de la Plata, London, 1825.
H.A.H.R., XI, 123

Outes, Felix F., La Musica y nuestro folk-lore. Buenos Aires. 1918.

Pinochet, Tancredo, "The Population of Argentine (sic) and Chile. The South American, September, 1919

Probst, Juan, La educacion en la Republica Argentina durante la epoca colonial Nosotros, 38: 35-55. May, 1921.

Discuses, "State of education among Negroes". See also continuation 38- 236-269, June, 1921

Publicaciones del Archivo Historico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, contribuciones a la Historia de los Pueblos de la Provincia de Buenos Aires.
H.A.H.R., XIV, 257,

Quesada, Ernesto. El "Criollismo en la literatura argentina" Buenos Aires. 1902.

Coni.

"Gaucho, cocoliche, orillero" and other dialects.

Ravignani, Emilio, Director of the Inst. de Inv. Hist. of B. A. May know O about Negro but is one of the most distinguished of Ar. scholars.

Contribucion documental para la historia del Rio de la Plata 5 vols. B. A., 1913.

"A very valuable collection of documents" H.A.H.R., XI, 113.

Rivarola. Rodolfo, La raza como ideal. Buenos Aires. 1919.
Impr. de J. Tragant.

ARGENTINA continued

Roberts, C. H., Racial Changes in Argentina Since Independence. Ph. D. (?)
Texas Christian University, H.A.H.R., XI, p. 416.

Rossi, Vicente, Cosas de Negro Rio de la Plata. 1926.

Imprenta Argentina. Calle Dean Funes, No. 152 Cordoba, Argentina

Salas, Carlos I., Bibliografia del General Sam Martin y la Independence -
5 vols. B. A., 1910.

_____, B. del cor Don F. Brandsen H.A.H.R.

Schiaffino Edvardo, La Pintura y la escultura en Argentina. Buenos Aires
1933--Vol. I., 1783-1894.

Sociedad de Historia Argentina

Sec'y lives at - Viamonte 430, Buenos Aires

Tello, W., "La raza Argentina", Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras,(June, 1919)

Torre Revello, Jose, "Origen y Aplicacion del Codigo Negrero en la America
Espanola (1788-1794)" Bol. del Inst. de Invest. Hist. No. 53, July-
Sept., 1932.

Torre, Revello, Jose, "Origen y aplicacion del Codigo Negrero en la America Espanola
(1788-1794)", Bol. de Inv. Hist. No. 53, July- Sept., 1932.

Torre Revello, Jose, "Vestuarios populares y militares y Wensilios de Trabaj os
en.....Buenos Aires, 18th Cent.". Bol. del Inst. de Invest. Hist.,
Jan.-June, 1931 (Nos. 47-48.)

Ugarteche, Felix de, Hombres del coloniaje con las biografias de los gobernadores
etc., etc., etc., durante los siglos XVI y XVII. Cindad de la Trinidad,
Puerto de Buenos Aires, 1932- Casa Oucinde

_____"La Raza Argentina", Cultura Venezolano, Nov. 1930. H. A.H.R., 1931
p. 434

Zambra, E., Biografias militares de generales del ejercito Argentinia Epoca
Moderna, 1860-1894. ??

H.A.H.R., VI, 133

Bibliography, Rio de la Plata

ADB/Hill09

ARGENTINA continued

Zinny, Antonio, Bibliografia historica de las Provincias unidas del Rio de la Plata desde el ano 1780 hasta el de 1821. Apendice a la Gaceta de B.A., B.A., 1875.

H.A.H.R., XI, 111.

ADB/rjh10

ADBIJ 112

Aranzaes, Nicanor. Dicionario historico del departamento de La Paz; expedientes matrimoniales, librow de bautizos, archivos oficiales e historiadores contem pordneos consultados. La. Paz, 1915.

J. L. Calderon.

Bolivia

Arguedas, Alcides, "Bolivia. Balance de un siglo", Nosotros. 54:145-166, Oct. 1926.

Arguedas, Alcides, Work of, Bol. H. A. H. R., 14, 515-516. Check his Razade Bronce. Valencia, 1924.

In 1934 he was living at Couilly, Seine et Marne.

Arguedas, Alcides, Histoire de la Bolivie. Paris, 1923.

Bibl. Rr.-Amer.

Chuquisaca, Negroes in, H. A. H. R., XIV, 454. n. 14.

Cleven, N. Andrew N., Bolivia

Research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to value a study of the constitutional organization of Bolivia H. A. H. R. X, 5.18.

Cleven, N. A. N., A History of Bolivia

Book Projected. H. A. H. R., 1931, p. 420.

Bolibia- Biog. Dict.

Hombres celebres de Bolivia. La Paz. 1920. Gonzalez y Medina.

Means, Philip Answorth, "Race and Souetz in the Andean Countries", Hespanic American Historical Review I (November, 1918), pp. 415-425.

p. 417 "For the purposes of this short paper I shall assume that the whites are the only intrusives and that the Mestizos (cross of indigene and white) are the only mixbloods, The Negroes, Orientals, and the various mixtures arising from them and the other elements are not of the first importance."

Moreno, Gabriel René. Biblioleia Boliviana. Santiago de clule. 1879.

Bolivia- Cont.

Intr. - Amer. H. Series
Bolivia-Tentalme

Ordonez Lopez, M. and Crespo, L. S., Bosquej o de la Historia de Bolivia. La Paz. 1912.

Sotomayor, y Valdes, Ramón, Estudio historico de Bolivia etc... hasta 1861. Santiago de Chile. 1874.

F3111 .B68

Aranzaes, Nicanor. Dicionario historico del departamento de La Paz; expedientes matrimoniales, librow de bautizos, archivos oficiales e historiadores contem pordneos consultados. La. Paz, 1915.

J. L. Calderon.

40B/Tj/88

Bolivia

Arguedas, Alcides, "Bolivia. Balance de un siglo", Nosotros. 54:145-166, Oct. 1926.

Arguedas, Alcides, Work of, Bol. H. A. H. R., 14, 515-516. Check his Razade Bronce. Valencia, 1924.

In 1934 he was living at Couilly, Seine et Marne.

Arguedas, Alcides, Histoire de la Bolivie. Paris, 1923.

Bibl. Hr.-Amer.

Chuquisaca, Negroes in, H. A. H. R., XIV, 454. n. 14.

Cleven, N. Andrew N., Bolivia

Research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to value a study of the constitutional organization of Bolivia H. A. H. R. X, 5.18.

Cleven, N. A. N., A History of Bolivia

Book Projected. H. A. H. R., 1931, p. 420.

Bolibia- Biog. Dict.

Hombres celebres de Bolivia. La Paz. 1920. Gonzalez y Medina.

Means, Philip Answorth, "Race and Souetz in the Andean Countries", Hespanic American Historical Review I (November, 1918), pp. 415-425.

p. 417 "For the purposes of this short paper I shall assume that the whites are the only intrusives and that the Mestizos (cross of indigene and white) are the only mixbloods, The Negroes, Orientals, and the various mixtures arising from them and the other elements are not of the first importance."

Moreno, Gabriel René. Biblioleia Boliviana. Santiago de clule. 1879.

Bolivia- Cont.

Intr. - Amer. H. Series
Bolivia-Tentalme

Ordonez Lopez, M. and Crespo, L. S., Bosquej o de la Historia de Bolivia. La Paz. 1912.

Sotomayor, y Valdes, Ramón, Estudio historico de Bolivia etc... hasta 1861. Santiago de Chile. 1874.

4081/7j/89

Brazil

~~PORTUGUESE COLONIES~~

H08 F11 1904

A seccao ultramario do bibliotheca nacional, inventarios, lisbon, 1928.

Abreu, Capistrano de, Caminbos Antigos e povoanmento do brasil. Rio 1930.

Very good for theBandeirantes H. A. H. R. 1932, 535.

Abreu e Lima, Jose Iqnacio de, Synopsis ou Deduccao Chronologicas dos Facbos mais Notaveis da Historia do Brasil. Permanbuco, 1845.

Rodrigues thot this better than the same anthois compendio Tio. 1843.

Adams, Jane E., "The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade", J. of N. H. X. (Oct. 1925), pp. 615-616.

Alfredo Ellis, Junior, Populacoes Paulistas, Bibl. Ped. Br. Seme V. Brasitiana, Vol. XXVII . Sao Paulo, 1934.

Amaral, Braz, "The Great Market of African Slaves", papers submitted to the Inte national Congress of American History at Rio, Sept. 1922.

H. A. H. R., V, 754.

Bibliography - Brazil

Annaes da Bibliotheca Narional de Rio de Janeiro, "Catalogo da Exposicao da Historia do Brazil IX, 1 and 2 (1881-1882)

20,0000titles covering a wide range of fields. H. A. H. R., XI, 109.

Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. 1876--

Index for first 20 vols. in vol. XX, 1898, pp. 315-337.

Annaes of the Congresso Internacional de Historia da america. Inst. H. e G. Br.

Vol. 10 has index for all ten vols.

Antionil, Andre Joao (Andreaoi, Joao Antonio), Cuttura e Opulencia do Brazil par sumas Drogas e Minas, Sao Paulo. 1923.

"most accurate & inialuable source during the transition period of 1700.

Duke University

Rio de la Plata

Archivo General de la Nacion, Campana del Brasil-antecedentes coloniales. Buenos Avies. 1931.

Assier, A. d', Le Bresil et la societe bresilienne. moeurs et Paysages". Rev. des Deux Mondes, Junel, 1863, passin.

Assier, Adolphe d', Le Bresil contemporain. Paris. 1867.

Associasao do Quarto centenario do Descobrimento do Brazil, Livro do centenario (1500-1900). Rio. 1900-1902.

Ave- Lallemant, Robert, Reise durch Nord-Brasilien. Leipzig, 1860.

Brazil
Ngro Revolt in Bolivia, 1801, H. A. H. R., VIIII, 529.

Balbi, A., Statistique de Portugal et du Bresil.

See H. A. H. R., XIII, 153, N. Y.

Beltran, Juan G., Historian del Brasil Buenos Aires. 1935.

Editorial [redacted] Victoria
"the best S[redacted] custory of Brazil thus far written...." H. A. H. R., Nov. [redacted], 553.

Biard, F., Deux annees au Bresil Paris. 1862.

Brazil
Bilden, Rudiger, Slavery as a Method of Production in Brazil. Grad. Thesis. Columbia H. A. H. R., VII, 366.

Bilden, R., Slavery as a Method of Production in Brazil. Ph. D. Columbia.

H. A. H. R., XI, 416

Bittencourt, Pedro Calmon Moniz de (Pedro Calmon). List of his works in H. A. H. R. Nov./ 36, pp. 553-554.

Blake, Augusto Victorino Alves do Sacramento. Dicionario bibliographico brazoleiro. Rio de Janeiro. 1883-1902.

7 vols. Typographia nacional. H. A. H. R. III, 623.

40B/Rj/72

HOB/Pi/73

Blake, A. Y. A. Sacramento, Dicionario Bibliographico Brazileiro Rio. 1883-1902.

Boccanera, Silio. Theatro nacional autores e actores dramaticos bahianos, em especial biographias. Bahia, 1923.

Has portraits.

Brandenburger, Clemens, Neuere brasilische wissenschafliliche Litteratur.

A reprint from Mitteilungen des Deutsch Sudamerikanischen and Ibersichen Instituts (Koen), VIII, 1920, pp. 49-61.

Dr. B. was in 1921 "the head of the Board of Brazilian Scholars who are preparing the great (geographical, biographical, bibliographical, etc. Dictionary which the Instituto Historico de R. d j. is to publish in celebration of the independence of Brazil.

H. A. H. R. IV, 361.

Braz Hermengildodo amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos. As tribus importadas. Sua distribuicao regional" Revista do Instituto H. e G. Br. tomoespecial, congresso Internacional de Historia V. 1895. 355ff.

Brazil. Congbesso. Camara dos deputados. Livro do centenari o da camara dos deputados (1826-1926) Rio 1926 3 vols. has portraits.

Bibliography
Brazil, H. A. H. R., XI, 126 ff.

Brazil, Twentieth sessibon of the Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, Rio de Janeiro Aug. 20-30, 1922. See p. 509 of H. A. H. R., V. for Topics on "Anthropology and Ethnography".

Brazil
Best Bibliography is in H. A. H. R., XIII, pp. 238-266.

Brazil, Proposed division of on racial lines, H. A. H. R., VII, pp. 226-227. See also Theodore Sothrop Stoddard Clashing Tides of Color, 1935.

Brazil
Regional Works, H. A. H. R., XIII, pp. 507-513.

HDB/TJ/74

Brazilian Academy of Letters,

"Biblioteca de Cultura Nacional". get complete list.
Some mentioned: H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 333.

Burke, U. R., Business and Pleasure in Brazil, London, 1884.

Burmeister, Hermann, Reise nach Brasilien, Berlin, 1853.

Cologeras, Joao Pandia, of Brazil died Apr. 21, 1934.

H. A. H. R., 14, 502.

Calogeras, Pandia, Formacao Historica do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, 1930.

Calogeras, Joao Pandia, Formacao Historica do Brasil. Rio. 1930

"first successful attempt to encompass within a single volume the history of Brazil from its discovery down to the present day".
H. A. H. R., XI, 351.
Pimenta de Mello & C.
(Order)

Campello, Samuel, "Dansas Populareo", Revista do Isst. Archeol. Hist. e Geogr. Pernambucano (Pernanbusco, Nos. 135-152, vol. XXIX, 1928-1929).

Compos, Humberto de. Anthologia da Academia brasileira de letras; treinta annos de discursos academicos, 1897-1927. Rio. 1928.

Leite Ribeiro.

Cardim, Pe. Fernao, Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil.

Duke Univ.

Carvallio, Alfredo de, Biblioltieca

Exotico- Brasiteiro. Rio. 1929.

Carvallio, Ronald, Pequena Historia da Literatura Brasileir a Rio. 1925. 400 pp.

F. Briguiet & Comp.

ADB Rj 75

Castro, Rangel de, Quelquesto Aspects de la Civilization Bresilienne Paris, 1930.

H. A. H. R., XI, 278.

Catalogo da eExposicao de historia do Brazil (Annaes da Bibliotheca nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 9 vols.)

Celso, Count Affonso, Perpetual president of the Inst. H. e G. Brasileiro.

Chadenat, Charles, Bibliotheca Braziliensis. Le Bibliophile Americain, No. 38. Paris C. 1910.

Christie, W. D., Notes on Brazil, London, 1865. See espo. Chs. I-IV.

Claudio, Affonso, "As tres racas na sociedade colonial", Rev. do Inst. H. e G. Br.", Homo especial, Cong. Intern. de Historia de Amer., XI (1927), pp. 317-378.

Codman, John, Tew Monteus in Brazil. New York, 1872.

Correa, Antonio Augusto Mendes, Cariocas e Paulistas; Impressoes do Brasil. Porto (Portugal). 1935

Fernando Machado & cia.

Congresso Internacional de historia de America. Promovido pelo Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileio

A pamphlet of 38 pages, H. A. H. R. IV, 515.

Costa, Francisco Augusto Perreira da, "Folk-Lore Pernambuco", Revista, LXX (1907) Pt. 2, pp. 3-641.

Costa, J. R., Jr., "A Sociedade Luso African a do Rio de Janeiro, Boletim do Scie dad de Geografia de Lisboa.

Coyty, Louis, L'Esclavage and Bresil. Paris, 1881.

Dent, H. C., A Year in Brazil, London 1886.

Dialogos das Grandezas do Brasil, pela primeira vez tirado em livro. Intro. by Capistr ano de Abreu and notes by Rodopho Garcia. Rio 1930.

408/Tj/16

Off. Ind. Graphica.
Bib. de Cult. Nac.
"Unrivaled picture of cond. in 1st. decades of 17 th cent.
H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 335.

Dias, Arthur. The Brazil of To-day. Nivelles, 1907 (?).

No. 390 in H. A. H. R. III, 625.

Dias, Carlos Malteiro, and others, The History of the Portuguese Colonization of Brazil.

Mentioned in H. A. H. R. III, 645. Published by the Gabinete Portuguez de Leitura, 30, Rua Luiz de Camoes, Rio de Janeiro.

Dias da Silva, Manuel Francisco. Diccionario biographico de brasileiros celebres nas letras, artes, politica, philantropia, guerra, diplomacia, industria, sciencias e caridade, desde o anno 1500 até nossos dias. Rio de Janeiro. 1871.

No. 391, H. A. H. R. III, 625. Has 103 biographies.

Duque-Estrada, Osorio, A Abolicao. Rio. 1918.

Egas, Eugenio, Galeria dos presidentes de S. Paulo, 182201924. Sao Paulo. 1926-1927.

Edmundo, Luiz, O Rio de Janeiro no Tempo dos Vicepresident, 1763-1808.

Out of print, has been published in Rev. do Inst. H. e g. Br. 1932.

Edmundo, Luiz, O Rio de Janeiro no Tempo dos Vice-reis (1763-1808). Rio Imprensa Nacional 1932.

Edicao do Inst. H. e G. Br.

Ellis, Alfredo, Jr., O Banlerism Paulista e o Recuo do Meridiano. Sao Paulo. 1935.

Cia Editora Nacional.

Estrada, Osorio Duque, A Abolicao, 1831-1888. Rio 1918.

Evaristo de Maraes, A Escavidao Africana no Brasil (das Origens a Extincao, Brasileira, Bebliotheca Pedagogica Brasileira, X III, Sao Paulo, 1933.

Companhia Editorial Nacional.

40B17.11.7

Farabee, W. C., "The Arawalss of Northern Brazil and Southern British Guiana", American Journal of Physical Anthropology I, no. 4, 1918.

Fletcher, , and
Kidder, , Brazil and
the Brazilians. New York. 1857.

"The most authoritative work ever printed in English on Brazil", Percy A. Martin, H. A. H. R., I, 153.

Freire, Laudelino de Ohveira, Classicos brasileuos. Breves notos para a historia da literatura philologica nacional. Rio de Janeiro, 1923--

Freire, Laudelino de Oliverira. Pequena edicao dos Sonetow brasileiros. Rio de Janeiro. 1914.

105 sketches & portraits.
222 pages.

Freyre, Gilberto, Casa-Grande e Senzala. Rio Maia & Schmidt.

"Big House & Slave Quarters. H. A. H. R.,XIV, pp. 325-327.

Freyre, Gilberto, ed. Estudos Afro-Brasileiros (Trabalhos apresentados ao 1º Congresso Afro-Brasileiro no Recife im 1934. Vol. I, Rio de Janeiro .1935.

Preface by E. Roquette-Pinto; Rev. in H. A. H. R., Nov. 1936.

Freyre, Gilberto, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century", H. A. H. R., V, 597-630.

Part of his doctoral dissertation Note all items in his bibliography.

Garcia, Rodolpho. Dicsionario de brasileirismos. Rio de Janeiro. 1915.

--------"Bibliographia geographica brasileira", Revista do Instituto h. e. g. b. LXXXV, 139 (1919), pp. 5-105.

Garraux, A. L., Bibliographie Bresilienne. Paris L898.

Gentil, Georges le, holds chair of Brazilian Studies at the Univ. of Paris.

H. A. H. R., XIV, 251.

Gomes, Lindolpho, Contos Populares, Sao Paulo/n. d.

408/7j/78

Gouveia, Daniel, Folk-lore Brazileiro Rio. 1928.

Grant, France s R., "Brazilian Art" Pan American Magazine, Jan. 1931.

Guarana, Armindo, Diccionario bio-bibliographico sergipano Rio de Janeiro. 1925.

Handelmann, Heinrich,

Geschichte von Brazilien. Berlin 1860.
Out of print, has been published in Port as Historia do Brasil, Rev-do Inst. H. eG. Br. Rio. 1931.

Hill, Lawrence F., "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," H.M.H.R., XI (May, 1931), pp. 168-197.

Hill, Law rence F.,"Confererate Exiles to Brazil", H. A. H.R., VII, pp. 192-210.

Hill, Lawrence F., Diplomatic Relations between Brazil and the United States.

Holmes, Ruth E. V., comp., Bibliographical and Historical Description of the Rarest Books in the Oliveira Lima Collection at the Catholic University of America. Washington, 1927.

Ihering, Hermann. Bibliographia 1902-1904; historia natural e anthropologia do Brazil, Sao Paulo, 1904.

Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Diccionario, Historico, Geographico y Ethnographico do Brasil, 2 vols. Rio, 1922.

Jaboatao, Antonio de S. Maria, Catalogo genealogico, etc. Rio de Janeiro, 1889.

Jackson, W. M. ed., Encyclopedia e Diccionario International. Lisbon,Rio, London, Paris, New York, 1921, 20 vols.

Oliveira Lima called it "indispensable to every student of things Portuguese and Brazilian".

Lamas, Vincente Themudo, "A Guerra dos Mascates", Rev. do Inst. Ar. H. eG. Pern. Nos. 135-152, Vol. XXIX, 1928-1929.

Lavasseur, E., L'Abolition de l'Esclavage au Bresil, Paris, 1889

408/7j/79

Leite, Aureliano, Retratos a Pena. Sao Paulo, 1930.

Editora Limitada.

Lima, Jorge de, Rassenbildung und Rassenpolitik in Brasilien. Leipzig 1934.

Favors Aryanization; Verlag Adopf Klein.

Lopes Pereira de Carvallio, Jose, Os membros da Academia brasilira em 1915 (traces biobibliographios Rio, 1917 (?)

McEwen, J. D., Brasil a Description of People, Country, and Happening There and Elsewhere, Montreal, 1918.

Witness Press

Magalhaes, Basilio de, Expansao Geographica do Brasil Colonial,Sao Paulo, 1935.

Cia Editora Nacional; H. A. H. R., Nov./36, 553.

Magalhaes, Basilio, O folk-lore no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1928

Livraria Quaresma.

Malheiro, Agostinho Marques Perdgao, A Escravidao no Brasil, Rio, 1866-1867.

Manchester, Alow K., at Duke seems to know a lot about Br.Bibl. See his article in H. A. H. R., XIII, pp. 238-266.

Manchester, Alow K., "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," H. A. H. R., XI (May, 1931), pp. 145-168.

Martin, Percy Alvin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," H. A. H. R., XIII, (May, 1933), pp. 151-196.

Mattos, Annibal, Monumentos historicos, artisticos e religiosos de Minas Geraes, Bello Horizonte (Brazil) 1935.

Bibliotheca Mineira de cultura Edicioes Apollo
H. A. H. R., Nov. /36 p. 557

Medeiros, Coriolano de, "The Folklore of Paraluyba", Annaes of the Congresso Internacional de Hestoria dos America., Inst. H. eG. Br. Vol. 9, 1930.

Melo, Mario, secretary of the Historical Association of Pernambuco (Instituto Archeologico-geographico Pernambucano),

40B/Tj/80

H. A. H. R. IV, 361

Mello, Mario, Aspectos da Historia Recife. 1935

He is the perpetual secretary of the Instituto Archaeologico e Historico of Pernambuco.
Edicoes da Casa Mozart, H. A. H. R., Nov. /36, 552.

Moraes, Evaristo de, "A Escravidao da Suppressao do IX Trafico a Lei Aurea", Rev. do Inst. H. eG. Br., tomo especial, III, 245 ff. (1927)

Mello, Affonso Toledo Bandeira de, Article by same title, ibid., 391 ff.

Moraes Filho, Alexander Jose de Mello, Festas e Tradicoes do Brazil, Rio, 1901.

Motta, Arthur, Historia da little natura brasileira Sao Paulo, 1930—

H. A. H. R., XI, 405.

Nabuco, Carolina, Avida de Joaquim Nabuco, Sao Paulo 1932.

Nabuco, Joaquim, Edicao Uniforme das Obras de Joaquim Nabuco, Rio de Janeiro, 1935

Pub. by Civilizacao Brasileira.

Nabuco, Joaquim, Mina Formaca o, Paris & Rio, 1900.

———, Pensees detachees et souvenis, Paris, 1906.

Nabuco, Joaquim, O Abolicionismo, London, 1883.

Nash, Roy, The Conquest of Brazil, New York, 1926

Negros de ganho, H. A. H. R., XIII, 165.

Natal e Silva, Cellemar, Historia de Goyaz, 2 vols. Rio de Janeiro Mundo Medico, 1935.

H. A. H. R., Nov/36, 556.

Nobrega, Manoelde, ed, Cartas Jesuiticas, Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560, 2 vols. Rio, 1931. Off. Ind. Graphica
Bibl. de Cult. Mac.

408/7j/81

O Bibliographo, boletim de informacoes bibliographicas, Rio, 1930---.

Octavio, Rodrigo, Minhas Memorias dos Otros, Nova Serie, Rio, 1935.

Livraria Jose Olympio Editora.
H. A. H. R., Nov., 36/ 556.

Oliveira Lima, Manoel de, Bibliography of the books in the exhibit cases of the Ibero-American Library, Catholic University.

H. A. H. R., VI, 142.

Oliveira Lima, Manoel de, The Evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America. Stanford University 1914.

Oliveira Lima, Manoel de, Formation historique de la nationalite bresilienne, Paris, 1911.

Garnier Freres.

Oliveira Lima, Manoel, "Racial and Social Questions in Brazil", Lecture at Williams Institute of Politics, 1922.

H. A. H. R., V. 515.

Oliveira Lima, Manuel de, Relacao dos manuscriptos portuguezes e estrangeiros, de interesse para o Brazil, existentes no Museo britanico de Londres, Rio, 1903.

Oliveira Lima, Manoel de, The Evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America. Stanford University, 1914.

Oliveira, Vianna, F. J., Evolucao do Povo Brasileiro 2nd. ed. Bibliotheca Pedagogica Brasileria, Serie V, Brasiliana, Vol X. Sao Paulo 1933, Companhia Editora Nacional

----------, Populacoes Meridionaes do Brasil: Historia, Organizacao Psychologia, 1st. vol. 3rd. ed. Ib. 1933. Vol VIII.

Vianna, Oliveira, Populacoes Meridionaes do Brazil, Vol. I. Sao Paulo Monteiro Lobato e Cia, Revista do Brazil, Sao Paulo.

Oliveira Vianna, Raca e Assimilacao, Sao Paulo, 1932.

----------, See his other works in H. A. H. R., XIV, 372.

Palmares,

408|Tj|82

See especially vol. 6 of Taunay, Historia Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas.

Pereira, Baptista, Catalogo das Obras de Ruy Barbosa Rio, 1929

Pereira, Baptista, Antonio, Ruy Barbosa, Catalogo das sus obras, Rio de Janeiro, 1929.

Pereira da Silva, Joao Manoel, Historia da Fundacao do Imperio Brazileiro, 10 vols. Rio de Janeiro, 1865.

"A work of Great merit", H. A. H. R., XI, 127.

Pernambuco, Instituto archeologico historico e geographico, Os nossos manuscritos, Revista do Institute Pernambuco, 1926, XXVII, pp. 109-327.

Pimentel-Brandao, M. de, Histoire du Bresil

Bibl. Br.-Amer.
In Prep.

Pinto, Estevao, Os Indigenas do Nordeste, Sao Paulo, 1935

Cia Editora Nacional.
H. A. H. R. Nov. /36, pp. 550-551.
Treats of Negroes.

Pinto da Silva, Joao, Historai Iliteraria do Rio Grande do Sul, 1924.

Pontes, Elroy, A Vida Inquieta de Raul Pompei a Rio, 1935.

Livraria Jose Olympio Editora.

Portugal, Bibliotheca nacional.

A seccao ultramarina da Bibliotheca nacional, inventarios, Lisboa, 1928

Prado, Paulo, Retrato do Brasil

Ensaio sobrea Tristeza Brasileira,
Sao Paulo, 1929
Duprat-Mayenca. H. A. H. R., X, 357-359.

Publicacao official de documentos interessantes para la historia e costumes de S. Paulo, 43 vols, Sao Paulo.

H. A. H. R., XI, pp. 112-113.

Quirino, Manuel Raymundo, Artistas bahinos, Boliva, 1911

Reclus, E., "Le Brezil et la Colonisation", Revue des Deux Mondes, July 15, 1862.

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, 1839

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, 1839-1929.

Duke Univ. has complete set except 7 vols.
" " " also the 28 special volumes issued by the society.

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Rio Grande do Sub.

Check Contects.

Revista Trimensal, Rio de Janeiro
Documentos relativos a Historia da Capitania de...Rio Grande do Sul.

H. A. H. R., XI, pp. 111-112.

Ribeiro, Carlo Portugal, Alexande Herculeano, A Sua Vida e A Sua Obra (1810-1877)

Herculana is called "Portugal greatest historian"; H. A. H. R., 14, 510.

Ribeiro, Joao Baptista, of Brazil died Apr. 13, 1934.

H. A. H. R., 14, 502.

Ribeiro, Joao, Floresta de Exemplos, Rio, 1931.

Ribeiro, Joao, Historia de Brazil.

Ricard, Robert, Documents des bibliotheques espagnoles relatifs au Brezil, Coimbra, 1924.

Rocha Pombo, Jose Francisco da, Historia do Brazil, 10 vols. Rio de Janeiro, 1905.

" Good", H. A. H. R., XI, 128.

Rocha Pomba, Jose Francisco da, Historia do Brazil, 10 v. Rio, 1905.

"the most extensive" H. A. H. R., XIII, 506.

Rodrigues, Jose Carlos, Bibliotheca Brasiliense, Rio, 1907.

408/Tj/83

408/J/84

Rodrigues, J. C. , Bibliotheca

Brasilense, Rio de Janeiro, 1907
Mentioned by Work, 660.

Cited by Maggs, 610, 296 evidently as an authority
H. A. H. R. XI, 109, mentions his Catalogo annotado: Brasil colonial 1492-1822. Part I.

Revue des Deux Mondes,

Earlier nos. contain many articles of value on Brazil. H. A. H. R. XIII, 498.

Roure, Agenor de, "A Escravidao de 1808 a 1888", Jornal do Commercio, Sept. 28, 1906.

Ruy Barbosa, Works of,

H. A. H. R., XIII, pp. 498-499.

Santos, Lucio Jose dos, A Inconfidencia Mineira; O Papel de Tiradentes ~~na~~ Inconfidencia Mineira. Sao Paulo, 1927.

H. A. H. R., 13, 477.

Santos, Manoel dos, Bibliographica geral ou Descripaao bibliographica de livros tantos de autores Portugueses como Brasilhios....impressos des de o seculo XVI ate a actualidade, Lisboa, 1914-1917.

Tipografia Mendonca.

Sao Paulo, Documentos Interessantes Para a Historia e Costumes de S. Paulo. 46 vols. 1895-1903. Continued by the National Library, 15 vols. to date.

Duke University Library.

Sao Paulo, Inventarios e Testamentos (Sao Paulo , 1920-21. 21 vols.)

Duke Univ. Library.

Serrano, Jonathas, Historia do Brasil, Rio 1931.

Briquet & Co.
Good 1 vol. study.

Shaw, E. W., and Darnell, J. L., Jr., "A Frontier Region in Brazil, Southwestern Marantrao, Geographical Review (New York), April, 1926, -- pp. 177-195.

Shaw, Paul Vanorden, "Jose Bonifacio and Brazilian History", H. A. H. R., VIII, pp. 527-550.

Silva, Claude, Thomas, Portuguese and Brazilian Imperialism: Uruguay, 1808-1828. M. A. Thesis Univ. of Cal., 1932.

Silva, J. M. Pereira da, Situation sociale, politique et, economique de l'Empire du Bresil, Paris 1865.

Reprint of 2 articles in Revue des deux Mondes.
————————, Memorias do Mew Tempo, Rio, 1895.

Silva, Pereira da, Historia da Fundacao do Imperio Brasileiro (Rio, 1864-1868).

Gives figures from A Balbi Statistique de Portugal et du Bresil.

Silva Leme, Luiz Gonzaga, Genealogia paulistana, Sao Paulo, 1903-05.

Simkins, Francis B., Vida Social no Nordeste (do Brazil) by Gilberto Freyre and others, Emory niversity.

H. A. H. R., VIII, 374.

Simoens da Silva, Antonio Carlos, "A bem da ethnographica Brasileira e dos estudos Americanistas" Twentieth International Congress of Americanists.

H. A. H. R., V., 597.

Sisson, Sebastiao Augusto, Gal eria dos brasileiros illustres (os contemporaneos); retratos dos homens mais illustres do Brasil, na politica, sciencias e letras desde a guerra a independencia ate os nossaes dias. Rio de Janeiro 1861

2 vols. Portraits.

Soares, Sebastiao F., Elementos de estatistica, Rio 1865.

Sousa, Alberto: Estudios demograficos. A populacao de Sao Paulo no ultimo decenio; 1907-19. Sao Paulo 1917.

Tipografia Piratininga.

Sousa e Silva, J. Norberto de. Brasileiras celebres, Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

Sousa, Pinta, Prof. Holds chair of Brazilian Studies at Univ. of Lisbon, He is a Brazilian.

H. A. H. R., XIV, 251.

408|7|85

408/7/186

Staden, Hans, Viagem ao Brasil (Translated from 1557 Text) Rio, 1930

Officina Industrial Graphica.
Bib. ale Cultura Nacional.

Taunay, Affonso de E.

Greatest living authority on Sao Paulo. H. A. H. R., XI, pp. 221-222.

Taunay, d'Escragnolle Affonso

Director (1921) of the Musew Paulista.

Taunay, Alfonso de E., Historia Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas, 6 vols. Sao Paulo 1925-1929-1930.

" Taunay was the director of the Museu Paulista, and the foremost living authority of Sao P."
Heit or L. Canton (H. A. H. R., XI, p. 221)
Duke University Library.

Escargnolle Taunay, Affonso de,

Escriptones colonias, Sao Paulo, 1925.
————, S. Paulo no seculo XVI Tours, (E. Arrualt & Cie. 192 1)
————————, S. Paulo nos primeiros annos (1554-1601. Tours, 1920).

Taunay, Affonso de Annaes do Musew Paulista, Vol. IV. Sao Paulo 1931.

Other vols. in prep. H. A. H. R., XIII, 147.

Taunay, Escragnolle, Historia geral das bandeiras paulistas 6 vols. in 1932 in Univ. of Cal. Library.

H. A. H. R., 1932 / 104.

Taunay, Viscount de, O Visconde de Rio Branco. Sao Paulo, 1930

Affonso de is the son of Viscount de Taunay.

Taunay, Viscount de, Servidores Illustres do Brasil, Sao Paulo, 1931.

Teschauer, Carlos, Historia de Rio Grande do Sul dous primeiros seculos. 2 vols. Porto Alegre, 1918-1920.

S. J. Livreria Selbach de J. R. da Fonseca y cia.

40B/7j/87

Theophilo, Jose, "Genealogia pernambucana", Rev. do Inst. H. EG. Pern., XXXI.

Tranch plus Description, Works on H. A. H. R., XIII, pp. 513-517.

Unsigned, "A Evelucao pernambuscana" XXXI

Unsigned, Briefe aus Brasilien Frankfurt am Main. 1857.

H. H. R. R. XIII, n. 41.

Varnhagem, Francisco A. de (Visconde de porto Seguro, Works of

H. A. H. R., XIII, 505.

Vasconcellos, Adriano, "Henrique Dias nunca Escravo", Rev. do Inst. A. H. E. G. Pernamb. Nos. 135-152, Vol. XXIX, 1928-1929.

Wallace, Alfred R., A Narrative of Travel on the Amazon and Rio Negro. London, 1852.

Williams, Mary W., Emperor Pedro II

In preparation Letter of Dec. 25/36.

COSTA RICA

AOB/Tj/114

Blen, Adolfo, Apuntes sobre bibliografia de Costa Rica, H. A. H. R. IV, p.568

Dobles Segreda, Luis, Indice bibliografico de Costa Rica. San Jose, 1927

To be complete in 9 v.
Imp. Lehmann.

Dobles Segreda, Luis, Indice bibliografico de Costa Rica

Reviewed in H. A. H. R. IX, p. 510.

Fernandez, Leon, Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica. 10 vols. San Jose, 1881-1907.

_____ Historia de Costa Rica durante la Dominacion Espanola. Madrid. 1889.

Fernandex Guardia, Ricardo, La independencia y otros episodios. San Jose de Costa Rica. 1928.

Trejos Hermanos, H. A. H. R., X, pp. 493-494

Garcia Monge, Joaquin, Professor, ed. of a Bibliografia Americano, Head of Bibl. Nacional, A partado X, San Jose, Costa Rica. Copy of the Bib. can be ordered from him. H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 396.

Gonzalea Viquez, Cleto, "Origenes de los costarricenses", Revista de Costa Rica, (June, 1921), H. A. H. R., IV, p. 839.

Guardia, Ricardo Fernandez, History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica, New York, 1913.

Perigny, Comte de, La Republique de Costa Rica. Paris. 1918.

Bibl. France-Amerique

Revista de Costa Rica. September, 1921, publishes photographs of the Founders of the Republic

Sotela, Rogelio. Escritores y poetas de Costa Rica. San Jose. 1923 Sauter y cia.

Sotelo, Rogelio Literatura costarricense, antologia y biografias. San Jose. 1927.

COSTA RICA continued:

Umana, Salvador, "Del Folk-Lore Costarricense", Repertorio Americano March, 1921. (San Jose de C. R.), H. A. H. R., IV, p. 570.

ADB/mj 115

COSTA RICA

Blen, Adolfo, Apuntes sobre bibliografia de Costa Rica, H. A. H. R. IV, p.568

Dobles Segreda, Luis, Indice bibliografico de Costa Rica. San Jose, 1927

To be complete in 9 v.
Imp. Lehmann.

Dobles Segreda, Luis, Indice bibliografico de Costa Rica

Reviewed in H. A. H. R. IX, p. 510.

Fernandez, Leon, Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica. 10 vols. San Jose, 1881-1907.

_____ Historia de Costa Rica durante la Dominacion Espanola. Madrid. 1889.

Fernandez Guardia, Ricardo, La independencia y otros episodios. San Jose de Costa Rica. 1928.

Trejos Hermanos, H. A. H. R., X, pp. 493-494

Garcia Monge, Joaquin, Professor, ed. of a Bibliografia Americano, Head of Bibl. Nacional, A partado X, San Jose, Costa Rica. Copy of the Bib. can be ordered from him. H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 396.

Gonzalez Viquez, Cleto, "Origenes de los costarricenses", Revista de Costa Rica, (June, 1921), H. A. H. R., IV, p. 839.

Guardia, Ricardo Fernandez, History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica, New York, 1913.

Perigny, Comte de, La Republique de Costa Rica. Paris. 1918.

Bibl. France-Amerique

Revista de Costa Rica. September, 1921, publishes photographs of the Founders of the Republic

Sotela, Rogelio. Escritores y poetas de Costa Rica. San Jose. 1925 Santer y cia.

Sotelo, Rogelio Literatura costarricense, antologia y biografias. San Jose. 1927.

HD9/7/55

COSTA RICA continued:

Umaña, Salvador, "Del Folk-Lore Costarricense", Repertorio Americano March, 1921. (San Jose de C. R.), H. A. H. R., IV, p. 370.

HOB/T:156

CUBA

ADB/TJ/1116

Aguero, Salvador Garcia, "El Negro en nuestra cultura", Mediodra (Havana), January 15, 1937, pp. 10, 16.

Atkins, Edwin F., Sixty years in Cuba. Cambridge, 1926.

Carbonell, Nestor , Proceres cubanos, etc. Habana. 1919.

Castellano Garcia, Gerardo, Panorama Historico: Ensayo de Cronologia Cubana, Habana, 1935. Liberia Marti, H. A. H. R., November, 1936, p. 557.

Catalogo de los Fondos cubanos del Archivo General de Indices. Consultas y De cretos, 1664-1783. Madrid. 1929

Compania Americana de Publicaciones.

Chacon y Calvo, Jose Maria, Cedulario Cubano, Los Origenes de la colonizacion (1492-1512). Madrid. 1929. Compania Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones. H. A. H. R., 1932, pp. 64-65.

Comunicaciones de la Camera de Representantes des de el Dia 10 de Abril de 1869, hasta el Dia 10 de Junio del nusino ano. Havana. 1919.

Press of La Universal

Cordova de Fernandez, Sofia, Folklore del Nino Cubano. Archvos del Folklore Cubano, May, 1926, pp. 159-168.

Eligio de la Puente, A. M., Bibliografia folklorica cubana. ? ?
H. A. H. R. IX, p. 395.

Garrigo, Roque E., Historia documentada de la Conspiracion de los Soles y Rayos de Bolivar. 2 vols., Havana. 1929

El Siglo XX.

Gonzalez del Valle, Francisco, Jose de la Luz y Caballero en la conspiracion de 1844. Havana. 1925. pp. 39-136.

Imprenta El Siglo XX.

Guillen, Nicolas, "Racismo y Cubanidad", **Mediodia** (Havana), January 15, 1937. pp. 4, 19.

40B/Fj/III

Guiteras, Pedro Jose, Historia de la isla de Cuba. 3 vols. Havana. 1928. Casa Cultural

Introd. by Ortiz.

Harper, Roland M., Salient Features of the Population of Cuba", Pan American Magazine, January, 1931.

Hart, Francis Russell, The Siege of Havana, 1762. Boston and New York, 1931. Houghton

Negroes may have participated.

Hill, Roscoe R. Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Deposited in the Archivo General de Indices at Seville. Washington.

Photgraphic prints of 3,000 are in the L. of C.

Humboldt, Alexander, Ensayo politico sobre la isla de Cuba. Introd. by Ortiz. Havana. 2 v., 1930.

Cultural.

Manach, George, Ia Pintura en Cuba desde sus Origenes hasta nuestros Dias. 1924.

Marquez, J. De J. Diccionario geografico, biografico, estadistico, bibliografico, historico, economico y mercantil de la isla de Cuba. 1875.

Boletin del Archivo national, Havana. 1925. XXIV, pp. 81-250.

Miro y Argenter, Jose

"has compiled a sic Jan able biography of Maceo."
H. A. H. R., III, p. 636.

Mitjano, Aurelio, Historia de la literatura Cubana. Madrid. 1918.

Editorial-America.

Morales, Vidal Morales y, Iniciadores y primeros Mathies de la Revolucion Cubana. Havana. 1931

Negroes in Cuba. H. A. H. R., III, p. 340

Ortiz, Fernando, Partial list of his works in H. A. H. R., VI, p. 294.

408 F1 1118

Ortiz, Fernando, "The Afro-Cuban Festival of 'The Day of the Kings'" Inter-America (June, 1921)

_____"Los cabil dos Afro-Cubanos" pevista Bemestre Cubana, January, February, 1921

Ortiz, Fernando, La Fiesta Afrocubana del "Dia de Reyes". Havana. 1925. Reprint from Archivo del Folklore Cubana I.

El Siglo XX, H.A.H.R., VI, p. 158.

Ortiz, Fernando, Glosario de Afroeubanismos. Havana. 1924.

Bibliography, El Siglo XX, H. A. H. R., VI, p. 158

Parker, William Belmont, Cubana of to-day. 2 vols. New York, 1919. Hispanic Society of America.

Portell Vila, Herminio, Cespedes, el Padre de la Patria Cubana. Madrid. 1931. Espasa-calpe.

Rene Lufriu, Sec. of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, Marta Abreu y Cuba, Havana.

A Biographical Dict. was being prepared. H.A.H.R, III,p.148.

Rubens, Horatio S., Liberty, the Story of Cuba, New York, 1932

Trelles y Govin, Carlos Manuel. Bibliografia de autores de la raza de color en Cuba. Cuba contemporanea, Havana. 1927. XLIII,pp. 33-78.

Trelles, Carlos Manuel, Bibliografia Cubana

Trelles, Carlos M., "Notas bibliograficas del folklore cubano", Archioos del Folklore Cubano, May, 1926, pp. 137-158.

Valle, Adrian de, Historia documentada de la Conspiracion de la gran Legion del A guila Negra. Havana. 1930

El Siglo XX.

Inter-Amer. H. Series
Vidal Morales, Manual de historia de Cuba,

408/rj 119

Wright, Irene A., Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana en el siglo XVI, basada en los documentos originales existentes en el Archivo General de las Indices en Sevilla. Havana. 1927.

"El Siglo XX"

Wright, Irene A., Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana encl Siglo XVI. 2 vols.....en la primera Mitad del Siglo XVII. Habana. 1927, 1930. Imprenta El Siglo XX.

CUBA

Aguero, Salvador Garcia, "El Negro en nuestra cultura", Mediodra (Havana), January 15, 1937, pp. 10, 16.

Atkins, Edwin F., Sixty years in Cuba. Cambridge, 1926.

Carbonell, Nestor , Proceres cubanos, etc. Habana. 1919.

Castellano Garcia, Gerardo, Panorama Historico: Ensayo de Cronologia Cubana, Habana, 1935. Liberia Marti, H. A. H. R., November, 1936, p. 557.

Catalogo de los Fondos cubanos del Archivo General de Indices. Consultas y De cretos, 1664-1783. Madrid. 1929

Compania Americana de Publicaciones.

Chacon y Calvo, Jose Maria, Cedulario Cubano, Los Origenes de la colonizacion (1492-1512). Madrid. 1929. Compania Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones. H. A. H. R., 1932, pp. 64-65.

Comunicaciones de la Camera de Representantes des de el Dia 10 de Abril de 1869, hasta el Dia 10 de Junio del musino ano. Havana. 1919.

Press of La Universal

Cordova de Fernandez, Sofia, Folklore del Nino Cubano. Archvos del Folklore Cubano, May, 1926, pp. 159-168.

Eligio de la Puente, A. M., Bibliografia folklorica cubana. ? ? H. A. H. R. IX, p. 595.

Garrigo, Roque E., Historia documentada de la Conspiracion de los Soles y Rayos de Bolivar. 2 vols., Havana. 1929

El Siglo XX.

Gonzalez del Valle, Francisco, Jose de la Luz y Caballero en la conspiracion de 1844. Havana. 1925. pp. 39-136.

Imprenta El Siglo XX.

Guillen, Nicolas, "Racismo y Cubanidad", Mediodia (Havana), January 15, 1937. pp. 4, 19.

408/1/154

HOBLU 1/58

Guiteras, Pedro Jose, Historia de la isla de Cuba. 3 vols. Havana. 1928. Casa Cultural

Intred. by Ortis.

Harper, Roland M., Salient Features of the Population of Cuba", Pan American Magazine, January, 1931.

Hart, Francis Russell, The Siege of Havana, 1762. Boston and New York, 1931. Houghton

Negroes may have participated.

Hill, Roscoe R. Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Deposited in the Archivo General de Indices at Seville. Washington.

Photgraphic prints of 5,000 are in the L. of C.

Humboldt, Alexander, Ensayo politico sobre la isla de Cuba. Intred. by Ortis. Havana. 2 v., 1930.

Cultural.

Mamach, George, La Pintura en Cuba desde sus Origenes hasta muestros Dias. 1924.

Marquez, J. De J. Diccionario geografico, biografico, estadistico, bibliografico, historico, ecomomico y mercantil de la isla de Cuba. 1875.

Boletin del Archivo national, Havana. 1925. XXIV, pp. 81-280.

Miro y Argenter, Jose

"has compiled a sic Jan able biography of Maceo."
H. A. H. R., III, p. 636.

Mitjans, Aurelio, Historia de la literatura Cubana. Madrid. 1918.

Editorial-Americe.

Morales, Vidal Morales y, Iniciadores y primeros Mathies de la Revolucion Cubana. Havana. 1931

Negroes in Cuba. H. A. H. R., III, p. 340

Ortis, Fernando, Partial list of his works in H. A. H. R., VI, p. 294.

408/Ti/59

Ortiz, Fernando, "The Afro-Cuban Festival of 'The Day of the Kings'" Inter-America (June, 1921)

_____ "Los cabil dos Afro-Cubanos" pevista Bemestre Cubana, January, February, 1921

Ortiz, Fernando, La Fiesta Afrocubana del "Dia de Reyes". Havana. 1925. Reprint from Archivo del Folklore Cubana I.

El Siglo XX, H.A.H.R., VI, p. 158.

Ortiz, Fernando, Glosario de Afrocubanismos. Havana. 1924.

Bibliography, El Siglo XX, H. A. H. R., VI, p. 158

Parker, William Belmont, Cubana of to-day. 2 vols. New York, 1919. Hispanic Society of America.

Portell Vila, Herminio, Cespedes, el Padre de la Patria Cubana. Madrid. 1931. Espasa-calpe.

Rene Lufriu, Sec. of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, Marta Abreu y Cuba, Havana.

A Biographical Dict. was being prepared. H.A.H.R, III, p.148.

Rubens, Horatio S., Liberty, the Story of Cuba, New York, 1932

Trelles y Govin, Carles Manuel. Bibliografia de auteres de la raza de color en Cuba. Cuba contemporanea, Havana. 1927. XLIII, pp. 33-78.

Trelles, Carles Manuel, Bibliografia Cubana

Trelles, Carles M., "Notas bibliograficas del folklore cubano", Archicos del Folklore Cubana, May, 1926, pp. 137-158.

Valle, Adrian de, Historia documentada de la Conspiracion de la gran Legion del A guila Negra, Havana. 1930

El Siglo XX.

Inter-Amer. H. Series
Vidal Morales, Manual de historia de Cuba,

40B-7j-60

Wright, Irene A., Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana en el siglo XVI, basada en los documentos originales existentes en el Archivo General de las Indies en Sevilla. Havana. 1927.

"El Siglo XX"

Wright, Irene A., Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana enel Siglo XVI. 2 vols.....en la primera Mitad del Siglo XVIII. Habana. 1927, 1930. Imprenta El Siglo XX.

4008/7j 1120

ECUADOR

Arboleda R., Gustavo, Diccionario biografico de la Republica del Ecuador. Quito. 1910.

Barrera, Isaac J., "Literatura ecuatoriana; apuntaciones historicas", Revista de la Sociedad juridio- literaria de Quito, XXIX (1924), pp. 77-195.

----------, La literatura ecuatoriana Quito. 1924. Imprenta de la Umveisidad central.

Castillo, Abel Romeo, Los Gobernadores de Guayaquil del siglo XVIII (notas para la historia de la civdad dirante los anos de 176 sz 1803. Madrid. 1931.

Imp. de G. Saez.

Inter-Amer. H. Series Ecuador

Destruge, C., Compendio de la historia del Ecuador. 1915 ed.

Gonzalez, Suarez, Historice
General de la Republica del Ecuador. 7 vols. Quito. 1890-1903.

Herrera, Pablo, Ensayo sobre la historia de la literatura ecuatorians. Boletin de la Biblioteia nanol Quito, 1927. Jan.- Feb., pp. 37-65.

Paz y Mino, Suis Telmo, Bibliografia geografica ecuatoriana. Quito. 1927.

Imprenta nacional.

Ecuador, Biog. Dist.
Perez Marchant, Branlio. Discuonario biografico del Ecuador. Quito. 1928.

Escuela de artes y oficios.

Suarez, Gonzalez, Historia General..... del Ecuador. 9 vos. 1890-1903.

Uhle, Max, Bibliografia sobre

etnologia y arqueologia del Ecuador. Anales de la Umveisi dad central. Wuito. 1926, XXXVII, p. 11. Boletin de

4DB|F|J|121

Ecuador- Cont.

la Biblioteca nacional Boletin de la Biblioteca nacional Quito. 1926. nov.- dec. 435-446.

Uhle, Max, Bibliografia sobre etnologia y arqueolojia del Ecuador, Boletin de la Biblioteca nacional. Nueva ser. no 7, pp. 435-446. Quito. 1926.

Uzgategui, Emilio, Historia del Ecuador. Quito. 1932.

Good text book.

ECUADOR

Arboleda R., Gustavo, Diccionario biografico de la Republica del Ecuador. Quito. 1910.

Barrera, Isaac J., "Literatura ecuatoriana; apuntaciones historicas", Revista de la Sociedad juridio- literaria de Quito, XXIX (1924), pp. 77-195.

----------, La literatura ecuatorisma Quito. 1924. Imprensa de la Umveisidad central.

Castillo, Abel Romeo, Los Gobernadores de Guayaquil del siglo XVIII (notas para la historia de la civdad dirante los anos de 176 sz 1803. Madrid. 1931.

Imp. de G. Saez.

Inter-Amer. H. Series Ecuador

Destruge, C., Compendio de la historia del Ecuador. 1915 ed.

Gonzalez, Suarez, Historice
General de la Republica del Ecuador. 7 vols. Quito. 1890-1903.

Herrera, Pablo, Ensayo sobre la historia de la literatura ecuatorians. Boletin de la Biblioteia nanol Quito, 1927. Jan.- Feb., pp. 37-65.

Paz y Mino, Suis Telmo, Bibliografia geografica ecuatoriana. Quito. 1927.

Imprenta nacional.

Ecuador, Biog. Dist.
Perez Marchant, Branlio. Discuonario biografico del Ecuador. Quito. 1928.

Escuela de artes y oficios.

Suarez, Gonzalez, Historia General..... del Ecuador. 9 vos. 1890-1903.

Uhle, Max, Bibliografia sobre

etnologia y arqueologia del Ecuador. Anales de la Umveisi dad central. Wuito. 1926, XXXVII, p. 11. Boletin de

HDB/J/162

Ecuador- Cont.

la Biblioteca nacional Boletin de la Biblioteca nacional Quito. 1926. nov.- dec. 435-446.

Uhle, Max, Bibliografia sobre etnologia y arqueolojia del Ecuador, Boletin de la Biblioteca nacional. Nueva ser. no 7, pp. 435-446. Quito. 1926.

Uzgategui, Emilio, Historia del Ecuador. Quito. 1932.

Good text book.

EL SALVADOR

ADB/Tj/04

Caillet-Bois (sic), Ricardo R., Bibliography of Salvador Debenedetti (leading Ethnographist), Bol. del Inst. de Inv. H., January-July, 1931. Nos. 47-48.

Castro, Alirio Augusto, Datos para la Economia Social Salvadorena. San Salvador. 1922.

Tip La Union

Fuentes, Sr. I. Ismael, Historical documents pertaining to El Salvador.

H. A. H. R., VII, p. 143.

Garcia, Miguel Angel, Dicionario historico enciclopedico de la Republica de El Salvador. ? vols. Salvador. 1927

Tip La Luz.

Gavidia, Francisco, Historia Moderna de El Salvador. San Salvador. n.d.

Reyes, Rafael, Historia del Salvador. 3rd. ed. H.A.H.R., IV, p. 568.

EL SALVADOR

HQB1T1/63

Caillet-Bois (sic), Ricardo R., Bibliography of Salvador Debenedetti (leading Ethnographist), Bol. del Inst. de Inv. H., January-July, 1931. Nos. 47-48.

Castro, Alirio Augusto, Datos para la Economia Social Salvadorena. San Salvador. 1922.

Tip La Union

Fuentes, Sr. I. Ismael, Historical documents pertaining to El Salvador.

H. A. H. R., VII, p. 143.

Garcia, Miguel Angel, Diccionario historico enciclopedico de la Republica de El Salvador. ? vols. Salvador. 1927

Tip La Luz.

Gavidia, Francisco, Historia Moderna de El Salvador. San Salvador. n.d.

Reyes, Rafael, Historia del Salvador. 3rd. ed. H.A.H.R., IV, p. 568.

EL SALVADOR

40B/Tj/64

Caillet-Bois (sic), Ricardo R., Bibliography of Salvador Debenedetti (leading Ethnographist), Bol. del Inst. de Inv. H., January-July, 1931. Nos. 47-48.

Castro, Alirio Augusto, Datos para la Economia Social Salvadorena. San Salvador. 1922.

Tip La Union

Fuentes, Sr. I. Ismael, Historical documents pertaining to El Salvador.

H. A. H. R., VII, p. 143.

Garcia, Miguel Angel, Diccionario historico enciclopedico de la Republica de El Salvador. ? vols. Salvador. 1927

Tip La Luz.

Gavidia, Francisco, Historia Moderna de El Salvador. San Salvador. n.d.

Reyes, Rafael, Historia del Salvador. 3rd. ed. H.A.H.R., IV, p. 568.

AOB Fj 122

GUATEMALA

Diaz, Victor Miguel, Historia de la imprenta en guatemala hasta los trempos de la colonia hasta la epoca actual. Guatemala. 1930.

Escritores del antiguo reino de Guatemala extracto de la biblioteca hispano-americana de Beristain. Guatemala. 1928.

From Archrios del folklore cubano. 1926. (?) Vol. II.

Garna, Marjorie Maury, A. History of Guatemala in the Era of Conservative Rule, 1839-1871. A. M. Thesis Univ. of Cal., Berlsely. 1932.

Garcia Pelaez, Francisco de Paula, Memorias para la Historia del antiguo Reyno de Guatemala. 3 vols. Guatemala, 1851-1852.

Mentioned by Stayer.

Vuarros, Domingo, A Statistical and commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala. London. 1823. Translation by J. Baily of compendro de la Historia de la Cindad de Guatemala.

Porta Mencos, Hamberto, Parnaso Guatemalteco (1750-1928). con notas biograficas y bibliograficas. Guatemala. 1928.

Rodriguez. Beteta, Virgilio. Nuestra bibliografia colonial. Anales de la sociedad de geografia e historia de Guatemala. Guatemala. 1925.

Villa corta C., J. Antonio. Ensayo sobre una bibliografia geografico-historico de Guatemala. Anales de la sociedad de geografia e historia Guatemala. 1925. Ii, pp. 99-111.

ADB/Tj/123

HONDURAS

Belize, Negroes at, Pares, 101, n. 3

Conzemius, Eduard, Ethnographical survey of the Miskito and Samu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua. Washington, 1932 VII (Bur. of Amer. Ethnology. Bulletin 106.

Govt. P. O.

Vallejo, Antonio R., Compendio de la Historia social y politica de Honduras, 2nd. ed. Tegucjalpa. 1911.

GUATEMALA

Diaz, Victor Miguel, Historia de la imprenta en guatemala hasta los trempos de la colonia hasta la epoca actual. Guatemala. 1930.

Escritores del antiguo reino de Guatemala extracto de la biblioteca hispano-americana de Beristain. Guatemala. 1928.

From Archrios del folklore cubano. 1926. (?) Vol. II.

Garna, Marjorie Maury, A. History of Guatemala in the Era of Conservative Rule, 1839-1871. A. M. Thesis Univ. of Cal., Berisely. 1932.

Garcia Pelaez, Francisco de Paula, Memorias para la Historia del antiguo Reyno de Guatemala. 3 vols. Guatemala, 1851-1852.

Mentioned by Stayer.

Vuarros, Domingo, A Statistical and commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala. London. 1823. Translation by J. Baily of compendro de la Historia de la Cindad de Guatemala.

Porta Mencos, Hamberto, Parnaso Guatemalteco (1750-1928). con notas biograficas y bibliograficas. Guatemala. 1928.

Rodriguez. Beteta, Virgilio. Nuestra bibliografia colonial. Anales de la sociedad de geografia e historia de Guatemala. Guatemala. 1925.

Villa corta C., J. Antonio. Ensayo sobre una bibliografia geografico-historico de Guatemala. Anales de la sociedad de geografia e historia Guatemala. 1925. Ii, pp. 99-111.

Haiti

Mulatto families
White planters
Education in France
Societe des Amis des Noirs
Raymond
Vincent Oge
Jean Baptiste Chavannes
Revolution of 1791
Toussaint Louverture
Rigaud
Petion
Leclerc
Rochambeau
Crete-a-Pierrot
Boyer
Sonthonax
Polverel
Emancipation of slaves
Napoleon Bonaparte
Dessalines
Christophe
All of the presidents
All Negro Ministers to Haiti
All white Ministers to Haiti
All Negro consuls to Haiti
Monroe Doctrine
American Intervention
Mole St. Nicholas
Division of Land
Health and Disease
Crime
Religion
    Catholic
    Protestant
    Voodoo
Education
Roads
Public Order
Haitian Art and Literature
  Sculptors
    La Foresterie
    Normil Charles
Architects and Engineers
  (Please list the most important)
Musicians
  La Mothe
  Eli
  Jeanty
  Geffrard
  Native Music
Writers
  Sylvain
  Bellegarde
  J. N. Leger
  Abel Leger
  Marcelin
  Vilaire
  Price-Mars
  Vastey
  Ardouin
  Madiou

HOB/Tj/1606

HOB/Ti/191

Writers, continued
- Linstant-Pradine
- Antenor Firmin
- Hannibal Price

Diplomats
- Stephen Preston
- Ernest Roumain

Hobby 168

Mulatto families
White planters
Education in France
Societe des Amis des Noirs
Raymond
Vincent Oge
Jean Baptiste Chavannes
Revolution of 1791
Toussaint Louverture
Rigaud
Petion
Leclerc
Rochambeau
Crete-a-Pierrot
Boyer
Sonthonax
Polverel
Emancipation of slaves
Napoleon Bonaparte
Dessalines
Christophe
All of the presidents
All Negro Ministers to Haiti
All white Ministers to Haiti
All Negro consuls to Haiti
Monroe Doctrine
American Intervention
Mole St. Nicholas
Division of Land
Health and Disease
Crime
Religion
    Catholic
    Protestant
    Voodoo
Education
Roads
Public Order
Haitian Art and Literature
  Sculptors
    La Foresterie
    Normil Charles
Architects and Engineers
  (Please list the most important)
Musicians
  La Mothe
  Eli
  Jeanty
  Geffrard
  Native Music
Writers
  Sylvain
  Bellegarde
  J. N. Leger
  Abel Leger
  Marcelin
  Vilaire
  Price-Mars
  Vastey
  Ardouin
  Madiou

Haiti continued

HOB-T-169

Writers, continued
- Linstant-Pradine
- Antenor Firmin
- Hannibal Price

Diplomats
- Stephen Preston
- Ernest Roumain

HONDURAS

Belize, Negroes at, Pares, 101, n. 3

Conzemius, Eduard, Ethnographical survey of the Miskito and Samu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua. Washington, 1932 VII (Bur. of Amer. Ethnology. Bulletin 106.

Govt. P. O.

Vallejo, Antonio R., Compendio de la Historia social y politica de Honduras, 2nd. ed. Tegucjalpa. 1911.

HOB|Tj|710

MEXICO

Aiton, Arthur Scott, Antonio de Mendoza, first Viceroy of New Spain, Durham, 1927.

Ch. III takes up laws controlling the conduct of Negro slaves.

NEgro uprising in Mexico

Alboroto y Moten de Mexico del 8 de Junio de 1692. Relacion de Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora en una carta durigida al almirante Don Andres de Pez. Ed. by Irving a Leonard. Mexico, 1932.

Talleres Graficos del Musen Nacional de Arqueologia

Alessi Robles, Vita, Bibliografia de Coahnila. Mexico, 1927.

Monografias Bibliograficos Mexiconos.

Alessio Robles, Vito, Bibliografia de Coahnila. Mexico, 1927.

Imprenta de la Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores

Andrade, Vicente de Paula, Ensayo bibliografico Mexicano del Siglo XVII Mexico, 1899.

Andrade, Vicente de P., Ensayo Bibliografico Mexicano del Siglo XVII. Mexico, 1899

Rojas Cat. No. 391. $7.20 See also Nos. 442, 531, 586.

Bayer, Harmann. Sucinta bibliografia sistematica de etnografia y arqueologia mejicanas. Mexico City. 1923

Sec. de ed. pub.

Beals, Ralph L., The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750. Ibero-Americana. No. 2., 1932. H.A.H.R., XIV, 252.

Bishop, Morris, The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca, New York, 1933. Century, $3.00

Boletin del Centro de Estudios Americanistas. Nos. 36-37 contain: "Censos de la poblacion del virreinato de Nueva Espana en el siglo XVI"

Bolton, Herbert E., Guide to the Materials for United States History in the Archives of Mexico. Washington, 1913.

Prof. Scholes

ADB/mm

40B/J/124

Catalogo sucinto de los manuscritos que posee la Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico, El Libro el Pueblo, April-June, 1925, pp. 4-86.

Cisneros, Mario Guadalupe, De la literatura jalesciense: el folklore literario musical, etc., Mexico. D.F. 1933

Clavijero, F. J., Historia Antiqua de Mexico y de su Conquista. Mexico 1844- 2 vols. $6.75

Rojas. No. 462

Clemence, Stella Risley, "Deed of Emancipation of a Negro Woman Slave, dated Mexico, September 14, 1585" H.A.H.R., X, 51-57.

Diez, Domingo, Bibliografia del estado de Morelos. Mexico, 1933.

Imp. de la Sec. de relaciones exteriores. IV un 27.

Dirrecion general de antropologia, (Dr. Manuel Gamio, Director) La Poblacion del Valle de Teotilinacan. See especially Vol. II, La Poblacion colonial y la Poblacion del Siglo XIX, Mexico City, 1922.

Garcia, Cubas, Antonio. Diccionario Historico, Geografico y Biografico de los E. U. M. Mex. 1896, 5 vols.

Rojas cut. NO. 529. $8.70

Mexico, Bibliography
Garcia Icazbalceba, Joaquin, Bibliografia Mexicana del siglo XVI. Mexico, 1886.

Gonzalez, Obregon, Luis,

Has one of the 2 or 3 finest private libraries in Mexico City.

Harper, Roland M., "The population of Mexico. An analysis. Pan American Magazine, April, 1931.

Heredia, Jose G., Bibliografia de Sinalva. Mexico, 1926.

Hill, Lawrence F., Jose de Escandon and the Founding of Nueva Santander, A Study of Spanish Colonization. Columbus, 1926.

Ohio St. Univ. Press.

40B/HJ 1125

Howren, Alleine, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April, 6, 1830" The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XVI, (1913) pp. 395-398.

Iguiniz, Juan B., "Algunas bibliografias bibliograficas Mexicanos", El libro y el pueblo. Mexico. 1933 VOL. XI.

Iguiniz, Juan B., Bibliografia de novelistas Mexicanos. Mexico, 1926.

"An important bibliographical contribution and quite indispensable to the student of Mexican literature."

Mexico - Biog. Dict.

Iguiniz, Juan B., Bibliografia biografica Mexicana. Mexico, 1930- V.1
H.A.H.R., XI, 403.

Lanuza, Agustin, Romances, tradiciones y leyendas guana-juatenses. Mexico n.d. Rojas, $1.35

Lebesque, Phileas, "Impressions d'un emigrant Francais an Mexique en 1857", Rev. de l'Amerique Latine, April, 1931. H.A.H.R., 1932, 388.

Lelon, Luis Castillo, El Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia y Etnografia, 1825-1925. Mexico City, 1924.

H.A.H.R., VI, 156.

Leon, Nicotas, Bibliografia bibliografica Mexicana. Mexico, 1923.

Talleres del Museo nac. de arq., hist. y etnografia

Leon, Nicolas, Bibliografia bibliografica mexicana. Mexico, 1924.

Leon, N. El Negrito Poeta Mexicano y sus populares versos. Mexico 1912. $3.40. Rojas

Leon, Nicolas. Las castas de Mexico colonial o Nueva Espana. Mexico. 1924. Museo nacional dearqueologia, historia y etnografia. Publicaciones del Departamento de antropologia anatomica. Num. 1. Has also a bibliography.

Lizardi, Fernandez de, "El Pensador Mexicano". In all probability be attached slavery as well as other abuses. For leads, see article by J. R. Spell" "F. de L. as Pamphleteer" H.A.H.R., VII, 104-123.

ADBIJ 126

Lizardi, Fernandex de, "La segunda parte del Negro sensible", A drama by him which was rejected by the Colise o and see the H.A.H.R, VII, 491 ff. for Bibliography of and about him.

Lower California, Negroes in H.A.H.R., XI, 70.

Lutrell, Estelle, comp., Mexican writers: A Catalogue of Books in the University of Arizona Library with Synopses and Biographical notes.

H.A.H.R., IV, 499.

Mecham, J. Lloyd, Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya, Durham, 1927.

Mecham, J. Lloyd, The Northern Expansion of New Spain, 1522-1822. H.A.H.R, VII, 233-276.

Mexico, Negroes in - H.A.H.R., VII, 66.

"In 1608, facatecas and the mines for ten miles around had a population of 1,500 Spaniards and 3,000 Indians, mestizos, and Negroes."

J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Real de Minas as a Political Institution", H.A.H.R., VII, (February, 1927) 1-83.

Mexico, Negroes in,, H.A.H.R., VIII, 167-177, 180, n.

Mexico, Negroes in,

Teran, head of mission to investigate conditions in Texas, and unfriendly to Americans reported in H.A.H.R., 7, 19, "The most of the (i.e.) American in Texas) have slaves, and these slaves are beginning to learn the favorable intent of the Mexican law toward their unfortunate condition and are becoming restless under their yoke, and the masters, in the effort to retain them are making that yoke even heavier. They extract their teeth, set on the dogs to tear them in pieces, the most lenient being he who but flogs his slaves until they are flayed...."

H.A.H.R., IX, 189

H.A.H.T., XI, 211, 253. 70

H.A. H. R., X, 51, ff.
Feb, 25, 1860, earliest census, 13,180 Spaniards, 15,609 Negroes, 2,425 mestizos and, 1,465 mulattoes (p. 53, note 2)

A0B/F/125

Obregon, Baltasar de, Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva Espana. Mexico, 1920.

Ed. by Mariano Cuevas.

Obregon, T. Esquivel, "Factors in the Historical Evolution of Mexico", Hispanic American Historical Review, II, (May, 1919), 135-172.

See especially, 51-152 for his ignoring the Negro.

Ortega y Perez Gallardo, Ricardo, Historia genealogica de las familias mas antiguas de Mexico. Mexico 1908, 3 vols. Rojas, $30.00

Patterson, C. P., Jose Maria Morelos.

Projected H.A.H.R., 1931, 422.

Some one (Rippy, I believe) suggested possibility that he had Negro blood.

Inter-Amer. H. Series, Mexico

Perez Verdia, Luis, Compendio de la historia de Mexico. 1911.

"Relacion de las personas que pasaron a esta Nueva Espana" Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos (Madrid), May-June, July-August, 1917.

Riva Palacio, Vicente, ed. Mexico a traves de los siglos. Mexico and Barcelona, 1887-1889, 5 v.

"This is the most complete and authentic general history of Mexico in the Spanish language", H.A.H.R. VII 243.

Biographical Dict.

Rivera, Manuel, Los Gobernantes de Mexico...from cortes to Juarez, Mexico, 1872-2 vols. portr. $6.60
Rojas Cat., No. 671

Rojas Library, La poblacion del Valle de Teotihuacan...pre-hispanica, colonial y contemporanea, Mexico. 1922.
Rojas, $17.25.

Romero, Jose Guadalupe, Noticias para formar la historia y la estadistica del Estado de Michoacan. Mex. 1862. 2 maps.

Rojas, $4.00

40B-Fj 128

Rydjord, John, "The French Revolution and Mexico", H.A.H.R, IX, (February, 1929) 60-98.

pp. 67-70 for Miranda's proposed exped. but see especially p. 84.

Secretaria de Educacion, Dep. de bibliotecas, El libro y el pueblo. Mexico, 1922-

"A very useful review"

Silva y Aceves, Mariano, "La coleccion folklorica de la Biblioteca del Museo Nacional", Anales del Museo nacional de Arqueologia, etc. (Mexico) July-August, 1925.

Simpson, Lesley, Byrd, The Encomienda in New Spain. Berkeley, 1929, H.A.H.R., XI, 89.

Might have occasional references to slave labor.

Torre, Juan de la, Bosquejo historico y estadistica de Morelia. Mexico, 1883. $3.45

_____, La Villa de Guadalupe See historia, su estadestica, etc. Mex., 1877, $1.50 Rojas.

Valdes A Costa, J. A traves de la centurias...apuntes historicos, relatos Genealogicos, resenas biograficas, etc.

Rojas. $17.25,

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro. Chief of the Division of Publications of the Museo Nacional de Arqueologia Historia y Ethnologia of Mexico City. Expect also for Central America H. H.R. IV, 520.

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, ed., Bibliografia Mexicana. 1930.

His address at that time was Calle 25, Numero 62, Tacubaya, D. F.

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, "Bibliografia Mexicana de 1933", El Libro y el Pueblo Pub. by Secretariat of Public Instruction

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, "Mexican Books and Pamphlets of 1922", H.A.H.R., VI, 276-287.

Impossible to tell whether some of them have pertinent material.

Vasquez de Espinosa, Antonio, Primera parte del compendio y descripcion de

Apr 7 1929

MEXICO CONTINUED

las Indices Occidentales (Peru, Central America. New Spain, about 1628), Published by the Smith-sonian Institution, 193 ?

H.A.H.R., 1932, 390-391

Velasquez, Primo Feliciano, ed.

Coleccion de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosi

Leo Wiener, Author of Africa and the Discovery of America, has also written Mayan and Mexico Origins. Cambridge, Mass, 1926. $60,00 in which he traces them to the Mandigos of Africa. (H.A.H.R., VII, 100-102) James Alexander Robertson says that most persons are likely to laugh at his conclusions. They are, it is true, based almost entirely on linguistic data.

Says Robertson: "Whether one grant or not that Wiener's linguistic data are correct---and the present writer dare not presume to prove or disprove this---he can not fail to be struck by the vast sweep of the test... It should be noted that Wiener's arguments find ready acceptance among many prominent European scholars." Bring out that J. J. Williams in his Hebrevisms of West Africa did the same thing.

Zepeda Rincon, Tomas, La instruccion publica en la Nueva Expana en el siglo XVI. Mexico, 1933.

Williams, Mary W., "Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan", H.A.H.R,IX (May, 1929) 132-143.

MEXICO

Aiton, Arthur Scott, Antonio de Mendoza, first Viceroy of New Spain, Durham, 1927.

Ch. III takes up laws controlling the conduct of Negro slaves.

NEgro uprising in Mexico
Alborote y Moten de Mexico del 8 de Junio de 1692. Relacion de Don Carlos de Siguensa y Gongora en una carta durigida al almirante Don Andres de Pez. Ed. by Irving a Leonard. Mexico, 1932.

Talleres Graficos del Musen Nacional de Arqueologia

Alessi Robles, Vita, Bibliografia de Coahnila. Mexico, 1927.

Monografias Bibliograficos Mexicanos.

Alessio Robles, Vito, Bibliografia de Coahnila. Mexico, 1927.

Imprenta de la Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores

Andrade, Vicente de Paula, Ensayo bibliografico Mexicano del Siglo XVII Mexico, 1899.

Andrade, Vicente de P., Ensayo Bibliografico Mexicano del Siglo XVII. Mexico, 1899

Rojas Cat. No. 391. $7.20 See also Nos. 442, 531, 586.

Bayer, Harmann. Sucinta bibliografia sistematica de etnografia y arqueologia mejicanas. Mexico City. 1923

Sep. de ed. pub.

Beals, Ralph L., The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750. Ibero-Americana. No. 2., 1932. H.A.H.R., XIV, 252.

Bishop, Morris, The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca, New York, 1933. Century, $3.00

Boletin del Centro de Estudios Americanistas. Nos. 36-37 contain: "Censos de la poblacion del virreinato de Nueva Espana en el siglo XVI"

Bolton, Herbert E., Guide to the Materials for United States History in the Archives of Mexico. Washington, 1913.

Prof. Scholes

40B17 149

Catalogo sucinto de los manuscritos que posee la Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico, El Libro el Pueblo, April-June, 1925, pp. 4-86.

Cisneros, Mario Guadalupe, De la literatura jalesciense: el folklore literario musical, etc., Mexico. D.F. 1933

Clavijero, F. J., Historia Antiqua de Mexico y de su Conquista. Mexico 1844-2 vols. $6.75

Rojas. No. 462

Clemense, Stella Risley, "Deed of Emancipation of a Negro Woman Slave, dated Mexico, September 14, 1585" H.A.H.R., X, 51057.

Diez, Domingo, Bibliografia del estado de Morelos. Mexico, 1933.

Imp. de la Sec. de relaciones exteriores. IV un 27.

Dirrecion general de antropologia, (Dr. Manuel Gamio, Director) La Poblacion del Valle de Teotilinacan. See especially Vol. II, La Poblacion colonial y la Poblacion del Siglo XIX, Mexico City, 1922.

Garcia, Cubas, Antonio. Diccionario Historico, Geografico y Biografico de los E. U. M. Mex. 1896, 5 vols.

Rojas cut. NO. 529. $8.70

Mexico, Bibliography

Garcia Icasbalceba, Joaquin, Bibliografia Mexicana del siglo XVI. Mexico, 1886.

Gonzalez, Obregon, Luis,

Has one of the 2 or 3 finest private libraries in Mexico City.

Harper, Roland M., "The population of Mexico. An analysis. Pan American Magazine, April, 1931.

Heredia, Jose G., Bibliografia de Sinalva. Mexico, 1926.

Hill, Lawrence F., Jose de Escandon and the Founding of Nueva Santander, A Study of Spanish Colonization. Columbus, 1926.

Ohio St. Univ. Press.

408 J 150

Howren, Alleine, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April, 6, 1830" The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XVI, (1915) pp. 395-398.

Iguiniz, Juan B., "Algunas bibliografias bibliograficas Mexicanos", El libro y el pueblo. Mexico. 1933 VOL. XI.

Iguiniz, Juan B., Bibliografia de novelistas Mexicanos. Mexico, 1926.

"An important bibliographical contribution and quite indispensable to the student of Mexican literature."

Mexico - Biog. Dict.

Iguiniz, Juan B., Bibliografia biografica Mexicana. Mexico, 1930- V.1 H.A.H.R., XI, 403.

Lanuza, Agustin, Romances, tradiciones y leyendas guana-juatenses. Mexico n.d. Rojas, $1.35

Lebesque, Phileas, "Impressions d'un emigrant Francais an Mexique en 1857", Rev. de l'Amerique Latine, April, 1931. H.A.H.R., 1932, 388.

Lelon, Luis Castillo, El Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia y Etnografia, 1825-1925. Mexico City, 1924.

H.A.H.R., VI, 156.

Leon, Nicotas, Bibliografia bibliografica Mexicana. Mexico, 1923.

Talleres del Museo nac. de arq., hist. y etnografia

Leon, Nicolas, Bibliografia bibliografica mexicana. Mexico, 1924.

Leon, N. El Negrito Poeta Mexicano y sus populares versos. Mexico 1912. $3.40. Rojas

Leon, Nicolas. Las castas de Mexico colonial o Nueva Espana. Mexico. 1924. Museo nacional dearqueologia, historia y etnografia. Publicaciones del Departamento de antropologia anatomica. Num. 1. Has also a bibliography.

Lizardi, Fernandez de, "El Pensador Mexicano". In all probability be attached slavery as well as other abuses. For leads, see article by J. R. Spell" "F. de L. as Pamphleteer" H.A.H.R., VII, 104-123.

Lizardi, Fernandez de, "La segunda parte del Negro sensible", A drama by him which was rejected by the Coliseo and see the H.A.H.R, VII, 491 ff. for Bibliography of and about him.

Lower California, Negroes in H.A.H.R., XI, 70.

Lutrell, Estelle, comp., Mexican writers: A Catalogue of Books in the University of Arizona Library with Synopses and Biographical notes.

H.A.H.R., IV, 499.

Mecham, H. Lloyd, Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Viscaya, Durham, 1927.

Mecham, J. Lloyd, The Northern Expansion of New Spain, 1522-1822. H.A.H.R, VII, 233-276.

Mexico, Negroes in - H.A.H.R., VII, 66.

"In 1606, Fresnillos and the mines for ten miles around had a population of 1,500 Spaniards and 3,000 Indians, mestizos, and Negroes."

J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Real de Minas as a Political Institution", H.A.H.R., VII, (February, 1927) 1-33.

Mexico, Negroes in, H.A.H.R., VIII, 167-177, 180, n.

Mexico, Negroes in,

Teran, head of mission to investigate conditions in Texas, and unfriendly to Americans reported in H.A.H.R., 7, 19, "The most of the (i.e.) American in Texas) have slaves, and these slaves are beginning to learn the favorable intent of the Mexican law toward their unfortunate condition and are becoming restless under their yoke, and the masters, in the effort to retain them are making that yoke even heavier. They extract their teeth, set on the dogs to tear them in pieces, the most lenient being he who but flogs his slaves until they are flayed...."

H.A.H.R., IX, 189

H.A.H.T., XI, 211, 253. 70

HA.A. H. R., X, 51, ff.
Feb, 25, 1860, earliest census, 13,180 Spaniards, 15,609 Negroes, 2,425 mestizos and, 1,465 mulattoes (p. 53, note 2)

MEXICO continued

Obregon, Baltasar de, Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva Espana. Mexico, 1920.

Ed. by Mariano Cuevas.

Obregon, T. Esquivel, "Factors in the Historical Evolution of Mexico", Hispanic American Historical Review, II, (May, 1919), 135-172.

See especially, 51-152 for his ignoring the Negro.

Ortega y Perez Gallardo, Ricardo, Historia genealogica de las familias mas antiguas de Mexico. Mexico 1908, 3 vols. Rojas, $30.00

Patterson, C. P., Jose Maria Morelos.

Projected H.A.H.R., 1931, 422.

Some one (Rippy, I believe) suggested possibility that he had Negro blood.

Inter-Amer. H. Series, Mexico

Perez Verdia, Luis, Compendio de la historia de Mexico. 1911.

"Relacion de las personas que pasaron a esta Nueva Espana" Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos (Madrid), May-June, July-August, 1917.

Riva Palacio, Vicente, ed. Mexico a traves de los siglos. Mexico and Barcelona, 1887-1889, 5 v.

"This is the most complete and authentic general history of Mexico in the Spanish language", H.A.H.R. VII 243.

Biographical Dict.

Rivera, Manuel, Los Gobernantes de Mexico...from cortes to Juarez, Mexico, 1872-2 vols. portr. $6.60
Rojas Cat., No. 671

Rojas Library, La poblacion del Valle de Teotihuacan...pre-hispanica, colonial y contemporanea, Mexico. 1922.
Rojas, $17.50.

Romero, Jose Guadalupe, Noticias para formar la historia y la estadistica del Estado de Michoacan. Mex. 1862. 2 maps.

Rojas, $4.00

25/17/804

HDB/LJ/GD 63

Obregon, Baltasar de, Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva Espana. Mexico, 1920.

Ed. by Mariano Cuevas.

Obregon, T. Esquivel, "Factors in the Historical Evolution of Mexico", Hispanic American Historical Review, II, (May, 1919), 135-172.

See especially, 51-152 for his ignoring the Negro.

Ortega y Perez Gallardo, Ricardo, Historia genealogica de las familias mas antiguas de Mexico. Mexico 1908, 3 vols. Rojas, $30.00

Patterson, C. P., Jose Maria Morelos.

Projected H.A.H.R., 1931, 422.

Some one (Rippy, I believe) suggested possibility that he had Negro blood.

Inter-Amer. H. Series, Mexico

Perez Verdia, Luis, Compendio de la historia de Mexico. 1911.

"Relacion de las personas que pasaron a esta Nueva Espana" Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos (Madrid), May-June, July-August, 1917.

Riva Palacio, Vicente, ed. Mexico a traves de los siglos. Mexico and Barcelona, 1887-1889, 5 v.

"This is the most complete and authentic general history of Mexico in the Spanish language", H.A.H.R. VII 243.

Biographical Dict.

Rivera, Manuel, Los Gobernantes de Mexico...from cortes to Juarez, Mexico, 1872-2 vols. portr. $6.60
Rojas Cat., No. 671

Rojas Library, La poblacion del Valle de Teotihuacan...pre-hispanica, colonial y contemporanea, Mexico. 1922.
Rojas, $17.50

Romero, Jose Guadalupe, Noticias para formar la historia y la estadistica del Estado de Michoacan. Mex. 1862. 2 maps.

Rojas, $4.00

Rydjord, John, "The French Revolution and Mexico", H.A.H.R, IX, (February, 1929) 60-98.

pp. 67-70 for Miranda's proposed exped. but see especially p. 84.

Secretaria de Educacion, Dep. de bibliotecas, El libro y el pueblo. Mexico, 1922-

"A very useful review"

Silva y Aceves, Mariano, "La coleccion folklorica de la Biblioteca del Museo Nacional", Anales del Museo nacional de Arqueologia, etc. (Mexico) July-August, 1925.

Simpson, Lesley, Byrd, The Encomienda in New Spain. Berkeley, 1929, H.A.H.R., XI, 89.

Might have occasional references to slave labor.

Torre, Juan de la, Bosquejo historico y estadistica de Morelia. Mexico, 1883. $3.45

_____, La Villa de Guadalupe See historia, su estadestica, etc. Mex., 1877, $1.50 Rojas.

Valdes A Costa, J. A traves de la centurias...apuntes historicos, relatos Genealogicos, resenas biograficas, et,c.

Rojas. $17.25,

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro. Chief of the Division of Publications of the Museo Nacional de Arqueologia Historia y Ethnologia of Mexico City. Expect also for Central America H. H.R. IV, 520.

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, ed., Bibliografia Mexicana. 1930.

His address at that time was Calle 25, Numero 62, Tacubaya, D. F.

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, "Bibliografia Mexicana de 1933", El Libro y el Pueblo Pub. by Secretariat of Public Instruction

Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, "Mexican Books and Pamphlets of 1922", H.A.H.R., VI, 276-287.

Impossible to tell whether some of them have pertinent material.

Vasquez de Espinosa, Antonio, Primera parte del compendio y descripcion de

ADB/TJ/54

A08 Fiji 130

PANAMA

Academia Panamena de la Historia, Boletin, 1934____

_____, Plans also Publicaciones

H.A.H.R., XIV, pp. 131, 260

SCOTLAND- PANAMA

Hart, Francis Russell, The Disaster of Darien: The Story of the Scots Settlement and the Causes of Its Failure, 1699-1701. Boston and N. Y., 1929. Houghton

Insh, George Pratt, The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, London and New York, 1932. Chars. Scribner's.

Kinnaird, Lucia Burk, "Creassy's Plan for Seizing Panama, with an Introductory Account of British Designs on Panama", H. A. H. R., XIII(February, 1933), pp. 46-78.

Panama, Negroes in, H. A. H. R., XIV, p. 303

Panama, H.A.H.R., XIII, pp. 46-78.

PANAMA

Instituto Nacional de Panama, "The highest institution of learning in the Republic" H.A.H.R., XIV, p. 374.

Panama, Negroes in, H.A.H.R., XIII, pp. 320, 321.

40B-TJ-157

PANAMA

Academia Panamena de la Historia, Boletin, 1934____

_____, Plans also Publicaciones

H.A.H.R., XIV, pp. 131, 260

SCOTLAND- PANAMA

Hart, Francis Russell, The Disaster of Darien: The Story of the Scots Settlement and the Causes of Its Failure, 1699-1701. Boston and N. Y., 1929. Houghton

Insh, George Pratt, The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, London and New York, 1932. Chars. Scribner's.

Kinnaird, Lucia Burk, "Creassy's Plan for Seizing Panama, with an Introductory Account of British Designs on Panama", H. A. H. R., XIII(February, 1933), pp. 46-78.

Panama, Negroes in, H. A. H. R., XIV, p. 303

Panama, H.A.H.R., XIII, pp. 46-78.

PANAMA

Instituto Nacional de Panama, "The highest institution of learning in the Republic" H.A.H.R., XIV, p. 374.

Panama, Negroes in, H.A.H.R., XIII, pp. 320, 321.

April 1931

PARAGUAY

Inter-Amer. H. Series- Paraguay

Baez, C., Resumen de la historia del Paraguay.

Baez, Cecilio, Le Paraguay. Paris. 1927, Bib. Fr.-Amer.

Bibliography

Paraguay, H.A.H.R., XI, pp. 128-129.

Binayan, Narciso, Bibliografias paraguayas, Buenos Aires. 1922. "coni"

Diaz Perez, Viriato, Documentos de 1534a 1600 que se conservanen el circhivo nacional, Primer ensayo de indice. Asuncion. 1909.

From Revista del Instituto Paraguayo X, (1909) pp.985-1,000.

_____, Obras y manusontos referentes al Paraguay que se encunentran en algunas bibliolecas espanolas.

Bibl. of Bibl.

Diaz-Perez, Viriato, Sobre una "bibliografia de bibliografias paraguayas", Revista paraguaya. Asuncion. 1926. pp. 26-37.

Reprint of Binayan's Bib. de. bib. par.

Elliott, Arthur Elwood. Paraguay; its cultural heritage, social conditions and educational problems. N. Y., Teachers College, Columbia, 1931

Godio, Juansilvano.

In 1919 (H.A.H.R.) was in charge of the Archivo Nacional in Asuncion.

Moreno, Fulgencio, R. "Al gunosdatos sobre la geografia etnografica de parte del Paraguay y del alto Perú", Revista Chilena de Historia y geografia. 1st quarter, 1921, H. A. H. R. Iv, p. 864.

Perez, Juan F., Los archivos de la Asuncion del Paraguay. Buenos Aires, 1923 Inst. de Inv. hist. Publ. No. XVI.

Rengger, Johann Rudolph, and Longchampo, _____, The Reign of doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderick de Francia, being an Account of Six years' Residence in that

ADBTJ 132 2-

Republic, from July, 1819- May, 1825, Tr. r. Fr. London, 1827, Fr. and Ger. ed., 1835.

Ritter, Adolfo, The Population of Paraguay. Paper Read at the Second Congress of American History and Geography at Asuncion. October 12-17, 1926. H.A.H.R., VII, p. 381

Robertson, John Parish, and Robertson, William Parish, Letters on Paraguay: Comprising an Account of Four Years' Residence in that Republic under the Government of the Dictator Francia. 2 vols. London, 1939-1839.

Schuster, Adolf N., Paraguay, Land, Volk, Geschichte, Wirtschaftsleben, und Kolonisation. Stuttgart (Strecker und Schroeder), 1929.

H.A.H.R., X, pp. 232-233.

408/Ij/22

PARAGUAY

Inter-Amer. H. Series- Paraguay

Baez, C., Resumen de la historia del Paraguay.

Baez, Cecilio, La Paraguay. Paris. 1927, Bib. Fr.-Amer.

Bibliography

Paraguay, H.A.H.R., XI, pp. 128-129.

Binayan, Narciso, Bibliografias paraguayas, Buenos Aires. 1922. "coni"

Diaz Perez, Viriato, Documentos de 1534a 1600 que se conservanen el circhivo nacional, Primer ensayo de indice. Asuncion. 1909.

From Revista del Instituto Paraguayo X, (1909) pp.985-1,000.

_____, Obras y manusontos referentes al Paraguay que se encuentran en algunas bibliolecas espanolas.

Bibl. of Bibl.

Diaz-Perez, Viriato, Sobre una "bibliografia de bibliografias paraguayas", Revista paraguaya. Asuncion. 1926. pp. 26-37.

Reprint of Binayan's Bib. de. bib. par.

Elliott, Arthur Elwood. Paraguay; its cultural heritage, social conditions and educational problems. N. Y., Teachers College, Columbia, 1931

Godio, Juansilvano.

In 1919 (H.A.H.R.) was in charge of the Archivo Nacional in Asuncion.

Moreno, Fulgencio, R. "Al gunosdatos sobre la geografia etnografica de parte del Paraguay y del alto Peru." Revista Chilena de Historia y geografia. 1st quarter, 1921, H. A. H. R. IV, p. 864.

Perez, Juan F., Los archivos de la Asuncion del Paraguay. Buenos Aires, 1923 Inst. de Inv. hist. Publ. No. XVI.

Rengger, Johann Rudolph, and Longchampe, _____, The Reign of doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderick de Francia, being an Account of Six years' Residence in that

HDB/7j/23

PARAGUAY, continued

Republic, from July, 1819- May, 1825, Tr. r. Fr. London, 1827, Fr. and Ger. ed., 1835.

Ritter, Adolfo, The Population of Paraguay. Paper Read at the Second Congress of American History and Geography at Asuncion. October 12-17, 1926. H.A.H.R., VII, p. 381

Robertson, John Parish, and Robertson, William Parish, Letters on Paraguay: Comprising an Account of Four Years' Residence in that Republic under the Government of the Dictator Francia. 2 vols. London, 1939-1839.

Schuster, Adolf N., Paraguay, Land, Volk, Geschichte, Wirtschaftsleben und Kolonisation. Stuttgart (Strecker und Schroeder), 1928.

H.A.H.R., X, pp. 232-233.

A0B|Tj|133

PERU

Agiiero, Jose de la Riva, ed. Descripcion anonim a del Peru y de Lima a principios del siglo XVII in Congreso de Sevilla (1914).

H.A.H.R., I, pp. 394, 27.

Alfonso, Luis, Hernandez. Virreinafo del Peru. Madrid. 1930. Xavier Morata
H.A.H.R., 1932, 62.

Basadre, Jorge, La Iniciacion de la Republica. 2 vols. Lima. 1928-1929. Casa Editora, F y E. Rosay.
Basadre himself says that he "has tried to study the characteristics and the influence of social classes and their representative personalities during the years after the emancipation from Spain.

Basadre, Jorge, Peru: Problema y Posibilidad. Lima. 1931. His
Hist. of Peru since independence.

Biblioteca de la Univeisidad Mayor de San Marcos, Boletin bibliografico.
Lima. 1923.

Peru, Early Bibliography of H.A.H.R., XIV, pp. 294-295.

Calderon, Francisco Garcia. Le Perou.

Bibl. Fr. Amer. In Prep.

Clemence, Stella R., A Bibliographical Dictionary of about 1,000 16th century Peruvians.

Projected at Geo. W. Univ. H.A.H.R., 1931 p. 421.

Clemence, Stella, The Harkness Collection. Peru 1531-1651. Washington, 1932.

Davalos y Lisson, Pedro, Lai primera centuria, etc. Lima, 1921-1922. 2 vols.

Libreria e Imprenta Gil.

Has important sections on population.

Dorsey, George Amos, A Bibliography of the Anthropology of Peru. Chicago, 1898.
Field Columbia Museum. Publication 23. Anthrop. Series. Vol. II. No. 2.

4DB\TJ\134

Encinas, J. A. organized Biblioteca de Antropologia Peruana in 1929.

Apparently interested in only the Incas. H. A. H. R. pp.14, 526

d'Harcourt, Raoul, L'Argenterie Peruvienne a l'Epoque colomate. Paris. 1927.

Editions Albert Morance.

Leavitt, S. E., Bibliography of Belles-lettres of Peru University of N. C.

Leavitt, Sturgis E., "A Bibliography of Peruvian Literature" to be published by the Romanic Revies. H. A. H. R., IV, p. 823.

"Chilean Literature. H.A.H.R, V, (February, 1921)pp. 116-143, 274-297, 516-534, 760-767. See nos. 23, 43, 137, 167, 267, 269, 295, 346, 413, 417, 418, 435, 436, 564, 598, 600, 604, 605, 606, 610, 667, 669, 689, 769, 772, 891 (?), 953, 1046.

Leguia, Jorge Guillermo, "La Cindad de Lima en el siglo XVIII", Mercurio Peruano (February, 1920)

Means, Philip A., Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780. New York, 1932.

Mendiburn, Manuel de., ed., Diccionario Biografico del Peru. 2nd. ed. with add. and bibl. notes by Evaristo San Cristoval. Vols. I - VI. Lima 1931-1933.

Imprenta Enrique Palacios. Vol. VI goes through letter h.

Mendiburn, Manuel de, Diccionario historico-biografico del Peru. Lima. 1874-90. 8 V.

See also the critique by Jose Toribio Polo.

Menedez y Pelayo

Prado y Ugarteche
Ventura Garcia - Calderon. La Literatora Uruguaya, Rev. Hispan. 1917.

Luis Alberto Sanchez, Los poltas de la colonia. Lima, 1921
(H.A.H.R., IV, p. 496.

Moreno, Gabriel Rene, Biblioteca, Peruana. 1896.

Paz-Soldan, Juan Pedro, Cartas historicas del Peru. 2 vols. Lima. 1920-1921.

PERU continued:

Libreria e Imprenta Gil.

"One of the most important bibliographical achievements relating to the struggles of Peru for independence." Some of the documents relate to Monte agudo.

H.A.H.R., IV, p. 494-495.

Paz-Soldan, Juan Pedro, ed. Diccionario biografico de peruanos contemporaneos. Lima. Libreria e imprenta. Gil. 1917.

Paz-Soldan, Juan Pedro, Diccionario biografico de Peruanos contemporaneos. Lima. 1917. New ed., corrected and enlarged. Lima. 1921.

Perez de Velasco, Francisco. Catalogo de la biblioteca Peruana. Lima, 1918.

Peru. See Doc. No. 145, Jan. 7, 1784 in H. A. H. R., 13, pp. 406-407.

Peru

Scholars are listed on p. 683, vol. II, of H. A. H. R.

Peru, Historical Studies in,
H. A. H. R., 1932, 231 ff.

Written by Jorge Basadre
Mendiliuru's Diccionaria, says Basadre, is along with Medina's La Imprenta en Lima, and Riva Aguero's Historia, the best.

Prado, Javier, "Dondicion social del Peru durante la Dominacion espanola" Anales Universitarios

Proctor, Robert, Narrative of a Journey.....and of a residence in Lima, in 1823 and 1824. Edinburgh. 1925.

Revello, Jose Torre, "Un resumen aproximado de los habitantes del voiginato del Peru en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI", Bol. del Inst. de Inv., H.., No. 40, April-June, 1929.

Romero, Carlos A., Director (1932) of the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima, has (1932) a Historia de la Imprenta en Lima which completes and rectifies the work of Medina. Had not been able to find a publisher.

H.A.H.R., 1932, p. 235.

Apdy/135

408 | 71 | 126

Peru continued

Romero, Carlos A., and Urteaga, Horacio H., Coleccion de Documentos referentes a la Historia de Peru, 2 series. Lima.

Casa Editorial Sanmarti, H.A.H.R., 1932, p. 235.

Salas, Carlos I., Bibliografia de Bernardo Monteagudo. Buenos Aires. 1924.

An English contemporary said that M. was colored.

Salas, Carlos I., Bibliografia de Bernardo Monteagudo. Pamphlet No. XXIII of the Inst. de Invest. Hist. de la facultad de B. A.

Sinclair, Joseph H., Tr. The Conquest of Peru as recorded by a Member of the Pizarro Expedition. New York. 1929. N. Y. P. L.

H. A. H. R., X, pp. 495-497.

Sutchffe, Thomas, Sixteen years in Chile and Peru from 1822 to 1839. London, 1840.

Peru-Anthropology

Tello, Luis C., Bibliografia antropologica del Peru. Lima, 1927. Boletin Bibliografico. V, III, pp.31-36.

Ugarte, Cesar Antonio, Bosquej o de la historia economica del Peru. Lima. 1926.

Impr. Cabieses.

Ugarte, Cesar Antonio, Bosquejo de la Histroia economica del Peru. Lima (?). 1927.

H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 231.

Inter-Amer. H. Series - Peru

Wiesse, C., Historia del Peru. 4 vols. Lima. 1922.

408/T5/24

PERU

Agüero, Jose de la Riva, ed. Descripcion anonima a del Peru y de Lima a principios del siglo XVII in Congreso de Sevilla (1914).

H.A.H.R., I, pp. 394, 27.

Alfonso, Luis, Hernandez. Virreinato del Peru. Madrid. 1930. Xavier Morata H.A.H.R., 1932, 62.

Basadre, Jorge, La Iniciacion de la Republica. 2 vols. Lima. 1928-1929. Casa Editora, F y E. Rosay.
Basadre himself says that he "has tried to study the characteristics and the influence of social classes and their representative personalities during the years after the emancipation from Spain.

Basadre, Jorge, Peru: Problema y Posibilidad. Lima. 1931. His Hist. of Peru since independence.

Biblioteca de la Univeisidad Mayor de San Marcos, Boletin bibliografico. Lima. 1923.

Peru, Early Bibliography of H.A.H.R., XIV, pp. 294-295.

Calderon, Francisco Garcia. Le Perou.

Bibl. Fr. Amer. In Prep.

Clemence, Stella R., A Bibliographical Dictionary of about 1,000 16th century Peruvians.

Projected at Geo. W. Univ. H.A.H.R., 1931 p. 421.

Clemence, Stella, The Harkness Collection. Peru 1531-1651. Washington, 1932.

Davalos y Lissen, Pedro, Lai primera centuria, etc. Lima, 1921-1922. 2 vols.

Libreria e Imprenta Gil.

Has important sections on population.

Dorsey, George Amos, A Bibliography of the Anthropology of Peru. Chicago, 1898. Field Columbia Museum. Publication 23. Anthrop. Series. Vol. II. No. 2.

PORTO RICO

40B/Tj/192

Branderis, Father Hermann, A History of Political Parties in Porto Rico since American Occupation. Ph. D. Thesis, Johns Hopkins

Capo-Rodriquez, Pedro "The Relations between the United States and Porto Rico" American Journal of International Law (, 1919)

Capo-Rodriguez, "Some Historical and Political Aspects of the Government of Porto Rico", Hispanic American Historical Review, III (November, 1919), pp. 543-585.

The Instituto Historico y Geografico of Uruguay has the Archivo de la Escribabia de Gobierno.

Clark, Victor S., Porto Rico and Its Problems,

Coll y Toste C., Historia de la Poesia en Puerto Rico. Boletin Historico de Puerto Rico. 1926. XIII, p. 140-166.

Diffie, Bailey W., and----Justine W. F., Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge. New York, 1931.

Vanguard. H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 346.

Instituto Ibero-Americano, at Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras

Mason, J. Alden, "Porto-Rican Folk-Lore", The Journal of American Folk-Lore (July, September, 1919)

Miller, Paul Gerard, Historia de Puerto Rico, Chicago, N. Y., 1922. Rand, McNally.

Mixer, Knowlton, Porto Rico, history and conditions, social economic and political. New York. 1926.

Newmann Gandia, Edwardo, Benefactores y hombres notables de Puerto Rico. Ponce. 1896-1899.

Has portraits.

Pedreira, Antonio S., Bibliografia Puertorriquena. Madrid, 1932. University of P. R. Monographs, Series A., Spanish Studies. No. 1.

Pedreira, Antonio S., Bibliografia Buertorriquena, 1493-1930. Madrid. 1932.

ADB/rj/93

Revista de Puerto Rico

Rivera, Enrique Torres, "Literatura Portorriquena" Hispanoamerica (Caracas), (January, 1922.)

Van Deusen, Richard James, and Elizabeth K., Porto Rico, a Caribbean Isle, New York, 1931. Holt, p. 350

Rev. in H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 346.

Van Deusen, Richard James. Porto Rico, a Caribbean isle. New York, 1931, Holt

Zenon, Geigel and Ferrer, Abelardo Morales, Bibliografia Puertorriquena, Comp. in 1892-1894. Baralona. 1934.

Editorial Araluce.
H. A. H. R., November, 1936.

PORTO RICO

408/7j/26

Brandeis, Father Hermann, A History of Political Parties in Porto Rico since American Occupation. Ph. D. Thesis, Johns Hopkins

Capo-Rodriquez, Pedro "The Relations between the United States and Porto Rico" American Journal of International Law (, 1919)

Capo-Rodriquez, "Some Historical and Political Aspects of the Government of Porto Rico", Hispanic American Historical Review, III (November, 1919), pp. 543-585.

The Instituto Historico y Geografico of Uruguay has the Archivo de la Escribabia de Gobierno.

Clark, Victor S., Porto Rico and Its Problems,

Coll y Toste C., Historia de la Poesia en Puerto Rico. Boletin Historico de Puerto Rico. 1926. XIII, p. 140-166.

Diffie, Bailey W., and——Justine W. F., Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge. New York, 1931.

Vanguard. H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 346.

Instituto Ibero-Americano, at Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras

Mason, J. Alden, "Porto-Rican Folk-Lore", The Journal of American Folk-Lore (July, September, 1919)

Miller, Paul Gerard, Historia de Puerto Rico, Chicago, N. Y., 1922. Rand, McNally.

Minor, Knowlton, Porto Rico, history and conditions, social economic and political. New York. 1926.

Newmann Gandia, Edmardo, Benefactores y hombres notables de Puerto Rico. Ponce. 1898-1899.

Has portraits.

Pedreira, Antonio S., Bibliografia Puertorriquena. Madrid, 1932. University of P. R. Monographs, Series A., Spanish Studies. No. 1.

Pedreira, Antonio S., Bibliografia Puertorriquena, 1493-1930. Madrid. 1932.

4084/27

Revista de Puerto Rico

Rivera, Enrique Torres, "Literatura Portorriquena" Hispanoamerica (Caracas). (January, 1922.)

Van Deusen, Richard James, and Elizabeth K., Porto Rico, a Caribbean Isle, New York, 1931. Holt, p. 350

Rev. in H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 346.

Van Deusen, Richard James. Porto Rico, a Caribbean isle. New York, 1931, Holt

Zeno, Geigel and Ferrer, Abelardo Morales, Bibliografia Puertorriquena, Comp. in 1892-1894. Baraloma. 1934.

Editorial Araluce.
H. A. H. R., November, 1936.

PORTO RICO

408/Tj/25

Brandeis, Father Hermann, A History of Political Parties in Porto Rico since American Occupation. Ph. D. Thesis, Johns Hopkins

Capo-Rodriquez, Pedro "The Relations between the United States and Porto Rico" American Journal of International Law (, 1919)

Capo-Rodriquez, "Some Historical and Political Aspects of the Government of Porto Rico", Hispanic American Historical Review, II (November, 1919), pp. 543-585.

The Instituto Historico y Geografico of Uruguay has the Archivo de la Escribabia de Gobierno.

Clark, Victor S., Porto Rico and Its Problems,

Coll y Teste C., Historia de la Poesia en Puerto Rico. Boletin Historico de Puerto Rico. 1926. XIII, p. 140-166.

Diffie, Bailey W., and-----Justine W. F., Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge. New York, 1931.

Vanguard. H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 346.

Instituto Ibero-Americano, at Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras

Mason, J. Alden, "Porto-Rican Folk-Lore", The Journal of American Folk-Lore (July, September, 1919)

Miller, Paul Gerard, Historia de Puerto Rico, Chicago, N. Y., 1922. Rand, McNally.

Mixer, Knowlton, Porto Rico, history and conditions, social economic and political. New York. 1926.

Newmann Gandia, Edwardo, Benefactores y hombres notables de Puerto Rico. Ponce. 1896-1899.

Has portraits.

Pedreira, Antonio S., Bibliografia Puertorriquena. Madrid, 1932. University of P. R. Monographs, Series A., Spanish Studies. No. 1.

Pedreira, Antonio S., Bibliografia Puertorriquena, 1493-1930. Madrid. 1932.

Revista de Puerto Rico

Rivera, Enrique Torres, "Literatura Portorriquena" Hispanoamerica (Caracas), (January, 1922.)

Van Deusen, Richard James, and Elizabeth K., Porto Rico, a Caribbean Isle, New York, 1931. Holt, p. 350

Rev. in H. A. H. R., 1932, p. 346.

408/Ji/28

Van Deusen, Richard James. Porto Rico, a Caribbean isle. New York, 1931, Holt

Zenon, Geigel and Ferrer, Abelardo Morales, Bibliografia Puertorriquena, Comp. in 1892-1894. Baralona. 1934.

Editorial Araluce.
H. A. H. R., November, 1936.

SANTO DOMINGO

40B/Tj 195

Adams, Randolph A., "Santo Domingo, A Study in Benevolent Imperialism," South Atlantic Quarterly, (January, 1921), pp. 10-24.

Boggs, Ralph S., Selective bibliography of Dominican Literature. Bulletin Hispanique. Bordeaux. 1930. V. XXXII, pp. 404-412.

(Taylor G. Addison),
Brookings Institution of Washington, Reorganization of the Financial Administration of the Dominican Republic. Washington, 1931.

Gonzalez Arrili, B., La Republica Dominicana y los Estados Unidos. Buenos Aires. 1919 (?)

H.A.H.R., III, p. 650.

Henriquez Urena, Max, Los Estados Unidos y la Republica Dominicana. Havana, 1919.

Inter-Amer. N. Series
Santo Domingo, Not chosen in 1928.

Waxman, Samuel, Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Santo Domingo, 1931. pp. 10, 31.

Waxman, Samuel Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-lettres of Santo Domingo.

SANTO DOMINGO

408/Tj/29

Adams, Randolph A., "Santo Domingo, A Study in Benevolent Imperialism," South Atlantic Quarterly, (January, 1921), pp. 10-24.

Boggs, Ralph S., Selective bibliography of Dominican Literature. Bulletin Hispanique. Bordeaux. 1930. V. XXXII, pp. 404-412.

(Tayler C. Addison),
Brookings Institution of Washington, Reorganization of the Financial Administration of the Dominican Republic. Washington, 1931.

Gonzalez Arrili, B., La Republica Dominicana y los Estados Unidos. Buenos Aires. 1919 (?)

H.A.H.R., III, p. 650.

Henriquez Urena, Max, Los Estados Unidos y la Republica Dominicana. Havana, 1919.

Inter-Amer. N. Series
Santo Domingo, Not chosen in 1928.

Waxman, Samuel, Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Santo Domingo, 1931. pp. 10, 81.

Waxman, Samuel Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-lettres of Santo Domingo.

SANTO DOMINGO

409/47/30

Adams, Randolph A., "Santo Domingo, A Study in Benevolent Imperialism," South Atlantic Quarterly, (January, 1921), pp. 10-24.

Boggs, Ralph S., Selective bibliography of Dominican Literature. Bulletin Hispanique. Bordeaux. 1930. V. XXXII, pp. 404-412.

(Taylor G. Addison),
Brookings Institution of Washington, Reorganization of the Financial Administration of the Dominican Republic. Washington, 1931.

Gonzalez Arrili, B., La Republica Dominicana y los Estados Unidos. Buenos Aires. 1919 (?)

H.A.H.R., III, p. 650.

Henriquez Urena, Max, Los Estados Unidos y la Republica Dominicana. Havana, 1919.

Inter-Amer. N. Series
Santo Domingo, Not chosen in 1928.

Waxman, Samuel, Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Santo Domingo, 1931. pp. 10, 31.

Waxman, Samuel Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-lettres of Santo Domingo.

SANTO DOMINGO

408/7/30

Adams, Randolph A., "Santo Domingo, A Study in Benevolent Imperialism," South Atlantic Quarterly, (January, 1921), pp. 10-24.

Beggs, Ralph S., Selective bibliography of Dominican Literature. Bulletin Hispanique. Bordeaux. 1930. V. XXXII, pp. 404-412.

(Taylor G. Addison),
Brookings Institution of Washington, Reorganization of the Financial Administration of the Dominican Republic. Washington, 1931.

Gonzalez Arrili, B., La Republica Dominicana y los Estados Unidos. Buenos Aires. 1919 (?)

H.A.H.R., III, p. 650.

Henriquez Urena, Max, Los Estados Unidos y la Republica Dominicana. Havana, 1919.

Inter-Amer. N. Series
Santo Domingo, Not chosen in 1928.

Waxman, Samuel, Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Santo Domingo, 1931. pp. 10, 31.

Waxman, Samuel Montefiore, A Bibliography of the Belles-lettres of Santo Domingo.

408/Uj/96

Acevedo, Eduardo, Manual de la historia Uruguaya. 7 vols. Monlevideo 1916-1930.

"Excellent work by one of Uruguay's most capable historian". H. A. H. R., XI, p. 130.

Album Biografico Ilustrado de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay. Buenos Aires. 1930. H. A. H. R., November, 1936, p. 525.

Arauj o, Orestes, Historia compendrada de la Civilizacion Uruguaya. 2 vols. Monlevideo, 1907.

"An unexcelled social history of Ur." H.A.H.R., XI, p. 130.

_____Resumen de la historia del Uruguay. 3rd. ed. Monlevideo, 1904.

Archivo de la Escribania de Goborino in the Instituto Historico y Geografico of Uruguay. The expedientes dealing with Cabildos have many edits dealing with "the bad treatment of slaves." H.A.H.R.,II,p. 657.

Artigas, Jose, Bibliography on H. A. H. R., XI, 108 ff.

Negroes fought in his army.

Azarola Gil, Luis Enrique, Los Origines de Montevideo, 1607-1749. Buenos Aires 1 1933. Libreria y Editorial "La Facultad".

See his other works in H. A. H. R., XIV, p. 375.

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Sobre la Epoca de Artigas. Paris, 1930.
Taken from Fr. archives.

Imprimere Fernand Michel

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Una centuria literaria, 1800-1900 (Poetas y prosistas urugayos). Paris. 1924.

Bibliolecа Mundo-latino.

Barbagelata, Hugo D. L'Uruguay.
Inprep. Paris.
Bibl. Fr. Amer.

Uruguay
Bibliography. H.A.H.R., XI,p. 108.ff.

URUGUAY continued:

408/F1/97

Blandengues.

See Alberto Lasplaraes Life of Artigas and Enrique M. Barba, El Cuerpo de Blandengues de Buenos Aires 1752-1810" in Humani dades (Buenos Aires) XXIII, 1933.

Bollo, Luis Cincinato, founder of the Demographical year book of Uruguay. H. A. H. R., II, p. 675.

Caillava, Domingo A., La literatura guacheesca en el Uruguay. Montevideo, 1921.

Coester, Alfred. A Tentative Bibliography of the belles-lettres of Uruguay. Cambridge. 1931. Har. Univ. Press

De-Maria, Isidro, Compendio de la historia de la republica oriental del Uruguay. 6 vols. Montevideo, 1893-1895.

"One of best,...especially for its economic chapters." 7 or more editions.

Estrada, Dardo, Historia y Bibliografia de la Imprenta en Montevideo 1912. H. A. H. R., II, p. 650.

Inter-Amer. Hist. Series - Uruguay.
Hermano Damascenas (Perret. Ei.), Ensayo de historia patria. Montevideo. 1909.

Revello, Jose Torre, "Los Bailes, los Danzas y las Mascaras en la Colonia" Bol. del Inst. de Inv. H. Buenos Aires. October, December, 1930, Vol. XI, No. 46.

Uruguay

Larranaga, Damaso and Guerra, Jose R., Apuntes historicos sobre el des cubrimiento y poblacion de la Banda Oriental del Riode la Plata y la cindades de Montevideo, Maldonado, Colonia, etc. In Revista Historico, VI-VII (Montevideo, 1913-1915). H. A. H. R., p. 132.

Revista del Archivo General Administrativo, o Colecion de Documentos para servir, al Estudio de la Historia de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay Montevideo, 1918-1920.

Official Ur. compilation - H.A.H.R., XI, 113.

Rio de la Plata
Rev. del. Inst. H. y G. del Uruguay, El Rio de la Plata visto por viajeres alemanes del siglo XVIII, segum cartas traducidas por Juan Muhn", 1930-(vol.VII)

Uruguay
Revista Uruguaya de bibliografia Montevideo, 192____.

408/7j/98

Robaina, Vicente S., "Archivos Portugueses", Revista Historica (Montevideo) 1919 IX. H.A.H.R., XI, p. 110.

Torre Revello, Jose

Great Authority on Rio de la Plata.,H.A.H.R., XIII,pp. 216-217.

Torre Revello, Jose,

Is in charge of research in Europe with HG. at Seville for the Inst. de Inv. Historicas. H. A. H. R., XIV, pp. 262-264.

Zum Felde, Alberto, Proceso historico del Uruguay: esquema de una sociologia nacional. Montevideo. 1919.

Zum Felde, Alberto, Proceso historico del Uruguay. Montevideo. 1920
Written by a sociologist, H. A. H. R., XI, p. 132.

URUGUAY

Acevedo, Eduardo, Manual de la historia Uruguaya. 7 vols. Monlevideo 1916-1930.

"Excellent work by one of Uruguay's most capable historian". H. A. H. R., XI, p. 130.

Album Biografico Ilustrado de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay. Buenos Aires. 1930. H. A. H. R., November, 1936, p. 525.

Arauj o, Orestes, Historia compendrada de la Civilizacion Uruguaya. 2 vols. Monlevideo, 1907.

"An unexcelled social history of Ur." H.A.H.R., XI, p. 130.

_____Resumen de la historia del Uruguay. 3rd. ed. Monlevideo, 1904.

Archivo de la Escribania de Goborino in the Instituto Historico y Geografico of Uruguay. The expedientes dealing with Cabildos have many edits dealing with "the bad treatment of slaves." H.A.H.R., II, p. 657.

Artigas, Jose, Bibliography on H. A. H. R., XI, 108 ff.

Negroes fought in his army.

Azarola Gil, Luis Enrique, Los Origines de Montevideo, 1607-1749. Buenos Aires 1 1933. Libreria y Editorial "La Facultad".

See his other works in H. A. H. R., XIV, p. 375.

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Sobre la Epoca de Artigas. Paris, 1930.
Taken from Fr. archives.

Imprimere Fernand Michel

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Una centuria literaria, 1800-1900 (Poetas y prosistas uruguayos). Paris. 1924.

Biblioteca Mundo-latino.

Barbagelata, Hugo D. L'Uruguay.
Inprep. Paris.
Bibl. Fr. Amer.

Uruguay
Bibliography. H.A.H.R., XI, p. 108.ff.

408/Uj/31

URUGUAY

Acevedo, Eduardo, Manual de la historia Uruguaya. 7 vols. Monlevideo 1916-1930.

"Excellent work by one of Uruguay's most capable historian". H. A. H. R., XI, p. 130.

Album Biografico Ilustrado de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay. Buenos Aires. 1930. H. A. H. R., November, 1936, p. 525.

Arauj o, Orestes, Historia compendrada de la Civilizacion Uruguaya. 2 vols. Monlevideo, 1907.

"An unexcelled social history of Ur." H.A.H.R., XI, p. 130.

_____Resumen de la historia del Uruguay. 3rd. ed. Monlevideo, 1904.

Archivo de la Escribania de Goborino in the Instituto Historico y Geografico of Uruguay. The expedientes dealing with Cabildos have many edits dealing with "the bad treatment of slaves." H.A.H.R.,II,p. 657.

Artigas, Jose, Bibliography on H. A. H. R., XI, 108 ff.

Negroes fought in his army.

Azarola Gil, Luis Enrique, Los Origines de Montevideo, 1607-1749. Buenos Aires 1 1933. Libreria y Editorial "La Facultad".

See his other works in H. A. H. R., XIV, p. 375.

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Sobre la Epoca de Artigas. Paris, 1930.
Taken from Fr. archives.

Imprimere Fernand Michel

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Una centuria literaria, 1800-1900 (Poetas y prosistas uruguayos). Paris. 1924.

Biblioteca Mundo-latino.

Barbagelata, Hugo D. L'Uruguay.
Inprep. Paris.
Bibl. Fr. Amer.

Uruguay
Bibliography. H.A.H.R., XI,p. 108.ff.

408/J 132

URUGUAY continued:

Blandengues.

See Alberto Lasplaces Life of Artigas and Enrique M. Barba, El Cuerpo de Blandengues de Buenos Aires 1752-1810" in Humani dades (Buenos Aires) XXIII, 1933.

Bello, Luis Cincinato, founder of the Demographical year book of Uruguay. H. A. H. R., II, p. 675.

Caillava, Domingo A., La literatura guachesesa en el Uruguay. Montevideo, 1921.

Coester, Alfred. A Tentative Bibliography of the belles-lettres of Uruguay. Cambridge. 1931. Har. Univ. Press

De-Maria, Isidro, Compendio de la historia de la republica oriental del Uruguay. 6 vols. Montevideo, 1893-1895.

"One of best,...especially for its economic chapters." 7 or more editions.

Estrada, Dardo, Historia y Bibliografia de la Imprenta en Montevideo 1912. H. A. H. R., II, p. 650.

Inter-Amer. Hist. Series - Uruguay.
Hermano Damasceenas (Perret. Ei.), Ensayo de historia patria. Montevideo. 1909.

Revello, Jose Torre, "Los Bailes, los Danzas y las Mascaras en la Colonia" Bol. del Inst. de Inv. H. Buenos Aires. Octobery December, 1930, Vol. XI, No. 46.

Uruguay

Larranaga, Damaso and Guerra, Jose R., Apuntes historicos sobre el des cubrimiento y poblacion de la Banda Oriental del Riode la Plata y la cindades de Montevideo, Maldonado, Colonia, etc. In Revista Historico, VI-VII (Montevideo, 1913-1915). H. A. H. R., p. 132.

Revista del Archivo General Administrativo, o Coleccion de Documentos para servir, al Estudio de la Historia de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay Montevideo, 1918-1920.

Official Ur. compilation - H.A.H.R., XI, 113.

Rio de la Plata
Rev. del. Inst. H. y G. del Uruguay, El Rio de la Plata visto por viajeros alemanes del siglo XVIII, segun cartas traducidas por Juan Muhn", 1930-(vol.VII)

Uruguay
Revista Uruguaya de bibliografia Montevideo, 192____.

Robaina, Vicente S., "Archivos Portugueses", Revista Historica (Montevideo) 1919 IX. E.A.H.R., XI, p. 110.

Torre Revello, Jose

Great Authority on Rio de la Plata., H.A.H.R., XIII, pp. 216-217.

Torre Revello, Jose.

Is in charge of research in Europe with HG. at Seville for the Inst. de Inv. Historicas. H. A. H. R., XIV, pp. 262-264.

Zum Felde, Alberto, Proceso historico del Uruguay: esquema de una sociologia nacional. Montevideo. 1919.

Zum Felde, Alberto, Proceso historico del Uruguay. Montevideo. 1920
Written by a sociologist, H. A. H. R., XI, p. 132.

408 | Fj | 33

Acevedo, Eduardo, Manual de la historia Uruguaya. 7 vols. Montevideo 1916-1930.

"Excellent work by one of Uruguay's most capable historian". H. A. H. R., XI, p. 130.

Album Biografico Ilustrado de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay. Buenos Aires. 1930. H. A. H. R., November, 1936, p. 525.

Araujo, Orestes, Historia compendrada de la Civilizacion Uruguaya. 2 vols. Montevideo, 1907.

"An unexcelled social history of Ur." H.A.H.R., XI, p. 130.

_____Resumen de la historia del Uruguay. 3rd. ed. Montevideo, 1904.

Archivo de la Escribania de Goberino in the Instituto Historico y Geografico of Uruguay. The expedientes dealing with Cabildos have many edits dealing with "the bad treatment of slaves." H.A.H.R., II, p. 657.

Artigas, Jose, Bibliography on H. A. H. R., XI, 108 ff.

Negroes fought in his army.

Azarola Gil, Luis Enrique, Los Origines de Montevideo, 1607-1749. Buenos Aires 1 1933. Libreria y Editorial "La Facultad".

See his other works in H. A. H. R., XIV, p. 375.

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Sobre la Epoca de Artigas. Paris, 1930.
Taken from Fr. archives.

Imprimere Fernand Michel

Barbagelata, Hugo D., Una centuria literaria, 1800-1900 (Poetas y prosistas uruguayos). Paris. 1924.

Biblioteca Mundo-latino.

Barbagelata, Hugo D. L'Uruguay.
Inprep. Paris.
Bibl. Fr. Amer.

Uruguay
Bibliography. H.A.H.R., XI, p. 108.ff.

HQ 1H 1/34

URUGUAY continued:

Blandengues.

See Alberto Lasplaces Life of Artigas and Enrique M. Barba, El Cuerpo de Blandengues de Buenos Aires 1752-1810" in Humanidades (Buenos Aires) XXIII, 1933.

Bollo, Luis Cincinato, founder of the Demographical year book of Uruguay. H. A. H. R., II, p. 675.

Caillava, Domingo A., La literatura guachesca en el Uruguay. Montevideo, 1921.

Coester, Alfred. A Tentative Bibliography of the belles-lettres of Uruguay. Cambridge. 1931. Har. Univ. Press

De-Maria, Isidro, Compendio de la historia de la republica oriental del Uruguay. 6 vols. Montevideo, 1893-1895.

"One of best,...especially for its economic chapters." 7 or more editions.

Estrada, Dardo, Historia y Bibliografia de la Imprenta en Montevideo 1912. H. A. H. R., II, p. 680.

Inter-Amer. Hist. Series - Uruguay.
Hermano Damasceno (Perret. Ed.), Ensayo de historia patria. Montevideo. 1909.

Revello, Jose Torre, "Los Bailes, los Danzas y las Mascaras en la Colonia" Bol. del Inst. de Inv. H. Buenos Aires. October, December, 1930, Vol. XI, No. 46.

Uruguay

Larranaga, Damaso and Guerra, Jose R., Apuntes historicos sobre el descubrimiento y poblacion de la Banda Oriental del Riode la Plata y la ciudades de Montevideo, Maldonado, Colonia, etc. In Revista Historico, VI-VII (Montevideo, 1913-1915). H. A. H. R., p. 132.

Revista del Archivo General Administrative, o Coleccion de Documentos para servir al Estudio de la Historia de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay Montevideo, 1918-1920.

Official Ur. compilation - H.A.H.R., XI, 113.

Rio de la Plata
Rev. del. Inst. H. y G. del Uruguay, El Rio de la Plata visto por viajeros alemanes del siglo XVIII, segun cartas traducidas por Juan Muhn", 1930-(vol.VII)

Uruguay
Revista Uruguaya de bibliografia Montevideo, 192____.

HDB17j135

HDB/mj/36

Robaina, Vicente S., "Archives Portugueses", Revista Historica (Montevideo) 1919 IX. H.A.H.R., XI, p. 110.

Torre Revello, Jose

Great Authority on Rio de la Plata., H.A.H.R., XIII, pp. 216-217.

Torre Revello, Jose,

Is in charge of research in Europe with HG. at Seville for the Inst. de Inv. Historicas. H. A. H. R., XIV, pp. 262-264.

Zum Felde, Alberto, Proceso historico del Uruguay: esquema de una sociologia nacional. Montevideo. 1919.

Zum Felde, Alberto, Proceso historico del Uruguay. Montevideo. 1920
Written by a sociologist, H. A. H. R., XI, p. 132.

VENEZUELA

A0B/Ti/09

Aguado, Pedro de, Historia de Venezuela. Con prologo, notas y apendices por Jeronimo Becker., 2 vols. Madrid, 1918.

J. Bexker, publisher

Andara, J. L., La evolucion social y politica de Venezuela curazao. 1904. Imp. de Bethencourt.

Arcaya, Estudios Sobre Personajes y Hechos. December 11, 1910. cited by Pierson, H.A.H.R., 15, 34, n. 49 & 50.

Boletin de la Academia de la Historia (Caracas) "Documentos relativos a la Historia colonial de Venezuela" No. 44 (October-December, 1928) a continuation, See also the following issues -

Each no. of this Boletin has an important bibliographical section.

Boletin, Venezuelan National Academy of History

Check

Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional Sept., 1929 (No. 25), "Folk-Lore Venezolano -- La poesia de la llanura

Catalogo de la Bibliografia Nacional was being published in issues of the Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional de Venezuela.

Catalogo de la Bibliografia Nacional Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional (Caracas) Jan. April, July, 1925.

Contreras, Eleazar Lopez, Bolivar conductor de Tropas. Caracas. 1930.

Editorial Elite. 1930.
(check for Bolivar in Haiti)

Davila, Vicente, Acciones de guerra en Venezuela durante su independencia. Caracas. 1926.

Tipografia Americana. 1926.

Davila Vicente, Diccionario biografico de histres proceres de la independencia suramericana. Caracas. 1924.

VENEZUELA continued

Imprenta "Bolivar"

_____Proceres Trujillanos. Caracas. 1921.

Imprenta "Bolivar"

Davila, Vicente, Diccionario de ilustres proceres de la independencia suramericana. Caracas. 1926.

Tipografia Americana

Diaz, Teniente Coronel F. J., La Batalla de Chacabuco", Rivista Chilena de Historia y Geografia. 3rd quart. Santiago. 1917, pp. 181-223.

Negroes probably fought here as they did at Maipu.

Dollero, Adolfo. Cultura de Venezuela. Caracas. 1933 2 v.

Fortoul, I. G., "Evolucion intelectual de la Republica." Cultura Venezolana, August, 1925.

Gil Fortoul, Jose, Filosofia constitucional. 1890

_____El hombre y la historia. 1896.

Gil Fortoul, Jose, Historia constitucional de Venezuela. 2nd ed. Caracas. 1930.

Name of publisher not given.

Gonzalez, Eloy G., "Caracas en el siglo XIX", Hispanoamerica (Caracas), (January, 1922.)

Gonzalez, Eloy G., Historia de Venezuela desde el Descubrimiento hasta 1830. 2 vols.

In prep. H. A. H. R., X, 257.

Gonzalez Guinan, Francisco, Historia contemporanea de Venezuela. Caracas. 1925.
Tip Empresa El Cojo. 1135pp.

40B1j1101

Jahn, Alfredo, Aspecto fisico y origenes etnicos de Venezuela

A paper of 23 pp. read at the Ibero-Amer. Expos., Seville, October 27, 1929 during Venezuela week. H.A.H.R., X, p. 399

Jahn, Alfredo, Aspecto finco y Origenes etnicos de Venezuela, Cultura Venezolana (Caracas), May, 1930, No. 103

Lanz, Laureano Vallenilla, Cesarismo democratico, Caracas. 1919

Imp. El Cojo

Cited by Peis on H.A.H.R., 15, 10, N. 12, for social inequality on which the Rep. was founded

_____, Criticas de Sinceridad y Exactitud. Caracas. Imp. Bolivar, 1921.

_____, El Sentido Americano de la Democracia. Caracas. 1926. Tip. Universal

Machado, Jose E., Lista de algunas periodicos que vieion la luz en Caracus Caracas de 1808 a 1900. Caracas. 1929.

Lit. y. Tip. Vargas H.A.H.R., X, p. 498.

Machado, Jose E., Viejos canto y viejos cantores. Caracas. 1921. Tipografia Americana.

Has an introduction on Ven. Folk-lore.

Munoz Tebar, Jesus El Personalismo i Legalisino: Estudio Politico. 1890.

A Hacks racial interpretation of history. H.A.H.R., 15, 31.

Parra, Caracciola, Filosofia universitaria venezolana, 1788-1821. Caracas. 1933. Parra Leon Hermanos.

_____, La instruccion en Caracas, 1567-1725. Caracas Para Leon Hermanos.

Parra, Caracciola, La instruccion en Caracas, 1567-1625. Caracas, 1932.

Parra-Perez, C., El Reginen Espanol en Venezuela, Estudio historico. Madrid. 1932

Pierson, William Whatley, Jr., "Foreign Influences of Venezuelan Political Thought, 1830-1930", H.A.H.R., XV, (Feb., 1935), pp. 3-42.

AOB/Hj/102

de Pon's, Francois Raymond Joseph, Viaje a la parte oriental de Tierra Ferme.. Caracas. 1930.

An ed. in Sp. of the famous Voyage a la partie orientale de la Terre-Ferme.

Ratcliff, Dilwyn F., Venezuelan Prose Fiction. New York, 1933. Instituto de las Espanas.

Salas, Julio C., "Etnografia Americana", Cultura Venezolana, (July, 1919)

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo. Anuario Bibliografico de Venezuela, 1916. Caracas. 1919.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo. Anuario Bibliografico de Venezuela, 1916. Caracas. 1917.

Litografia del Comercio.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo, "Bibliografia de las ediciones nacionales y de las extranjeras relativas a Venezuela incompletas o truncas" Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional (Caracas) April, 1925.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo, Bibliografia Venezulanista en el Siglo XIX. Caracas. 1914.

Was director of the Biblioteca nacional, Caracas.

Soto Hall, Maximo, "Relaciones entre Bolivar y Monteagudo", Cultura Venezolano September-October, 1930, No. 106. Caracas.

H.A.H.R., 1931 p 434.

Soto Hall, Maximo. Venezuela, New York, 1921.

Inter- Amer. H. Series

Tejéra, Felipe, Manual de historia de Venezuela

Terrero Monagas, J. C., Ana Carina Rote. Origenes del Militarismo heroico en Venezuela. Caracas. 1933.

Editorial Elite

Good study of Caribs. May have something about mixing with Negroes.

4083/1103

Valenilla Lanz, Dr. L., "Disgregacion e Integracion", Rev. de l'Amer. Lat., July, 1931. H.A.H.R., 1932, p. 388.

Venezuela, Biblioteca nacional, Boletin. Number 1, November, 1923-Caracas, 1923-

_____, Catalogo de la seccion de bibliografia nacional. Caracas. 1921.

Venezuela, Biblioteca nacional. Catalogode la seccion de bibliografia nacional. Caracas. 1930. Ed. "Elite"

Vicente Lecuna, ed., Cartas del Libertador corrigidos conforme a los Originales. 10 vols. Caracas. 1929-1930.

Lit. y Tip. del Comercio.

Last volume has an analytical index.

Villanueva, Jesus Morcano, "Folklore Venezolano", Cultura Venezolana No. 104 (June-July, 1930).

Waxman, S. M., A Bibliography of Belles-lettres of the Spanish West Indies and Venezuela. Harvard.

HDB/G/137

VENEZUELA

Aguado, Pedro de, Historia de Venezuela. Con prologo, notas y apendices por Jeronimo Becker., 2 vols. Madrid, 1918.

J. Becker, publisher

Andara, J. L., La evolucion social y politica de Venezuela curazao. 1904. Imp. de Bethencourt.

Arcaya, Estudios
Sobre Personajes y Hechos. December 11, 1910. cited by Pierson, H.A.H.R., 15, 34, n. 49 & 50.

Boletin de la Academia de la Historia (Caracas) "Documentos relatives a la Historia colonial de Venezuela" No. 44 (October-December, 1928) a continuation. See also the following issues -

Each no. of this Boletin has an important bibliographical section.

Boletin, Venezuelan National Academy of History

Check

Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional Sept., 1929 (No. 25), "Folk-Lore Venezolano -- La poesia de la llanura

Catalogo de la Bibliografia Nacional was being published in issues of the Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional de Venezuela.

Catalogo de la Bibliografia Nacional Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional (Caracas) Jan. April, July, 1925.

Contreras, Eleazar Lopez, Bolivar conductor de Tropas. Caracas. 1930.

Editorial Elite. 1930.
(check for Bolivar in Haiti)

Davila, Vicente, Acciones de guerra en Venezuela durante su independencia. Caracas. 1926.

Tipografia Americana. 1926.

Davila Vicente, Diccionario biografico de histres proceres de la independencia suramericana. Caracas. 1924.

VENEZUELA continued

Imprenta "Bolivar"

_____Proceres Trujillanos. Caracas. 1921.

Imprenta "Bolivar"

Davila, Vicente, Diccionario de ilustres proceres de la independencia suramericana. Caracas. 1926.

Tipografia Americana

Diaz, Teniente Coronel F. J., La Batalla de Chacabuco", Rivista Chilena de Historia y Geografia. 3rd quart. Santiago. 1917, pp. 181-223.

Negroes probably fought here as they did at Maipu.

Dellero, Adolfo. Cultura de Venezuela. Caracas. 1933 2 v.

Fortoul, I. G., "Evolucion intelectual de la Republica." Cultura Venezolana, August, 1925.

Gil Fortoul, Jose, Filosofia constitucional. 1890

_____El hombre y la historia. 1896.

Gil Fortoul, Jose, Historia constitucional de Venezuela. 2nd ed. Caracas. 1930.

Name of publisher not given.

Gonzalez, Eloy G., "Caracas en el siglo XIX", Hispanoamerica (Caracas), (January, 1922.)

Gonzalez, Eloy G., Historia de Venezuela desde el Descubrimiento hasta 1830. 2 vols.

In prep. H. A. H. R., X, 257.

Gonzalez Guinan, Francisco, Historia contemporanea de Venezuela. Caracas. 1925.
Tip Empresa El Cojo. 1135pp.

HDBLM 1139

Jahn, Alfredo, Aspecto fisico y origenes etnicos de Venezuela

A paper of 23 pp. read at the Ibero-Amer. Expos., Seville, October 27, 1929 during Venezuela week. H.A.H.R., X, p. 399

Jahn, Alfredo, Aspecto fisco y Origenes etnicos de Venezuela, Cultura Venezolana (Caracas), May, 1930, No. 103

Lanz, Laureano Vallenilla, Cesarismo democratico, Caracas. 1919

Imp. El Cojo

Cited by Peis on H.A.H.R., 15, 10, N. 12, for social inequality on which the Rep. was founded

_____, Criticas de Sinceridad y Exactitud. Caracas. Imp. Bolivar, 1921.

_____, El Sentido Americano de la Democracia. Caracas. 1926. Tip. Universal

Machado, Jose E., Lista de algunas periodicos que vision la luz en Caracus Caracas de 1808 a 1900. Caracas. 1929.

Lit. y. Tip. Vargas H.A.H.R., X, p. 498.

Machado, Jose E., Viejos canto y viejos cantores. Caracas. 1921. Tipografia Americana.

Has an introduction on Ven. Folk-lore.

Munoz Tebar, Jesus El Personalismo i Legalismo: Estudio Politico. 1890.

A Hasks racial interpretation of history. H.A.H.R., 15, 31.

Parra, Caracciola, Filosofia universitaria venezolana, 1788-1821. Caracas. 1933. Parra Leon Hermanos.

_____, La instruccion en Caracas, 1567-1725. Caracas Para Leon Hermanos.

Parra, Caracciola, La instruccion en Caracas, 1567-1625. Caracas, 1932.

Parra-Perez, C., El Regimen Espanol en Venezuela, Estudio historico. Madrid. 1932

Pierson, William Whatley, Jr., "Foreign Influences of Venezuelan Political Thought, 1830-1930", H.A.H.R., XV, (Feb., 1935), pp. 3-42.

HD8161.A4

de Pon's, Francois Raymond Joseph, Viaje a la parte oriental de Tierra Firme. Caracas. 1930.

An ed. in Sp. of the famous Voyage a la partie orientale de la Terre-Ferme.

Matoliff, Dilwyn F., Venezuelan Prose Fiction. New York, 1933. Instituto de las Espanas.

Salas, Julio C., "Etnografia Americana", Cultura Venezolana, (July, 1919)

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo. Anuario Bibliografico de Venezuela, 1916. Caracas. 1918.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo. Anuario Bibliografico de Venezuela, 1916. Caracas. 1917.

Litografia del Comercio.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo, "Bibliografia de las ediciones nacionales y de las extranjeras relativas a Venezuela incompletas o truncas" Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional (Caracas) April, 1925.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo, Bibliografia Venezulanista en el Siglo XIX. Caracas. 1914.

Was director of the Biblioteca nacional, Caracas.

Soto Hall, Maximo, "Relaciones entre Bolivar y Montesgudo", Cultura Venezolano September-October, 1930, No. 106. Caracas.

H.A.H.R., 1931 p 434.

Soto Hall, Maximo. Venezuela, New York, 1921.

Inter- Amer. H. Series

Tejera, Felipe, Manual de historia de Venezuela

Terrero Monagas, J. C., Ana Carina Rote. Origenes del Militarismo heroico en Venezuela. Caracas. 1933.

Editorial Elite

Good study of Caribs. May have something about mixing with Negroes.

H08/1141

Valenilla Lanz, Dr. L., "Disgregacion e Integracion", Rev. de l'Amer. Lat., July, 1931. H.A.H.R., 1932, p. 588.

Venezuela, Biblioteca nacional, Boletin. Number 1, November, 1923-Caracas, 1923-

_____, Catalogo de la seccion de bibliografia nacional. Caracas. 1921.

Venezuela, Biblioteca nacional. Catalogode la seccion de bibliografia nacional. Caracas. 1930. Ed. "Elite"

Vicente Lecuna, ed., Cartas del Libertador corrigidos conforme a los Originales. 10 vols. Caracas. 1929-1930.

Lit. y Tip. del Comercio.

Last volume has an analytical index.

Villanueva, Jesus Moreano, "Folklore Venezolano", Cultura Venezolana No. 104 (June-July, 1930).

Waxman, S. M., A Bibliography of Belles-lettres of the Spanish West Indies and Venezuela. Harvard.

4081.7 | 42

VENEZUELA

Aguado, Pedro de, Historia de Venezuela. Con prelogo, notas y apendices por Jeronimo Becker., 2 vols. Madrid, 1918.

J. Bexker, publisher

Andara, J. L., La evolucion social y politica de Venezuela curazao. 1904. Imp. de Bethencourt.

Arcaya, Estudios
Sobre Personajes y Hechos. December 11, 1910. cited by Pierson, H.A.H.R., 15, 34, n. 49 & 50.

Boletin de la Academia de la Historia (Caracas) "Documentos relatives a la Historia colonial de Venezuela" No. 44 (October-December, 1928) a continuation. See also the following issues -

Each no. of this Boletin has an important bibliographical section.

Boletin, Venezuelan National Academy of History

Check

Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional Sept., 1929 (No. 25), "Folk-Lore Venezolano — La poesia de la llanura

Catalogo de la Bibliografia Nacional was being published in issues of the Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional de Venezuela.

Catalogo de la Bibliografia Nacional Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional (Caracas) Jan. April, July, 1925.

Contreras, Eleazar Lopez, Bolivar conductor de Tropas. Caracas. 1930.

Editorial Elite. 1930.
(check for Bolivar in Haiti)

Davila, Vicente, Acciones de guerra en Venezuela durante su independencia. Caracas. 1926.

Tipografia Americana. 1926.

Davila Vicente, Diccionario biografico de histres proceres de la independencia suramericana. Caracas. 1924.

VENEZUELA continued

HOB/Vj/43

Imprenta "Bolivar"

_____ Proceres Trujillanos. Caracas. 1921.

Imprenta "Bolivar"

Davila, Vicente, Diccionario de ilustres proceres de la independencia sudamericana. Caracas. 1926.

Tipografia Americana

Diaz, Teniente Coronel F. J., La Batalla de Chacabuco", Rivista Chilena de Historia y Geografia. 3rd quart. Santiago. 1917, pp. 181-225.

Negroes probably fought here as they did at Maipu.

Dellero, Adolfo. Cultura de Venezuela. Caracas. 1933 2 v.

Fortoul, I. G., "Evolucion intelectual de la Republica." Cultura Venezolana, August, 1925.

Gil Fortoul, Jose, Filosofia constitucional. 1890

_____ El hombre y la historia. 1896.

Gil Fortoul, Jose, Historia constitucional de Venezuela. 2nd ed. Caracas. 1930.

Name of publisher not given.

Gonzalez, Eloy G., "Caracas en el siglo XIX", Hispanoamerica (Caracas), (January, 1922.)

Gonzalez, Eloy G., Historia de Venezuela desde el Descubrimiento hasta 1830. 2 vols.

In prep. H. A. H. R., X, 257.

Gonzalez Guinan, Francisco, Historia contemporanea de Venezuela. Caracas. 1925.
Tip Empresa El Cojo. 1135pp.

408 H1144

Jahn, Alfredo, Aspecto fisico y origenes etnicos de Venezuela

A paper of 23 pp. read at the Ibero-Amer. Expos., Seville, October 27, 1929 during Venezuela week. H.A.H.R., X, p. 399

Jahn, Alfredo, Aspecto finco y Origenes etnicos de Venezuela, Cultura Venezolana (Caracas), May, 1930, No. 105

Lanz, Laureano Vallenilla, Cesarismo democratico, Caracas. 1919

Imp. El Cojo

Cited by Peis on H.A.H.R., 15, 10, N. 12, for social inequality on which the Rep. was founded

_____, Criticas de Sinceridad y Exactitud. Caracas. Imp. Bolivar, 1921.

_____, El Sentido Americano de la Democracia. Caracas. 1926. Tip. Universal

Machado, Jose E., Lista de algunas periodicos que vieion la luz en Caracus Caracas de 1808 a 1900. Caracas. 1929.

Lit. y. Tip. Vargas H.A.H.R., X, p. 498.

Machado, Jose E., Viejos canto y viejos cantores. Caracas. 1921. Tipografia Americana.

Has an introduction on Ven. Folk-lore.

Munoz Tebar, Jesus El Personalismo i Legalismo: Estudio Politico. 1890.

A Hacks racial interpretation of history. H.A.H.R., 15, 31.

Parra, Caracciola, Filosofia universitaria venezolana, 1788-1821. Caracas. 1933. Parra Leon Hermanos.

_____, La instruccion en Caracas, 1567-1725. Caracas Para Leon Hermanos.

Parra, Caracciola, La instruccion en Caracas, 1567-1625. Caracas, 1932.

Parra-Perez, C., El Reginen Espanol en Venezuela, Estudio historico. Madrid. 1932

Pierson, William Whatley, Jr., "Foreign Influences of Venezuelan Political Thought, 1830-1930", H.A.H.R., XV, (Feb., 1935), pp. 3-42.

HD8171 .A46

de Pon's, Francois Raymond Joseph, Viaje a la parte oriental de Tierra [redacted] Caracas. 1930.

An ed. in Sp. of the famous Voyage a la partie orientale de la Terre-Ferme.

Matcliff, Dilwyn F., Venezuelan Prose Fiction. New York, 1933. Instituto de las Espanas.

Salas, Julio C., "Etnografia Americana", Cultura Venezolana, (July, 1919)

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo. Anuario Bibliografico de Venezuela, 1916. Caracas. 1918.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo. Anuario Bibliografico de Venezuela, 1916. Caracas. 1917.

Litografia del Comercio.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo, "Bibliografia de las ediciones nacionales y de las extranjeras relativas a Venezuela incompletas o truncas" Boletin de la Biblioteca Nacional (Caracas) April, 1925.

Sanchez, Manuel Segundo, Bibliografia Venezulanista en el Siglo XIX. Caracas. 1914.

Was director of the Biblioteca nacional, Caracas.

Soto Hall, Maximo, "Relaciones entre Bolivar y Monteagudo", Cultura Venezolano September-October, 1930, No. 106. Caracas.

H.A.H.R., 1931 p 434.

Soto Hall, Maximo. Venezuela, New York, 1921.

Inter- Amer. H. Series

Tejera, Felipe, Manual de historia de Venezuela

Terrero Monagas, J. C., Ana Carina Rote. Origenes del Militarismo heroico en Venezuela. Caracas. 1933.

Editorial Elite

Good study of Caribs. May have something about mixing with Negroes.

94/57/1804

Valenilla Lanz, Dr. L., "Disgregacion e Integracion", Rev. de l'Amer. Lat., July, 1931. H.A.H.R., 1932, p. 388.

Venezuela, Biblioteca nacional, Boletin. Number 1, November, 1923-Caracas, 1923-

_____, Catalogo de la seccion de bibliografia nacional. Caracas. 1921.

Venezuela, Biblioteca nacional. Catalogode la seccion de bibliografia nacional. Caracas. 1930. Ed. "Elite"

Vicente Lecuna, ed., Cartas del Libertador corrigidos conforme a los Originales. 10 vols. Caracas. 1929-1930.

Lit. y Tip. del Comercio.

Last volume has an analytical index.

Villanueva, Jesus Moreano, "Folklore Venezolano", Cultura Venezolana No. 104 (June-July, 1930).

Waxman, S. M., A Bibliography of Belles-lettres of the Spanish West Indies and Venezuela. Harvard.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Booy, Theodoor de, and Faris, John B., The Virgin Islands Our New Possessions. Philadelphia. 1918. Lippincott

Booy was born in Netherlands

McGuire, J. W., Geographic Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the U. S., Washington, 1925. G. P. O., H.A.H.R., VI, p.157.

Zabriskie, Luther K., The Virgin Islands of the United States of America, Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources. New York, 1918.

G. P. Putman, H. A. H. R., I, pp. 190-191.

ADB 7/1104

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Booy, Theodoor de, and Paris, John B., The Virgin Islands Our New Possessions. Philadelphia. 1918. Lippincott

Booy was born in Netherlands

McGuire, J. W., Geographic Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the U. S., Washington, 1925. G. P. O., H.A.H.R., VI, p.197.

Zabriskie, Luther K., The Virgin Islands of the United States of America, Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources. New York, 1918.

G. P. Putnam, H. A. H. R., I, pp. 190-191.

4/19/47

HOB 17.1 47

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Booy, Theodoor de, and Paris, John B., The Virgin Islands Our New Possessions. Philadelphia. 1918. Lippincott

Booy was born in Netherlands

McGuire, J. W., Geographic Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the U. S., Washington, 1925. G. P. O., H.A.H.R., VI, p.157.

Zabriskie, Luther K., The Virgin Islands of the United States of America, Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources. New York, 1918.

G. P. Putnam, H. A. H. R., I, pp. 190-191.

Bibliography on Negro in Chicago — Wright....

Select Biography

Documents

Chicago, Board of Election Commissioners of the City of Chicago, Records (unpublished).

_____. Council Proceedings.

_____. Police Department, Records (unpublished).

Chicago Crime Commission, Records (unpublished).

Cook County Commissioners, Official Record of Proceedings. 1896-1900, 1903-10, 1929-34.

Democratic National Convention, Official Report of the Proceedings, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1932.

Illinois, Illinois Blue Book, 1877-1933.

_____, Journal of the House of Representatives.

_____, Laws of Illinois.

Republican Campaign Textbook, 1900, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1932.

Republican National Convention, Official Proceedings, 1868-1932.

United States Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census: Occupation: Statistics: 1930.

_____. "Negroes in the United States." Washington, Government Printing Office, 1915.

_____, "Negro Population 1790-1916." Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918.

_____, Religious Bodies: 1926.

_____, Thirteenth Census, 1910: Population

United States Bureau of Education Statistics, "Statistics of Education of the Negro Race, 1925-26." Washington, Government Printing Office, 1928.

41112F11

United States Congress, Congressional Record, 56th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd Congresses.

United States Congress, Senate, Hearings before a Special Committee Investigating Campaign Expenditures in Senatorial Primary and General Elections, 1926, 69th Congress, 1st session, Part II, (Reed Committee).

_____, Positions Not Under the Civil Service, Document No. 173, 72nd Congress, 2nd Session.

_____, Select Committee on Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, Part 2, Illinois (Nye Committee).

United States Congress, Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 70th Congress, 2nd Session Influencing Appointments to Postmasterships, Hearings.
Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929.

United States Department of Labor, "Negro Migration in 1916-1917."
Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919.

United States Women's Bureau, Negro women in Industry.
Washington, Government Printing Office, 1922.

411 12 F 12

Select Bibliography

Books and Publications

Andreas, A. T., History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884-86.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1928, "The American Negro" (Donald Yound, ed.), Philadelphia, 1928.

Associated Negro Press, Annual, 1919-20. Chicago, Associated Negro Press, 1920.

Ayer, N. W. and Sons, Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. 1880-1934 (title varies). Philadelphia: Ayer and Sons.

Bancroft, Frederic A., A Sketch of the Negro in Politics. especially in South Carolina and Mississippi. New York: J. F. Pearson, printer, 1885.

Binder, Carroll, Chicago and the New Negro. Chicago: Chicago Daily News, 1927.

Bogardus, Emory S., Immigration and Race Attitudes. Boston and New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1928.

Bond, Horace M., An investigation of the Non-intellectual Traits of a Group of Negro Normal School Students. University of Chicago (A. M. Thesis). 1926.

Bowen, L. de K., The Colored People of Chicago: An Investigation Made for the Juvenile Protective Association Chicago, 1913.

Bowers, Claude G., The Tragic Era. Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1929.

41112F13

Brawley, Benjamin Griffith, Social History of the American Negro, Being a History of the Negro Problem in the United States. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921.

Breckinridge, Sophonisba P., "Housing Conditions in Chicago, Illinois. Back of the Yards." American Journal of Sociology, 16, p. 433. Chicago, 1911.

Bright, John, Hizzoner Big Bill Thompson. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930.

Bunche, R. J., "The Thompson-Negro Alliance," Opportunity, VII (March, 1929), 79.

Burgess, Ernest W. and Newcomb, Charles (editors), Census Data of the City of Chicago: 1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933.

Chestnutt, Charles Waddell, Frederick Douglas. Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1899.

Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro In Chicago. Chicago: Illinois, The Univerdity of Chicago Press, 1922.

Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year Book, 1886-1934.

Chicago Vice Commission, The Social Evil in Chicago. Chicago: A report submitted to the Mayor and City Council of Chicago. 4th Edidion. Republished by Vice Commission of Chicago, inc., for distribution by American Vigilance Association, 1912.

4112F14

Select Bibliography

Newspapers

Illinois, BRoad Ax, 1897-1927.
Chicago Bee, 1930-34.
Chicago Daily News, 1905-1934.
Chicago Daily Times, 1929-1934.
Chicago Defender, 1914-1934.
Chicago Evening American, 1922-1934.
Chicago Herald and Examiner, 1920-1934.
Chicago Journal, 1922-1928.
Chicago Record Herald, 1907.
Chicago Review, 1931-1933.
Chicago Tribune, 1876-1934.
Chicago Whip, 1919-1932.
Chicago World, 1930-1933.
Maryland, Afro-American, 1929, 1932.
New York, Amsterdam News, 1932.
Daily Worker, 1924-1934.
New York Age, 1929-1932.
New York Times, 1928-1929.
New York World, 1907, 1928.
Ohio, Cincinnati Union, 1931-1932.
Oklahoma, Oklahoma Eagle, 1932.
Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh Courier, 1928-1932.
Tennessee, Nashville Globe, 1929.
Washington, D. C., Washington Tribune, 1928-1929.

41/12F5

Books and Publications continued.

Counts, George Sylvester, School and Society in Chicago. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928.

De Saible Association, Chicago, Souvenir of Negro Progress, Chicago, 1779-1925. Chicago, 1925.

Detroit Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Report, 1927. Detroit: Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1927.

Detweiler, Frederick German, The Negro Press in the United States, University of Chicago (Ph. D. Thesis) 1922.

Douglass, Frederick, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass. Hartford, Conn.: Park Publishing Co., 1882.

Dowd, Jerome, The Negro in American Life. New York: Century Co., 1926.

Drewry, William Sidney, Slave Insurrections in Virginia (1830-1865). Washington: The Neale Co., 1900.

DuBois, William Edward Burghardt, The Philadelphia Negro, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.

_____, The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1904.

Duke, Charles S., The Housing Situation and the Colored People of Chicago. Chicago, 1919.

Duncan, Hannibal Gerald, The Changing Race Relationships in the Border and Northern States. University of Penn. (Ph. D. Thesis) Philadelphia, 1922.

A1 12F14

Dutcher, Dean, The Negro in Modern Industrial Society. Columbia University (Ph. D. Thesis). Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1930.

Embree, Edwin R., Brown America. New York: Viking Press, 1931.

Farley, John William, Statistics and Politics (2nd ed.). Memphis, Tennessee: Saxland Publishing Co., 1920.

Feldman, Herman, Racial Factors in American Industry. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1931.

Ferguson, George Oscar, The Psychology of the Negro; An Experimental Study. Columbia University, (Ph. D. Thesis), New York, 1916.

Fisher, Miles Mark, The Master's Slave, Elijah John Fisher. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1922.

Fisher, Miles Mark, The History of the Olivet Baptist Church of Chicago. University of Chicago. (A. M. Thesis), 1922.

Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Family in Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

Gibson, J. W. and Crogman, W. H., The Colored American. Atlanta: J. L. Nichols and Co., 1903.

Harris, A. L. and Spero, S., "Negro Problem," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, XI, 335-56.

Harris, H. L., Jr., "Negro Mortality Rates in Chicago." Social Service Review, I, March, 1927.

Harris, Norman Dwight, The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in that State. 1719-1864. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1904.

41 12F 17

Herrick, Mary Josephine, Negro Employees of the Chicago Board of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago (Master's Thesis), 1931.

Hershaw, L. M., "The Negro Pressin America," Charities, XV (1905), No.1.

Herskovitz, Melville J., The American Negro. A Study in Racial Crossing. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1928.

Holland, F. M., Frederick Douglass, the colored orator. New York, 1891.

Howard, Oliver Otis, Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army. New York: Baker and Taylor Co., 1907.

Johnson, Charles S., The Economic Status of Negroes. Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1933.

Johnson, Charles S., The Negro in American Civilization. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930.

Johnson, Claudius O., Carter H. Harrison, I, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Johnson, James Weldon, Black Manhattan. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1930.

Jones, John G., The Black Laws of Illinois and a Few Reasons Why They Should Be Repealed. Chicago: Tribune Book and Job Office, 1864.

Kingsbury, J. B., "The Merit System in Chicagofrom 1915 to 1923," Public Personnel Studies (November, 1926).

Langston, John Mercer, From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1894.

4-11-28

Legislative Voters League of Illinois, Assembly Bulletin, 1917-1934.

Lewinson, Paul, Race, Class and Party. Lo ndon: Oxford University Press, 1932.

Lewis, Lloyd and Smith, Henry Justin, Chicago: The History of Its Reputation. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929.

Locke, Alain Leroy, The New Negro. An Interpretation. New York: A. and C. Boni, 1925.

Loggins, Vernon, The Negro Author. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.

Lynch, John Roy, The Facts of Reconstruction. New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1913.

Mark, May Louise, Negroes in Columbus. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1928.

Mason, M. C., Policy of the Segregation of the Negro in the Public Schools of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Chicago, Illinois. University of Chicago Master's Dissertation, 1917.

Mays, Benjamin Elijah and Nicholson, Joseph William, The Negro's Church. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research 1933.

Mc Lemore, Francis Williams, The Role of the Negroes in Chicago in the Senatorial Election 1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Master's dissertation, 1931.

Mecklin, John Morfatt, Democracy and Race Friction: a Study in Social Ethics. New York: Macmillan Co., 1914.

Merriam, Charles E. Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

4/12/49

Merriam, Charles E. and Gosnell, Harold F., Non-Voting: Causes and Methods of Control. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

Miller, Herbert Adolphus, Races, Nations and Classes. Phil- J. B. Lippincott Co., 1924.

Morton, Richard Lee, The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1919.

Moton, Robert Russa, What the Negro Thinks. New York: Doran, Doubleday, Page and Co., 1928.

Municipal Voters' league of Chicago, Reports, 1915-1933.

Negro Yearbook and Annual Encyclopaedia Of the Negro. Nashville, Tenn., Sunday School Union Print., 1912.

Nowlin, William F., The Negro in American National Politics. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1931.

Olbrich, Emil, The Development of Sentiment on Negro Suffrage to 1860. University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1912.

Park, Robert, E., "Mentality of Racial Hybrids," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVI (January, 1931), 534-51.

Park, Robert E., "Negro Race Consciousness as Reflected in Race Literature," AMerican ReviewI (1923), 505-517.

Park, Robert Exra, "Methods of a Race Survey," Journal of Applied Sociology. X, p.410, May, 1925.

Park, Robert E., "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups," Publications of the American Sociological Society, VIII 1913, 75-82.

Pendleton, Mrs. Leila (Amos), A Narrative of the Negro, Washington, D. C.: Press of R. L. Pendleton, 1912.

Penn, Irvine Garland, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors.

41124 10

Springfield, Mass.: Willey and Co., 1891.

Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, "Negro Survey of Pennsylvania." Harrisburg, 1928.

Pidgeon, Mary Elizabeth, Negro Women in Industry in 15 states. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929.

Quaife, Milo Milton, Checagou. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1933.

Reckless, Walter, Vice in Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933.

Reuter, Edward Byron, The Mulatto in the United States. Boston: R. G. Badger, 1918.

Reuter, Edward Byron, The American Race Problem; aStudy of the Negro. New York: T. Y. Crowell Co., 1927.

Rhea's New Citizen's Directory of Chicago, Illinois and Suburban Towns. Chicago: Press of W. S. McClelland, 1908.

Robinson, George F., "The Negro in Politics in Chicago." Journal of Negro History, XVII (April, 1923), 180-229.

Rood, Alice Quan, Social Conditions among the Negroes on Federal Street between 45th Street and 53rd Street. University of Chicago (A. M. Thesis), 1924.

Sandburg, Carl, The Chicago Race Riots, July 1919. new York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1919.

Scott, Emmett Jay, Negro Migration During the War. New York Oxford University Press, 1920.

Simkins, F. B., and Woody, R. H., South Carolina During Reconstruction. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932.

Spero, Sterling D. and Harris, Abram L., The Black Worker New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.

4/12/11

Sutherland, Robert Lee, An Anlaysis of Negro Churches in Chicago. University of Chicago (Ph. D. Thesis), 1930.

Taylor, Alrutheus Ambush, The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia. Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1926.

_____, The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction. Washington: ASsociation for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1924.

Thomas, William Hannibal, The American Negro. New York and London: Macmillan Co., 1901.

Wallace, Jesse Thomas, How and Why Mississippi Eliminated the Negro from State Politics in 1890. University of Chicago (A. M. Thesis), 1923.

Washington, Booker Taliaferro, Frederick Douglass. Philadelphia and London: G. W. Jacobs and Co., 1907.

_____, My Larger Education: Being Chapters from my Experience. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1911.

_____, The Story of the Negro, the Rise of the Race from Slavery. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co. 1909

Washington, Intercollegiate Club of Chicago, The Negro in Chicago 1779-1927. Chicago: Washington Intercollegiate Club, Vol. I, 1927; Vol. II, 1929.

Wells-Barnett, Ida, How Enfranchisement Stops Lynching. New York: Original Rights Magazine, Charles Lenz, 1910.

_____, Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases

41112F12

New York: New York Age Print, 1892.

White, L. D., Prestige Value of Public employment. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

Who's Who in Colored America. New York: Who's Who in Colored America Corporation, 1927.

Wilson, Edward E., "The Responsibility for Crime," Opportunity, VII (March, 1929), pp. 95-97.

Winston, Sanford, "Studies in Negro Leadership; Age and Occupational Distribution of 1,608 Negro Leaders," American Journal of Sociology, 37, p. 595. Chicago, 1931

Wood, Junius B., The Negro in Chicago. Chicago: Chicago Daily News, 1916.

Wooddy, Carroll H., The Case of Frank L. Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Woodson, Carter Godwin, A Century of Negro Migration. Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918.

_____, Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1925.

_____ _____, History of the Negro Church. Washington: Associated Publishers, 1921.

Woodson, Carter Godwin, Negro Orators and their Orations. Washington: Associated Publishers, 1925.

_____, The Negro as a Business Man. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1929.

_____, The Negro in Our History. Washington:

4/12F13

The Association Publishers, 1932.

Woofter, Thomas Jackson (editor), Negro Problems in Cities. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1928.

Work, Monroe Nathan, A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America. New York: The H. W. Wilson, Co., 1928.

_____, Negro Real Estate Holders in Chicago. University of Chicago (A. M. Thesis), 1903.

_____, Negro Year Book, Eighth Edition, 1931-32 Tuskegee: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1932.

Wright, Richard Robert, The Industrial Condition of Negroes in Chicago. University of Chicago (D. B. Thesis), 1901.

Young, Donald R., American Minority Peoples. New York and London: Harper and Bros, 1932.

41112F14

ADDED ITEMS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. A Souvenir of Negro Progress, issued by the De Saible Association, Inc., Chicago, 1925.

II. Bousfield, M. O., "Reaching the Negro Community," The American Journal of Public Health, (1934) Vol. 24, No.

III. Chicago Board of Health, Annual Report.

IV. Chicago Citizens' Association, Annual Report.

V. DuBois, W. E. B., The Black Princess, a novel. (1928)½

VI. New York: Harcourt, and Brace & Co.

VI. Eleazer, Robert B., America's Tenth Man. (1935) Atlanta Commission on Education and Race Relations, p. 10.

VII. Five-Year Report of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments Building Corporation. (1935) Chicago. Feb.

VIII. Gosnell, Harold F., The Negro Politician in Chicago. (1935) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

IX. Graham, Irene J., "Family Support and Dependency among Chicago Negroes, a study of unpublished census data," (1929) The Social Service Review, Vol. III, No. 4, Dec.

X. Kingsley, Rev. Harold M., The Negro in Chicago, a Spiritual Interpretation of an Economic Problem. (1935)

XI. Houser, Susie A., "A Community-Serving Church," The Southern Workman. (1925) Vol. LIV, No. 2, Feb.

XII. Matloch-Simon, Elizabeth and Simon, Hubert, Chicago's First Citizen--Jean Baptiste De Saible. (1933).

4112F15

Continued. (Added Items of Bibliography).

XIII. Olcott, Jane, The Work of Colored Women, (1919) New York: The Colored Committee War Work Council. p. 115.

XIV. Sweeney, W. Allison, History of the Negro in the World War. (1919) Chicago: Privately printed.

XV. The Negro in Chicago, 1779-1929. Chicago: published by the Washington Intercollegiate Club. (1929).

XVI. The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction. (1921) Washington: Washington Printing Office, U. S. Dept. of Labor.

XVII. Negroes in Chicago, annual report of the Chicago League on Urban Conditions among Negroes. (1918-1920) Chicago The Chicago Urban League.

XVIII. Harris Jr. M. D., H. L., "The Health of the Negro Family in Chicago." (1927) Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life, Sept.

XIX. Inter-racial Situation in Chicago, by the Chicago and Survey Division, Industrial Relations Dept. of the Interchurch World Movemant. (1920) Bull. No. 1--2.

XX. Harris Jr. M. D. H. L., "Negro Mortality Rates in Chicago" The Social Service Review, Vol. 1. No. 1. Memorial Fund, Chicago. p. 22. III. maps.

XXI. Preliminary Study of Inter-racial Conditions in Chicago. (1920) Made under the Survey Division, Industrial Relations Dept. of the Inter-church world Movement of North America, Home Missions Council. New York. p. 15.

XXII. Chicago Race Riots, by Carl Sandburg, with an introduction by Walter Lippmann. (1919) New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. p. 71.

XXIII. "The Problem of the Negro" by A. P. Comstock. The

41 12F 14

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XVIII, No. 2. p. 16.

.....

Mrs. J. C. Snowden

3302 Rhodes Avenue

Chicago.

Materials, such as leaflets, programs, clippings from newspapers, old photographs, relating to Chicago's early history, especially Negro history. She has complete files of magazines; notes concerning theorigin of Negro clubs and organizations. She lists the following contacts for further information:

Joseph Hudlin (Negro, ex-head janitor)

Chicago Board of Trade

Jackson & La Salle

(Documents)

Ed. Morris

Jessamine Farm

Benton Harbor, Michigan

(Documents)

Maud George -

Margaret Bonds -

41/12F/17

Carbono

Nefertari

30 - 30 - 1

NEFERTARI, of Aahmes Nefertari, was the half sister and wife of Aahmes, Pharoah of Egypt, who reigned from 1587 to 1562, B. C. Aahmes was the founder of the eighteenth dynasty of Egyptian rulers and it was through him that Egypt was redeemed from the so-called Shepherd Kings. The mother of Aahmes and Nefertari Aahotep I, had only the mulatto strain that ran through all Egyptians, but she married a full-blooded black man, Suquenenra. Nefertari, therefore, was a dark mulatto woman, usually painted and described as black. She became, as Petrie says, "The most venerated figure of Egyptian history". After her death she was adored as a goddess and had a shrine and priesthead. According to royal Egyptian custom Nefertari married her half-brother, Aahmes, the reigning Pharoah in 1597 B. C. They had seven children, among them the celebrated Amenhotep I, who lived to be one of the great kings of Egypt. Nefertari was born in 1613 B. C. and died toward the end of the fifteenth century.

She was a foremost figure in the restoration of the distracted Kingdom and laid the foundations of its future greatness under her descendents.

ANTARA IBN SHADDAD

ANTARA IBN SHADDAD was born about 525 A. D., and died about A. D. 615. His father was an Arab of noble blood and his mother, Zabuba, was a Negro slave. At first Antara was neglected but he soon gained attention and respect for himself through his personal qualities, and especially on account of his great courage as a soldier. He took part in numerous wars between Arabian tribes and died in a fight against the Tai tribe. Antara is celebrated as a poet. His chief poem or series of poems is contained in the Moallakat. The whole of the Antar cycle fills thirty-two volumes and is a greater piece of literature than the better known "Arabian Nights". The Antara poems celebrate the love

30-30-3

of black Antar, "The Lion", for Abla, a chief's daughter and granddaughter of King Zoheir, whom Antara married. His fame as a poet and here still persists in Arabia and the Oriental world.

MOHAMMED ABOU BEKR ET-TOURI

MOHAMMED ABOU BEKR ET-TOURI, better known as Askia The Great, was a pure blooded black man of the Songhay, a kingdom south of Sahara which arose in the middle age. Askia was born about 1445 on an island in the Niger river. He was educated as a Mahammedan and became prime minister to Sonni Ali, the Great, the conqueror whose conquests consolidated the kingdom of the Songhay. Sonni Ali died in 1492 during his greatest campaign. He was not succeeded by his sons, but by Mohammed Abou Bekr, who was received with the cry of "Askia", or "Usurper". Sonni Ali conquered the empire; Askia organized it; he appointed inspectors of markets and unified the weights and measures; he founded a system of banking and credit; and a great university at Sankore which was in correspondence with the universities of North Africa and Egypt. Askia has been described as: "one of the best of God's creatures". He was a working scholar and a man instinct with goodness." His nature was as pure as it was upright." Travelers describe great towns and palaces, sumptuous dress in his kingdom, libraries of the rich and learned and horses from Banbary.

Askia reigned thirty-six years. His empire extended from Lake Chad to the Atlantic, a distance of about 2,000 miles, and was about 1000 miles at its greatest diameter. It was an area about two-thirds that of the United States. Old age brought blindness to him and he was deposed by his eldest son and expelled from the palace. Finally, however, he was returned to the palace with honor. He died in 1538 and was succeeded by four of his sons.

30-30-4

DE SUNA VICTORIA

The See of Panama is the oldest See of the Catholic church on the American continent. The first church in the diocese was built early in the sixteenth century. The seat of the bishop was at old Panama and the first cathedral was built out of funds from his private purse. This bishop was the Right Reverend Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria. He was the first American Catholic bishop of American birth and he was a Negro. His father, a freed Negro slave, was a charcoal burner near Boca de la Reo Grande who peddled his charcoal on the streets of Panama. He educated his son and gave him to the church. When the See of Panama became vacant by the promotion of Bishop Sataneda, to Peru, the mitre fell upon the head of the preist, Francisco, who had risen in the various degrees of the heirarchy by his merits and virtues. The news of his nomination caused much dispute among the other priests, but he was accepted by the already wealthy city of Panama, and well received. He became bishop August 15, 1751 and held this charge until 1759, when he was transferred to the See of Trujillo, Peru, a city founded by Pizarro, which was a flourishing city, with a cathedral and a college.

CRISPUS ATTUCKS

CRISPUS ATTUCKS was born a slave in Massachusetts in 1723 and died in 1770 as the first martyr of the American Revolution. He was a mulatto, six feet, two inches high, with short, curly hair. In 1750 at the age of twenty-seven he ran away from his master, William Brown, of Farmingham, Mass. He had learned to read and write and interested in the effort of the colonies to free themselves. In the spring of 1770, British troops encamped at Boston. The citizens became greatly enraged and formed themselves into clubs. Crispus Attucks led one of these clubs and he wrote thus to the tory Governor, Hutchinson: "Sir, you will hear from us with astonishment. You ought to hear from us with horror. You are changeable before God and man with our blood. The soldiers are but passive instruments, mere machines, neither moral or voluntary agents in our destruction, more than the leaden pellets with which we were wounded. You are a free agent; you acted cooly, deliberately,

30-30-5

with all that premeditated malice, not against us in particular, but against the people in general, which, in sight of the law, is an ingredient in the composition of murder. You will hear from us further hereafter." On March 5, 1770 some of the clubs began to riot. The one led by Crispus Attucks ran toward King Street, crying "Let us drive out the ribalds. They have no business here." The people rushed toward the sentinel before the Custom House, brandishing clubs and pelting him with snow balls. As Attucks started to strike Captain Preston, the soldiers fired. He and two other soldiers were killed, and five were severely wounded. This was the beginning of the American Revolution. Crispus Attucks was buried from Fanueil Hall with great honor. A statue to him and his two companions stands upon Boston Common.

RICHARD ALLEN? BISHOP

RICHARD ALLEN was born in Philadelphia, Pa., February 14, 1760. He purchased his freedom and was eventually ordained a deacon by Bishop Asbury. He worked as a laborer and teamster. Along with many other Negroes he worshipped at St. George's M. E. Church in Philadelphia. The increasing number of Negroes became objectionable to the whites and finally made to segregate

the Negroes to the gallery. Allen and Absalom formed the Free African Society. Out of this society grew the African Methodist Episcopal Church under Allen and St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, under Jones. Allen was ordained first bishop of the new A. M. E. Church in 1816. He died March 26, 1831. The church which he founded has become one of the largest organizations of the Negroes in the world with 750,000 members and $15,000,000 worth of church property.

LOTT CAREY, MISSIONARY

LOTT CAREY was born in Richmond, Va. about 1780. He was a tobacco packer and is said to have lived an especially wicked life. About 1807 he was converted to Christianity by a sermon based on the story of Nicodemus. He determined to learn to read and write. He saved money and purchased his freedom and then announced his intention of going to Africa as a Missionary. He sailed in June, 1820, to Sierra Leone, West Africa. In 1828 he became acting governor of Liberia, and was killed in an explosion, November 10, 1828. For many years he was the real head of the colony.

30-30-7

IRA ALDRIDGE, Actor

IRA ALDRIDGE was born in 1810 at Bel Air, Md. and died at Lodz, Poland in 1867. His father was a clergyman and intended his son for the ministry. Ira was educated at Schenectady College, New York, and Glasgow University, Scotland, where he distinguished himself for scholarship. He soon abandoned the idea of becoming a minister and in 1833 made his debut as "Othello" at the ~~Royalx~~ Royal Theatre, London. His success was immediate. Edmund Kean played Iago to his Othello and other actors vied in honoring him. In 1852 Aldridge started for the continent. The king of Prussia bestowed upon him a gold medal of the first class for Art and Science, a medal previously awarded only to Humboldt, Spontini and Lizst. The emperor of Austria gave him a grand cross of the Order of Leopold. The city of Berne gave him the Maltese Cross. He was also given the Royal Saxe House Order. In Russia he was made a member of the Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences, and received other honors. From ~~1852~~ 1852 until his death, Aldridge was recognized in Europe as the first of living tragedians equalled only by the wonderful Rachale. He was married twice; first to

50-30-9

an English lady and then to a Swedish lady by whom he had two daughters. Both these daughters have achieved prominence in England as singers and composers.

BENJAMIN BANNEKER, Surveyor and Astronomer

BENJAMIN BANNEKER was born in Baltimore County, Md., November 9, 1731. His grandfather, Banaky, had been brought from Africa and eventually married his owner, Mollie Welch, an English peasant woman. One of their children, Mary was married to a native African, Robert who took her name. Benjamin was their eldest child. In 1737, Benjamin's father purchased for 17,000 pounds of tobacco, a farm of one hundred acres, ten miles from Baltimore. Benjamin was educated in a private school. After the death of his father, in 1757, he managed the farm and kept up his studies. He assisted in the laying out of the boundaries of the District of Columbia and in locating the chief buildings. In 1753 he constructed the first clock ever made in America. He borrowed some astronomical books and instruments and in 1787 compiled an almanac, which was finally published in 1792. In sending a copy of his almanac to Thomas Jefferson, Banneker spoke of himself as "of the African race," and "of the deepest dye." Jefferson replied: "Nobody wishes more

30-30-9

than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit that nature has given to each black brother talents equal to those of the other colors of men." Banneker never married. He remained on his farm making his calculations and practising on his violin. One who has seen him says that he gave no indication of white blood, but that "The statue of Franklin at the library in Philadelphia as seen from the street is a perfect likeness of him." Banneker died in 1804.

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR, the son of Joshua and Matilda Dunbar, was born at Dayton, O., June 27, 1872. His father ran away from slavery in Kentucky and became a member of the 55th Massachusetts Regiment during the war. Paul was delicate. He began writing poetry when he was but a boy. When his father died he became an elevator boy. His poems began to appear in the papers of Dayton. His first book, "Oak and Ivy" was published in 1893; his second book, published in 1895, brought him the attention of William D. Howells who said: "Dunbar if the first black man to feel the life of the Negro ecstatically and to express it lyrical." Dunbar then published "Lyrics of Lowly Life," "The Lyrics of the Hearthside," and several novelettes. In 1897 he visited England and in 1898 was married. He died at the age of 34, February 9, 1906.

55-30-10

EDWARD W. BLYDEN, Publicist

EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN was born August 3, 1832 on the Island of St. Thomas, Danish West Indies and died February 7 at Freetown, Sierre Leone, West Africa. In 1850 he came to New York and was refused admission to various colleges an account of his race. He, therefore, went to Liberia and studied at the high school at Monrovia. In 1858 he became principal of the school. He took a helpful part in Liberian politics and was Liberian minister to England. He traveled extensively in the United States and in the East. His greatest work is "Christianity,x Islam and the Negro Race". He became a noted linguist, having especial knowledge of the Arabic. He was an honorary member of the famous Athenaeum Club of London and a Doctor of Divinity of Lafayette and Hamilton Colleges. He was personally acquainted with many of the distinguished men of his time like Gladstone, Herbert Spencer and Charles Dickens.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Abolitionist

FREDERICK DOUGLASS was born a slave at Tuckahoe, Md., in February 1873. His father was white and his mother was a Negro slave. At the age of ten he was

30-30-11

sent as a house servant to Baltimore where his mistress taught him to read and write. In 1838 he ran away and came to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where his wife, Anna, followed him. Here he worked as a laborer, sawing wood and shovelling coal. He began to read The Liberator and in 1841 addressed a large anti-slavery convention at Nantucket.

This was the beginning of his career. He was soon employed as an agent and lectured all over the North. His fame, however, made his capture as a fugitive slave likely and he went to England where he was received by John Bright and other distinguished men. The English furnished money to buy his freedom. He thereupon returned to the United States and established his paper, the North Star at Rochester, New York. He was one of the advisors of John Brown but he did not take part in the raid. He helped raise the first Negro regiments for the war.

After the war Mr. Douglass held many positions of honor. He was one of the presidential electors at large for the State of New York in 1872; United States Marshal for the District of Columbia under President Hayes; Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia under President Garfield and United States Minister to Haiti

30-30-12

under President Harrison. Frederick Douglass died February 2, 1895 and was undoubtedly the greatest man of Negro blood in the United States.

SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR, a Composer

SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR was born August 15, 1875 in London. His father, Daniel Hughes Taylor, a native of Sierre Leone, West Africa, came to England to study medicine. His mother was an English woman, Alice Hare. The father practised his profession for a while in England and after a time returned to England leaving the mother and child in poverty: but the musical genius of the boy was early discovered and he began a course of study. He entered the Royal College of Music at sixteen, and in 1898, published his first celebrated work, "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast." Other works followed quickly. Coleridge-Taylor was especially attracted by Dunbar's poems and by folk music. He visited the United States twice and was much honored here by the best musicians. He published over one hundred musical works, including "Andymions Dream", "A Tale of Old Japan" and incidental music to Faust and Othello. He dies prematurely of overwork and exposure, September 1, 1912. He left a widow and two children, a boy and a girl.

30-32-13

He became one of the foremost composers of his day and warned the neice of a former Oxford professor, Miss Jessie Walmsley, "Never was a marriage, disapproved of by well-meaning friends more triumphantly justified in its secrets".

SAMUEL A. CROWTHER, Bishop

SAMUEL ADJAI CROWTHER was born about 1809, in West Africa and sold into slavery in Yoruban in 1821. He was rescued the following year and landed at Sierre Leone, where he was educated in a missionary school. He became a teacher and energetic missionary on the Niger river. In 1842 he entered the Church Missionary College in England. The next year he was ordained a priest and returned to Africa where he labored with great success among his people preparing school books, translating the Bible, establishing trade, and improving agriculture. In 1864, in England, he was consecrated first bishop of the Niger territories. He died of paralysis, December 31, 1891. Crowther was a man of great industry, wisdom and piety.

ROBERT D. ELLIOT, Statesman

ROBERT BROWN ELLIOTT was born in Boston, Mass., August 11, 1842 of West Indian parents. He attended a private school, then was sent to Kanaica and finally to High Holborn Academy, London. Later he went to Eaton and

30-30-14

then studied law. He returned to the United States and settled in South Carolina. He was a full-blooded Negro, nearly six feet high and a careful and clear speaker. He became a leader of the Reconstructionists in South Carolina, a member of the Constitutional Convention and afterward a member if the state legislature for two years. After holding the office of assistant adjutant general of South Carolina he was selected as a representative to the 42d congress. His first speech in Congress on the finances of South Carolina was especially notable as was,also, his great speech on the civil rights bill which as someone has said: "ought to form a part in the course of English in every colored school." Elliot was re-elected to the 43d congress but resigned to become sheriff. In 1881 he was made special agent of the United States treasurt, and after President Garfield's assassination he practised law in Pensacola, Fla. He died August 9, 1894, in New Orleans, La.

MENELIK, Emperor

MENELIK, THE SECOND, King of the Kings of Ethiopia and Emperor of Abyssinia, was born in 1844. He was the son of the prince of Shoa. He claimed an unbroken descent of nearly 3,000 years from Maqueda, Queen of Sheba. When the Emperor Theodore committed suicide, in ~~1889~~ 1867, ~~was proclaimed~~ Menelik became King of Shoa, and in 1889, was proclaimed Emperor of Abysinnia. Italy backed by Great

30-30-15

Britain tried to gain a protectorate over Abyssinia by misconstruing a treaty. Menelik resisted energetically and in 1893 he inflicted the crushing defeat of Adoa upon the Italians, leaving 7,000 of them dead on the field. His great Queen Taitou, led one of the charges against the foe. Since then Abysinnia has been unmolested by Europeans. Menelik died of old age in 1913 and was succeeded by his nephew.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY, Poet

PHILLIS WHEATLEY was born in 1753 in Africa. She was stolen by slave dealers when she was seven years old and offered for sale in Boston, Mass., in 1761. John Wheatley, a well-to-do- tailor bought her. She was well treated by her owners. After sixteen months she had learned the English language and could write letters. When she was thirteen years old she was writing poetry and became proficient in Latin. Her precocity astonished the educated people of New England. Her poem on Harvard University was written in 1767 and poems to the king, to George Whitefield, and to George Washington followed. In 1772 her health became affedted and the Wheatley's took her to London where she was petted and honored, received by

the Lord Mayor, and a collection of her poems published. In the preface of this book a letter to the public is inserted signed by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, John Hancock and many distinguished persons. George Washington wrote her a letter and said: "If you ever come to Cambridge, or near headquarters, I shall be very happy to see a person so favored by the muses." Phillis married John Peters, a colored man, who kept a shop and wore a wig. This proved an unhappy marriage and Phillis was reduced to hard straits to earn her daily bread. She finally died December 5, 1784. Phillis has been called the Negro Sappho and she was certainly compared with the writers of her time, a notable figure in American literature.

TOUSSAINT L'OVERTURE, Emancipator

PIERRE DOMINIC TOUSSAINT, known as Toussaint L'Overture, was born in Haiti about 1746. His father was the second son of an African chief. From childhood Toussaint showed unusual ability and became superintendent of the other slaves on the plantation. He joined the insurgents in the insurrection of 1791 and acted as physician. Later he joined the Spaniards, but after the freedom of the slaves was declared, he went to the aid of the French. In 1796 he took command of all the armies of San Domingo, made himself master of the country and independent. This seriously

30-36-17

interfered with the dreams of Napoleon who lost 25,000 men in trying to subdue Toussaint. Finally, through treachery Toussaint was seized and sent to France where he died after studied humiliations April 7, 1803. He was undoubtedly one of the great men of all time. A French planter has said: "God in His Terrestrial globe did not commune with purer spirit."

ALEXANDER POUSHKIN, Poet and Novelist

Among favorites of Peter the Great and his consort, the famous Catherine, was a Negro educated in France called Haninvalov, He became a general in the Russian army and married the daughter of a Greek merchant. His son was the general of artillery who built the harbor and fortress of Cherson. His grandson was ALEXANDER POUSHKIN, the greatest of Russian poets. Alexander was born at Moscow, June 7, 1799. In 1811, he entered the Lyceum of Tsarskoe Selo, and six years later ~~attached~~ he became attached to the ministry of foreign affairs and began writing poetry. He mingled with the greatest society; but a daring ode forced him to accept a position at Bessarabia. It was during this period that he composed some of his finest works. Poushkin was finally allowed to return St. Petersburg where he continues his writing

and in 1831 he married Natālia Goncharov. Becoming jealous of the attentions Baron d'Anthis to his wife Poushkin challenged him and fell mortally wounded in the duel. He died February 10. D'Anthis was tried by court martial and expelled from the country. Poushkin left four children and one of his decendents recentlt married a prince of the English royal family. Alexander Poushkin is regarded as the founder of modern Russian literature and a statue has been erected to him in Moscow.

STEPHEN DORANTES, Discoverer

STEPHEN DORANTES, known as Estevanico, or Stephen, slave of Andres Dorantes, was born somewhere in Africa but the time and place is not known. He is described as "black" and "a person of intelligence". The viceroy, Mendoza, writing to the Emperor, Charles the V, December 10. 1537, informs him that he has bought of Dorantes, a Negro, whose name was Stephen, because he was a person of intelligence. This Negro had wandered, together with three white Spaniards in the Narvaez expedition, to what is now Texas and had turned south and west through Mexico. They arrivedto the city of Mexico to give the viceroy an account of the country which they had seen and heard of north and northwest.

8J-31-19

The viceroy thereupon bought Stephen as a guide. Stephen had learned the Indian language and when the viceroy decided to send an expedition into the new country he selected Friar Marcus de Nice as leader and Stephen as guide. The expedition started March 7, 1539. When they reached Vacapa the whites waited and Stephen was sent ahead. He left March 23. Stephen explored the country to a distance of eighty leagues into the wilderness but when he arrived at Cibola he was ambushed and killed and his baggage plundered. The site at Cibola is some fifteen miles southwest of the present village of Zuni. Thus, Stephen Durantes was the first foreigner to tread upon the territoty of Arizona and New Mexico and has the honor of discovering them to the modern world.

ALEXANDER DUMAS, Novelist

ALEXANDRE DAVY DE LA PAILLETERIE, known as Alexander Dumas, was born in France in 1802. His father who called hinself Thomas Alexander Dumas was born in San Domingo and was the son of Antoine Alexandre Davy, Marquis de la Pailleterie, and Marie Cessette Dumas, a Negro woman. The father accompanied his grandfather to France in 1780. At

the outbreak of the Revolution Thomas enlisted as a private soldier but by 1793 he had become a general of division, and wasx famous for his victories. He married in 1792 and his son Alexandre Dumas, like his father, took his grandmother's name. Alexandre was educated by a priest and studied to be a lawyer. He finally became a clerk in Paris and a playwright. In 1839 he began to write stories and novels and his energy and output was tremendous. He said he had written 1200 volumes but because of his extravagant generosity was, nevertheless, always in debt. Dumas died December 5, 1870. His statue has been placed in the Place Malesherbes in Paris.

AMENHOTEP III, Pharoah

AMENHOTEP III, Pharoah of Egypt, was born 1414 B. C. and died 1379. He was the son of Tahutmes IV and a direct descendant of the great Nefertari. His mother, Mutemua, added to the already Negroid family a new strain of Negro blood. He married the brilliant and much-loved Queen Tyi. Amenhotep was born at Thebes and was probably about sixteen years old when his father died. He was a great conqueror in Ethiopia and in Syria. He is celebrated

30 - 30-21

both for his public works and especially for his great buildings. The greater part of the wonderful temple at Karnak was built during his reign, and the temple at Luqsor. together with many other buildings. The wealth and leisure of all classes under this king is shown by works that far exceed in extent and beauty the remains of other ages. He was succeeded by his son, Amentohep IV.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, Educator

BOOKER TALLIAFERRO WASHINGTON was born in 1858 or 1859, near Lynchburg, Va. His mother was a Negro woman and his father a white man. When Booker was a child his mother moved to West Virginia where his step-father worked in the salt mines. Under great difficulties the boy learned to read and write. In 1872 he entered Hampton Institute and was graduated in 1875. He taught public school and finally in 1881 was given charge of a small normal school at Tuskegee, Ala. This school had then thirty pupils in an old shanty, and an abandoned church. He developed his charge until it became one of the greatest schools in the South. Through his advocacy of the form of training at Hampton and Tuskegee he became the apostle of industrial training and discouraged

30-30-22

political activity among his people. Before his death he had become the leading personage among the colored people, was favorably regarded by the white South, while his school at Tuskegee embraced 2300 acres of land and was valued at $875,000, with an endowment of nearly $2,000,000. Mr. Washington's autobiography "Up from Slavery" is a notable contribution to literature.

ANTONIO MACEO, Liberator

ANTONIO MACEO was a mulatto, a descendent of the Negroes of Cuba. He was born
He was not ashamed of his race and to an inquiry as to whether or not he resented to be classed as a Negro, he replied: "When the black man is not ashamed to be a black man, there'll be no shame in being black." In 1895 there was launched the insurrection which culminated in the freedom of Cuba. The war had really begun under Maceo and other chiefs in 1866 and lasted ten years resulting in the abolition of slavery. As Spanish economic oppression continued Maceo and his fellows began a new struggle in 1895. Maceo ordered the "Invasion", that is, he bade the bands of Cuban revolutionists then in the field elsewhere, to rendevous in Pinar del Rio, where there was

something to be had to eat. Despite Spanish resistance, his ragged companies crossed the trochas, came around Havana, and even from Santiago and Camaguey, arrived within the province of Pinar. Out of Pinar, refreshed and somewhat reorganized, Maceo was leading them toward Havana itself when he was killed at Punta Brava, in Havana Province, within eighteen miles of the capital. But the chief work had been done. Soon the United States intervened and Cuba was free.

30-30-23

To Maceo and Gomez fell the largest share of the glory of the last war for Cuban freedom and in 1916 Cuba erected a bronze and marble statue in Maceo Square, Havana, to her dark liberator.

Encyclopaedia of the Negro

write to the following professors of Anthropology in Columbia University:

Dr. Franz Olbrechts

Professor Koening

16-11-164

[1937]

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO

(Incorporated in the District of Columbia, May 10, 1932)

Office of
The Chairman of the Editorial Board
Atlanta University Atlanta Ga.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

PROFESSOR WILLIAM ANTHONY AERY
Hampton Institute

DR. W. W. ALEXANDER
Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, Atlanta

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN BRAWLEY
Howard University

PROFESSOR A. R. RADCLIFFE BROWN
University of Chicago (formerly University of Cape Town)

DR. OTELIA CROMWELL
Miner Teachers' College, Washington

DR. JAMES H. DILLARD
Ex-President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds

~~PROFESSOR W. E. B. DuBOIS~~
~~Atlanta University~~

~~PRESIDENT JOHN HOPE~~
~~Atlanta University~~

MR. EUGENE KINCKLE JONES
Executive Secretary of the National Urban League

PROFESSOR CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Fisk University

PROFESSOR JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
Fisk University

PRESIDENT MORDECAI W. JOHNSON
Howard University

DR. WALDO G. LELAND
Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies

PROFESSOR C. T. LORAM
Yale University (formerly of the Native Affairs Commission, South Africa)

DR. ROBERT RUSSA MOTON
Cappahosic, Va.

PRESIDENT FLORENCE READ
Spelman College, Atlanta

DR. J. E. SPINGARN
President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

DR. ANSON PHELPS STOKES
President, Phelps Stokes Fund

MR. MONROE N. WORK
TUSKEGEE Institute

ADVISORY BOARD

Representatives already accredited by the following institutions:

American Council of Learned Societies
American Council of Education
National Research Council
International Institute of African Languages and Culture
South African Association for the Advancement of Science
Howard University
Fisk University
Atlanta University
Hampton Institute
Tuskegee Institute
Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation

~~ADDRESSES OF OFFICERS~~

~~Dr. Stokes~~, Chairman, 2408 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

~~Dr. Dillard~~, Vice Chairman, Charlottesville, Va.

~~Professor Brawley~~, Secretary, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

~~Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, In Charge of Correspondence, Atlanta University, Atlanta~~, Ga.

Editorial Board

Dr W.E.B. DuBois
Chairman of the Editorial Board
& Joint Editor-in-Chief
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

(Copy to Stokes)

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO

Incorporated in the District of Columbia, May 10, 1932

16-11-15

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Professor William Anthony Aery
Hampton Institute

Dr. W. W. Alexander
Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, Atlanta

Professor Benjamin Brawley
Howard University

Professor A. R. Radcliffe Brown
University of Chicago (formerly University of Cape Town)

Dr. Otelia Cromwell
Miner Teachers' College, Washington

Dr. James H. Dillard
Ex-President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds

Professor W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University

President John Hope
Atlanta University

Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones
Executive Secretary of the National Urban League

Professor Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University

Professor James Weldon Johnson
Fisk University

President Mordecai W. Johnson
Howard University

Dr. Waldo G. Leland
Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies

Professor C. T. Loram
Yale University (formerly of the Native Affairs Commission, South Africa)

Dr. Robert Russa Moton
Tuskegee Institute

President Florence Read
Spelman College, Atlanta

Dr. J. E. Spingarn
President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
President, Phelps Stokes Fund

Mr. Monroe N. Work
Tuskegee Institute

ADVISORY BOARD

Representatives already accredited by the following institutions:

American Council of Learned Societies
American Council on Education
National Research Council
International Institute of African Languages and Culture
South African Association for the Advancement of Science
Howard University
Fisk University
Atlanta Univeristy
Hampton Institute
Tuskegee Institute
Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation

ADDRESSES OF OFFICERS

Dr. Stokes, Chairman, 2408 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Dillard, Vice Chairman, Charlottesville, Va.

Professor Brawley, Secretary, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, In Charge of Preliminary Correspondence, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Encyclopaedia

Negro

Library

41/12F/68

If no finding place is indicated, it is to be understood that a work named is not rare or that at least one edition of it is in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, probably the most complete existing assembly of books by and about the Negro. Other libraries are either named in full or designated by the following abbreviations: AAS (American Antiquarian Society); BA (Boston Athenaeum); BPL (Boston Public Library); CHS (Connecticut Historical Society); Col U (Columbia University); CorU (Cornell University); LOC (Library of Congress); MHS (Massachusetts Historical Society); MdHS (Maryland Historical Society); NYHS (New York Historical Society); NYPL (New York Public Library); PHS (Pennsylvania Historical Society); UTS (Union Theological Seminary); and YU (Yale University).

(The Negro Author, Bernon Loggins, p. 408.)

16-1-69

Compile file Negro

(4) 1. Compile list of materials from various printed guides to documents.

~~2~~ (2) Obtain specialists for all countries.

~~3~~ 3. Hold conferences as you have suggested

4. Write a few articles.

(3) 5. Compile bibliographies. Is the Stokes Fund helping Work to publish a new edition?

(1)

1 ~~2~~ ~~3~~ Symposium: What is a Negro

Atlanta University Publications:

1. Mortality among Negroes in Cities. 1896
2. Social and Physical Conditions of Negroes in Cities. 1897
3. Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment. 1898
4. The Negro in Business. 1899
5. The College-bred Negro. 1900
6. The Negro Common School. 1901
7. The Negro Artisan. 1902
8. The Negro Church. 1903
9. Notes on Negro Crime. 1904
10. A Select Bibliography of the Negro American. 1905
11. The Health and Physique of the Negro American. 1906
12. Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans. 1907
13. The Negro American Family. 1908
14. Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans. 1909
15. The College-bred Negro American. 1910
16. The Common School and the Negro American. 1911
17. The Negro American Artisan. 1912
18. Morals and Manners among Negro Americans. 1914
19. Economic Co-operation among the Negroes of Georgia. 1917
20. Select Discussions of Race Problems. 1916

16-2-29

D. Westermann, Berlin

Harold J. Laski, London

B. Malinowski, London

J. H. Oldham, London

Leo Frobenius, Frankfort on the Main

Dominik Josef Woelfel, Vienna

Mademoiselle L. Homburger, Paris

Natal De Cleene, Brussels

H. Labouret, Paris

W. M. Macmillian, Oxford

Richard Pattee, Puerto Rico

Fernando Ortiz, Cuba

Rafael Heliodoro Valle, Mexico

G. Porras Troconis, Colombia, South America

V. Eickstedt, Breslau

Arthur Ramos, Rio de Janeiro

Julian S. Huxley, England

D. Mtimkulu, Natal, South Africa

R. F. Alfred Hoernle, Johannesburg

C. M. Doke, Johannesburg

Monica Hunter, Cape Province

Bernard Huss, South Africa

A. J. H. Goodwin, Cape Town

G. P. Lestrade, Cape Town

William, Bishop of Zululand

E. G. Malherbe, Praetoria

Edgar H. Brookes, South Africa

James Dexter Taylor, Johannesburg

J. D. Krige, South Africa

The best working definition of the word Negro

We are attempting this year a rather broad inquiry into what the word Negro must mean in this encyclopaedia. In America we have a well understood working definition, that is, persons of evident or acknowledge descent from the darker races of Africa.

In consultation last year with various European anthropologists I was continually reminded of quite different definitions of the word in other parts of the world. Professor Westermann of Berlin for instance would not include under "Negro" any Asiatics; he would exclude Hottentots and Bushmen and the so-called Hamites of the north central part of Africa, many of whom are the darkest people of the world. Seligman in his book on the "Races of Africa" excludes not only the Hottentots and Bushmen but the Bantu and the Hamites and confines his word Negro to "true Negroes" in West Africa and finds there a large infiltration of other blood. In the West Indies it is well known that the word "Negro" does not include persons of mixed blood.

36-3-54

It will be necessary therefore for us to settle on a working definition and a definition if possible which will clear up certain inconsistent uses of the word. If we divide the races of man into black, white and yellow then into the black race must go all the peoples of Africa except the recent white immigrants and the Berbers and Arabs and their descendants of the north and northeast. When, however, we use the word Negro race interchangeably with black race which most people ordinarily do, there come continued discrepancies; so that black people of the Nile, black people of Abyssinia, black people of Uganda and black people of South Africa are continually referred to even by scientists as not being of the Negro race. That, however, involves a definition of Negro much narrower than any corresponding definition of the Caucasion or Mongolian. All Caucasians are not blue eyed and yellow haired and tall of stature. All Mongolians are not yellow, slant eyed and straight haired. But all Negroes apparently must be not only dark skinned but have hair of a precise degree of curliness and facial and head forms of an extreme type and in other ways correspond to a minute and largely stereotyped form. A recent author quotes Vergil as scientifically true today:

> "Torta comam, labroque tumens et fusca colorem,
> Pectore lata, iacens mammis, compressior alvo
> Cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga planta,"

Manifestly one is talking in the first place of broad divisions of mankind subject to infinite variation and in the other case of a special and on the whole unusual type of man even in Africa. To clear up these matters we will search for past and current definitions and correspond with present authorities. Finally we hope to decide upon a reasonable and clear cut definition according to current usuage or logical and desirable usuage.

THE GIFT OF BLACK FOLK

Draft fragments

201. [redacted] pp

THE GIFT OF [redacted] BLACK FOLK

An Essay on the Contribution of the Negro to American Nationality

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Ph.D. (Harvard) Graduate of S.T.B.'s, Publisher, Negro, John Brown, Dunbar, The Negro, etc.

Foreword - 3 pp

Chapter 1 - The Black Explorers - 9 pp.

Chapter 2 - Negro Labor - 18 pp.

Chapter 3 - The Defense of the Fatherland - [redacted] 54 pp

Chapter 4 - The Emancipation of Democracy - 63 pp

Chapter 5 - The Emancipation of Woman - 7 pp

Chapter 6 - The Folk Song - 11 pp

Chapter 7 - Literature and Art - 22 pp.

Chapter 8 - The Gift of the Spirit - 14 pp

Bibliography

A. General Readers -

B. Students -

C. Research -

(short working bibliographies follow each chapter.)

49-29-23

(1)

Contribution of the Negro to American Nationality

Economic
~~Political~~
Music + Folk Lore
great Social Movements: Emancipation.

~~Labor~~
~~women~~
art
Literature
Social uplift
Religion
~~Exploration~~
~~Defence~~

~~Exploration~~
~~Labor~~
~~women~~
~~Emancipation~~ ~~Democracy~~
~~Defence~~
Literature
Music

1. - Exploration
Alonzo
Stevanico
Henson

2 - Labor 1. 1st cash crop
2. The 2nd industrial revolution
3. The 4 Crops - Sugar Tobacco - Rice Cotton
5 The demand for leisure + education
6 The 4 new wars
4 The pioneer
The clearer + Ed war

3. - The Working woman:
non-professional

4. The Emancipation of Democracy
The Negro as a test
" " " " builder
" " " " seer

Tubman, Truth
Haiti
B.T.W
slave revolts

42-9-47

[fragment]

The Negro in American Literature

Colonial times

1800 - 1850

1850 -1870

1870 - 1900

1900 - 1922

Negro Folk Lore

Negro Literature

before 1800

1800 - 1850

1850 - 1900

Recent

Sculpture and Painting

Negro Music

Origin

Development

In slavery

1860 - 1900

Recent times

Negro Music and American Composers

Negro Composers

419-29-2

Argument

There will be those who think that the role of the Negro as laborer is his fateful one in America and others who would think that his work, active and passive, in emancipation is the most important thing; but it is quite possible that posterity will find that the great contribution of the Negro to America and the world is a contribution to art, an appreciation for beauty and a conception of beauty new and peculiar and gripping. In the literature of America the Negro is ever present as the

 K of C

writings of Stowe, Whittier, Lowell, Nelson, Page and others easily prove. Indeed it is not too much to say that no great masterpiece of American literature is without its direct or indirect portrayal of the Negro. But the influence of the Negro in American literature is not merely passive. Negro folk lore and quaintness of expression pervades the land. The writings of Negroes from Phillis Wheatley to Dunbar and Chestnut have increasing influence. The paintings of Tanner, while in no respect racial, are a continual example of racial possibilities and finally the only American music is Negro music and it ranks with the most beautiful music of the world.

CHAPTER 7. THE GIFT OF THE SPIRIT

Outline

African Religion
The African Priest in America
Religious Rites
Voodooism
The "Shout"
Efforts of Catholic and Protestant Missionaries
Rise of Negro Church
Influence of Negroes on American Religion
The Spiritual development —

Argument

Above and beyond all we have mentioned and perhaps least tangible but just as true is the peculiar spiritual quality which the Negro has injected into American life and civilization. Sometimes this is loosely called his spirit of happiness and jollity but it is far more subtle than this: it is an unfailing faith in the world, an unfaltering hope for betterment and a wide and patient tolerance for opposition and hatred. It is this that is at the basis of Negro religion and with all the loose organization of the Negro church the individual religious charactertistics

The Negro in the Revolutionary War

"It was a Negro who in a sense began the actual fighting. In 1750 William Brown of Framinham, Mass., advertised three times for "A Molatto Fellow about 27 Years of Age, named Crispas, 6 Feet 2 Inches high, short Curl'd Hair." This runaway slave was the same Crispus Attucks who in 1779 led a mob on the 5th of March against the British soldiers in the celebrated "Boston Massacre."

Much has been said about the importance and lack of importance of this so-called "Boston Massacre." Whatever the verdict of history may be, there is no doubt that the incident loomed large in the eyes of the colonists. Distinguished men were orators on the 5th of March for years after, until that date was succeeded by the 4th of July. Daniel Webster in his great Bunker Hill oration said: "From that moment we may date the severance of the British Empire."

36-2-146

Possibly these men exaggerated the actual importance of a street brawl between citizens and soldiers, led by a runaway slave; but there is no doubt that the colonists, who fought for independence from England, thought this occasion of tremendous importance and were nerved to great effort because of it.

Livermore says: "The presence of the British soldiers in King Street excited the patriotic indignation of the people. The whole community was stirred, and sage counsellors were deliberating and writing and talking about the public grievances. But it was not for the 'wise and prudent' to be first to act against the encroachments of arbitrary power. 'A motley rabble of saucy boys, Negroes and mulattoes, Irish Teagues and outlandish Jack tars,' (as John Adams described them in this plea in defense of the soldiers) could not restrain their emotion or stop to enquire if what they must do was according to the letter of the law. Led by Crispus Attucks, the mulatto slave, and shouting, 'The way to get rid of these soldiers is

to attack the main guard; strike at the root; this is the nest'; with more valor than discretion they rushed to King Street and were fired upon by Captain Preston's company. Crispus Attucks was the first to fall; he and Samuel Gray and Jonas Caldwell were killed on the spot. Samuel Maverick and Patrick Carr were mortally wounded. The excitement which followed was intense. The bells of the town were rung. An impromptu town meeting was held and an immense assembly gathered. Three days after, on the 8th, a public funeral of the Martyrs took place. The shops in Boston and the neighboring towns were rung. It is said that a greater number of persons assembled on this occasion than ever before gathered on this continent for a similar purpose. The body of Crispus Attucks, the mulatto, had been placed in Faneuil Hall with that of Caldwell, both being strangers in the city. Maverick was buried from his mother's house in Union Street, and Gray from his brother's in Royal Exchange Lane. The four hearses formed a junction in King Street and then the procession marched in columns six deep, with a long file of coaches belonging to the most distinguished citizens, to the Middle Burying Ground, where the four victims were deposited in one grave over which a stone was placed with the inscription:

'Long as in Freedom's cause the wise contend,
Dear to your country shall your fame extend;
While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
Where Caldwell, Attucks, Gray and Maverick fell.'

"The anniversary of this event was publicly commemorated in Boston by an oration and other exercises every year until our National Independence was ahcieved, when the Fourth of July was substituted for the Fifth of March as the more proper day for a general celebration. Not only was the event commemorated but the martyrs who then gave up their lives were remembered and honored."

36-2-147

THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN SIX CHAPTERS

Undated
Outline of chapters 1 and 2

undated

The History of the Negro in Six Chapters

Chapter 1. - Africa and the Black Race

There is no more fascinating continent than Africa or one which has been more vital for the history of mankind and yet to-day few people know about its history or apparently care.

This is in the United States and in Europe a direct heritage from slavery. In order to bolsetr up slavery it was necessary to defend it and there arose between 1830 and 1860 a propaganda which both deliberately and unconsciously taught the world that Africa, the source of slaves, was worth nothing better than slavery. In truth, however, it was in Africa and the hot parts of southern Asia that human civilization began. It was in Africa that civilization was carried forward for thousand of years while the rest of the world was sunk in savagery. And it is Africa to-day that promises for the future a most interesting development both in material resources and in human development.

38-12-129

But when one makes these statements the answer is apt to come: "Oh yes this is true but the Africa of which you speak is not the Africa of the Negro;" which brings us to the problem: What is the Negro? Here we may note that in the case of no other race has the attempt been made to give so narrow a definition of race as in the case of Negroes. We would not think of fixing in the case of a white man, his lips and nose and exact skin color, the shape of his head and the form of his ankle bones. The concept white man covers a wide variety of physical and mental peculiarities; the same is perhaps even more true of the yellow man; and the same must be true of the Negro if we are to seek anything like scientific consistency. The Negro is the darkest of the varieties of men but like all other varieties, no exact line can be drawn between him and other varieties. We cannot speak of the darkest varieties of man in Africa as being "pure" Negroes any more than we speak of the Scandanavians as being the only "pure" whites. We might, of course, conceive the white races as consisting of "pure" whites with an infiltration

of darker blood and of the Negroes as being "pure" blacks with an infiltration of whiter blood; but neither statement is historically correct. What we have is light men and dark men with every shade between caused primarily by different climatic conditions and conditions of life and secondarily by intermarriage of lighter and darker stocks.

Africa, therefore, is the home of the Negro. He is found here in all varieties - tall, black and curly haired; short, black and kinky haired; yellow and crisp haired; swarthy and straight haired. For the most part, however, it is reasonable, according to fact and historic usage, to include under the word "Negro" the darker peoples of Africa characterized by a brown skin, curled or "frizzled" hair, full and sometimes everted lips, a tendency to a development of the maxillary parts of the face, and a dolichocephalic head. This type is not fixed or definite. The color varies widely; it is never black or bluish, as some say, and it becomes often light brown or yellow. The hair varies from curly to a wool-like mass, and the facial angle and cranial form show wide variation.

38-12-130

It is as impossible in Africa as elsewhere to fix with any certainty the limits of racial variation due to climate and the variation due to intermingling. In the past, when scientists assumed one unvarying negro type, every variation from that type was interpreted as meaning mixture of blood. To-day we recognize a broader normal African type which, as Palgrave says, may best be studied "among the statues of the Egyptian rooms of the British Museum; the larger gentle eye, the full but not over-protruding lips, the rounded contour, and the good-natured, easy, sensuous expression. This is the genuine African model." To this race Africa in the main and parts of Asia have belonged since prehistoric times.

These people from earliest times have inhabited the continent of Africa and their history has had physical as well as mental reasons. Africa is a peculiar continent with few bays and inlets, warded against the world by its coastal waterfalls; subject in various parts to great heat, great

dampness and great drought; luxuriant with vegetation in its central fastnesses which made it at once easy to nourish beginnings of human culture and difficult to progress in its later stages. But especially Africa by its very prolificness has spawned more of the active enemies of human physical life than perhaps any other continent. As ir Harry Johnston well remarks: "Africa is the chief stronghold of the real Devil - the reactionary forces of Nature hostile to the uprise of Humanity. Here Beelzebub, King of the Flies, marshals his nermiform and anthropod hosts - insects, ticks and nematode worms - which more than in other continents (excepting negroid Asia) convey to the skin, veins, intestines and spinal marrow of men and other vertebrates the micro-organisms which cause deadly, disfiguring or debilitating diseases, or themselves create the morbid condition of the persecuted human being, beasts, bird, reptile, frog or fish." The inhabitants of this land have had sheer fight for physical survival comparable with that in no other great continent, and this must not be forgotten when we consider their history.

In this land the Negro race began its development. Perhaps is came there with the migration of mankind from southern Asia or perhaps the original type of anthropoid ape which became man started in Africa and spread to the rest of the world. At any rate among the earliest, if not the earliest of the systems of human culture began with the Negro race in Africa in the highlands of the East Central part. Perhaps the original type of black man is typified by the present pygmies and these grew and differentiated, spreading West to the dense forests of the Congo and South slowly toward land's end, but especially North down the Valley of the Nile toward Ethopia and the Sudan; and in this Valley of the Nile the first great drama of Africa and the Negro race and perhaps of mankind began to be spread.

Chapter 2 - Egypt

We do not know certainly the movements of prehistoric man. Probably from some centre in southern Asia many thousands of years ago, the first human beings began to differentiate in two directions. The one was long-headed with flattened hair follicle; he moved along southern Asia and into Africa; or if the differentiation started in Africa, he staid there. To the North and East, broad-headed men with round hair follicle spread over eastern Asia forming the Mongolian type of man. Through the intermingling of these two types, the third type appeared at a very early date which eventually settled in Europe. These three types were not definitely and clearly differentiated from each other and intermingled their blood freely and developed variation according to climate and environment. Thus the primitive Negroid stock was evolved - the Semites on the one hand, the so-called Mediterranean race and the modern Negroes. The influence of these Negroids can be felt in the Negro type of the ancient statues in India and in early Babylon and all through the Arabian peninsula. Some of the Negroids by later migration made their way into southern Europe where traces of their skeleton and art have been found.

38-12-132

The primitive African was brown or yellow rather than black. He entered Africa or began his development there some fifty thousand years ago and settled in the region between Lake Chad and the Great Lakes and remained there long stretches of years. After a lapse of perhaps thirty thousand years there was a further migration of Negroid people, lighter and straighter haired then the primitive Negroes. From this Mediterranean race was developed the modern inhabitants of the shores of the Mediterranean and by mingling with the primtive Negroes there was developed the ancient Egyptians and the modern Negro xx race of Africa.

As we come to historic times migration and movements give the whole of Africa a distinct mulatto character. The primitive Negro stock was mulatto in the sense of not being widely differentiated from the dark

original stock. As the earlier yellow Negro developed in the African tropics to the bigger, blacker type, he was continually mingling his blood with other Negroid types developed in temperate climes to sallower color and straighter hair.

We find, therefore, in Africa to-day, every degree of development in Negroid stocks and every degree of intermingling of these developments, both among African peoples and between Africans, Europeans and Asiatics. The mistake is continually made of considering these types as transitions between absolute Caucasians and absolute Negroes. No such absolute type ever existed on either side. Both were slowly differentiated from a common ancestry and continually remingled their blood while the differentiating was progressing. From prehistoric times down to to-day Africa is, in this sense, primarily the land of the mulatto. So, too, was earlier Europe and Asia; only in these countries the mulatto was early bleached by the climate, while in Africa he was darkened.

Three main Negro types gradually became stabilized: the lighter and smaller primitive type - the larger forest Negro in the center and on the West Coast and the tall, black Nilotic Negro in the Eastern Sudan. From earliest historic times Negroes moved down the Valley of the Nile from the interior. Here from mingling with Semitic Types and after the lapse of Thousand of years, there arose from this mingling, the culture of Ethopia and Egypt, perhaps the first of the higher human cultures.

Ethopian civilization like all civilization arose largely from contact from without and spread down the valley of the Nile because that valley was so easily a meeting place of all types of people of all parts of the world. At the same time Egyptian civilization seems to have been African in its beginnings and in its main line of development, despite strong influences from all parts of Asia. Of what race, then, were the Egyptians? They certainly were not white in any sense of that word - neither in color nor physical measurements, in hair nor countenance, in language nor social

customs. They stood in relationship nearest the Negro race in earliest times, and then gradually through the infiltration of Mediterranean and Semitic elements became what would be described in America as a light mulatto stock of octoroons or quadroons. This stock was varied continually: now by new infiltration of Negro blood from the South now by negroid and Semitic blood from the east, now by Berber types from the north and west.

Egyptian monuments show distinctly Negro and mulatto faces. Herodotus, in an incontrocertible passage, alludes to the Egyptians as "black and curly-haired" - a peculiarly significant statement from one used to the brunette Mediterranean type; in another passage, concerning the fable of the Dodonian Oracle, he again alludes to the swathy color of the Egyptians as exceedingly dark and even black. Aeschylus, mentioning a boat seen from the shores, declares that its crew are Egyptians, because of their black complexions.

38-12-134

Modern measurements with all their admitted limitations show that in the Thebaid from one-seventh to one-third of the Egyptians population were Negroes, and that of the prehynastic Egyptians less than half could be classed as non-Negroid. Judging from measurements in the tombs of nobles as late as the eighteenth dynasty Negroes form at least one-sixth of the higher class. Such measurements are by no means conclusive but they are apt to be under rather than over statements of the prevalence of Negro blood. Head measurements of Negro Americans would probably place most of them in the category of whites.

The evidence of language also connects Egypt with Africa and the Negro race rather than with Asia, while religious ceremonies and social customs all go to strengthen this evidence.

The ethnic history of Northeast Africa would seem, therefore, to have been this: predynastic Egypt was settled by Negroes from Ethopia. They were of varied types: the broad-nosed, wooly-haired type to which the

word "Negro" is sometimes confined; the black, curly-haired sharper featured type, which must be considered an equally Negroid variation. These Negroes met and mingled with the invading Mediterranean race from North Africa and Asia. Thus the blood of the sallower race spread south and that of the darker race north. Black priests appear in Crete three thousand years before Christ, and Arabia is to this day thoroughly premeated with Negro blood. Perhaps as Chamberlain says: "one of the prime reasons why no civilization of the type of that of the Nile arose in other parts of the continent if such a thing were at all possible, was that Egypt acted as a sort of channel by which the genius of Negroland was drafted off into the service of Mediterranean and Asiatic culture."

38-12-125

To one familiar with the striking and beautiful types arising from the mingling of Negro with Latin and Germanic types in America, the puzzle of the Egyptian type is easily solved. It was unlike any of its neighbors and a unique type until one views the modern mulatto; then the faces of Rahotep and Nefert, of Khafra and Amenemhap 1, of Aahmes and Nefertari, and even of the great Ramessu 11, become curiously familiar.

The history of Egypt is a science in itself. Before the reign of the first recorded king, five thousand years years or more before Christ, there had already existed in Egypt a culture and art arising by long evolution from the days of paleolithic man, among a distinctly Negroid people. About 4777 B.C. Aha-Mena began the first of three successive Egyptian empires. This lasted two thousand years, with many Pharaohs, like Khafra of the Fourth Dynasty, of a strongly Negroid cast of countenance.

At the end of the period the empire fell apart into Egyptian and Ethopian halves, and a silence of three centuries ensued. It is quite possible that an incursion of conquering black men from the South poured over the land in these years and dotted Egypt in the next centuries with monuments on which the full-blooded Negro type is strongly and triumphantly impressed. The great Sphinx at Giseh, so familiar to all the world, the Sphinxes of Tanis,

the statue from the Fayum, the statue of the Esquiline at Rome, and the Colossi of Bubastis all represent black, full-blooded Negroes and are described by Petrie as "having high cheek bones, flat cheeks, both in one plane, a massive nose, firm projecting lips and thick hair, with an austere and almost savage expression of power."

Blyden, the great modern black leader of West Africa said of the Sphinx at Geseh: "Her features are decidedly of the African or Negro type, with 'expanded nostrils.' If, then the Sphinx was placed here - looking out in majestic and mysterious silence over the empty plain where once stood the great city of Memphis in all its pride add glory, as an 'emblematic representation of the king' - is not the inference clear as to the peculiar type or race to which that king belonged?"

38-12-136

The middle empire arose 3064 B.C. and lasted nearly twenty-four centuries. Under Pharaohs whose Negro descent is plainly evident, like Amenemhat 1 and 111 and Usertesen 1, the ancient glories of Egypt were restored and surpassed. At the same time there is strong continuous pressure from the wild and unruly Negro tribes of the upper Nile valley, and we get some idea of the fear which they inspired through Eghpy when we read of the great national rejoicing which followed the triumph of Usertesen 111 (c.2660-22) over these hordes. He drove them back and attempted to confine them to the edge of the Nubian Desert above the Second Cataract. Hemmed in here, they set up a state about this time and founded Nepata.

Notwithstanding this repulse of black men, less than one hundred years later a full-blooded Negro from the south, Ra Nehesi, was seated on the throne of the Pharaohs and was called "The King's oldest son." This may mean that an incursion from the far south had placed a black conqueror on the throne. At any rate, the whole empire was in some was shaken and two hundred years later the invasion of the Hyksos began. The domination of Hyksos kings who may have been Negroids from Asia lasted for five hundred years.

The redemption of Egypt from these barbarians came from Upper Egypt, led by the mulatto Aahmes. He founded in 1702 B.C. the new empire, which lasted fifteen hundred years. His queen, Nefertari, "the most beautiful venerated figure of Egyptian history" was a Negress of great beauty, strong personality, and of unusual administrative force. She was for many years joint ruler with her son, Amenhotep 1, who succeeded his father.

The new empire was a period of foreign conquest and internal splendor and finally of religious dispute and overthrow. Syria was conquered in these reigns and Asiatic civilization and influences poured in upon Egypt. The great Tahutmes 111 whose reign was "one of the grandest and most eventful in Egyptian history" had a strong Negroid countenance, as had also Queen Hatshepsut, who sent the celebrated expedition to reopen ancient trade with the Hotentots of Punt. A new strain of Negro blood came to the royal line through Queen Mutemua about 1420 B.C. whose son Amenhotep 111, built a great temple at Luqsor and the Colossi at Memnon. It was a granddaughter of this Pharaoh who married Tutankhamen, the recent discovery of whose tomb has revealed the splendid art of Egypt during the rule of these mulatto Pharaohs.

The whole of the period in a sense culminated in the great Ramessu 11, the oppressor of the Hebrews, who with his Egyptian, Libyan, and Negro armies fought half the world. His reign, however, was the beginning of decline, and foes began to press Egypt from the white north and the black south. The priests transferred their powers at Thebes, while the Assyrians under Nimrod overran Lower Egypt. The center of interest is now transferred to Ethopia, and we pass to the more shadowy history of that land.

32-12-137

JOHN BROWN

Material for revised edition

JOHN BROWN

A Preface

by W. E. B. Du Bois

A full century has passed since John Brown started in America the Civil War which abolished legal slavery in the United States and began the emancipation of the Negro race from the domination of white Europe and North America. John Brown in Kansas met murder with murder and tried in Virginia to arm slaves so that they might resist and escape slavery. Ever since his violent murder of the border ruffians who were trying to force slavery on Kansas and his attempt to seize the armory at Harpers Ferry so as to arm the slaves there had been bitter debate as to how far force and violence can bring peace and good will. This is a question that can never be completely answered for all circumstances and for all time. It is quite possible that time and searching conscience could have brought the emancipation of the slaves of the South without the catastrophe of war, murder and destruction, but that is by no means certain. It is quite possible that in time public opinion of an Abolitionist North could have forced the whole nation to embrace freedom for all men. But that certainly was not true ~~in~~ before the American Civil War.

On the other hand it was true that the violence which John Brown led made Kansas a free state; that the flight of the fugitive slaves was the beginning of abolition, and that the plan of John Brown to put arms in their hands could have hastened it. Although John Brown's plan failed at the time, it was actually arms and tools in the hands of a half-million Negroes that won the Civil War.

11

JOHN BROWN [1960]

by W. E. B. Du Bois

Insert p. 144

But behind it was greater cost: a million Indians lived in North America when the white man came, with a world of cultures behind them and many beginnings of civilization. But again and again catastrophe struck and the last was the discovery of America by Columbus. They received the white Europeans with curiosity and kindness. They gave them food and gold. In turn the white man stole and killed and tried to enslave, and their last theft was land. They stole the land of America from the Indians, used its wealth of fruit and gave it over to the rape of aristocrat, Puritan, slave and immigrant. Kansas was the last chapter of this great theft.

44-8-32

JOHN BROWN

by W. E. B. Du Bois

Set as is through page 4 ending: political life.

Then set the following copy for the rest of the chapter:

375

37-6-49a

And on all this was built John Brown's own inchoate but growing belief in a more just and a more equal distribution of property. From this he concluded, --and acted on that conclusion--that all men are created free and equal, and that freedom is not license.

In 1847 Frederick Douglass visited John Brown and heard of his plan to arm the slaves. In 1849 John Brown went to Europe to sell wool and visited France and Germany. That year he removed his family to North Elba, New York. Between these two dates, in 1848, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published the "Communist Manifesto". Ten years later, in 1859, the year that John Brown was executed, Charles Darwin published his "Origin of Species". These books transformed the world which Brown knew, but John Brown himself never read them.

As a sheep raiser and merchant, as farmer and trader, he knew much about property and the way it was produced and acquired. He early realized the way in which the worker was exploited and the consumer cheated. If he had read the "Communist Manifesto" he would certainly have agreed with much of it. He might even have realized how the worker through revolution could seize property and own capital. He could see and see clearly how the theft of human labor had put into the hands of a class of aristocrats tremendous power and prestige and the opportunity to overthrow the democratic process. He would have recognized in the socialism of Karl Marx a growing, conquering force destined to make democracy work if only it had the chance.

Since [illegible] the "Origin of the Species" was published, tremendous scientific and economic advance has been accompanied by distinct signs of moral retrogression in social philosophy. Strong arguments have been made for the fostering of war, the utility of human degradation and disease, and the inevitable and known inferiority of certain classes and races of men. While such arguments had not stopped the efforts of the advocates of peace, the workers for social uplift and the believers in human brotherhood, they had, it must be confessed, made their voices falter and tinged their arguments with apology.

32-2-46

Why is this? It is because the splendid scientific work of Darwin, Weismann, Galton and others has been widely interpreted as meaning that there is essential and inevitable inequality among men and races of men, which no philanthropy can or ought to eliminate; that civilization is a struggle for existence whereby the weaker nations and individuals will gradually succumb, and the strong will inherit the earth. With this interpretation has gone the silent assumption that the white European stock represents the strong surviving peoples, and that the swarthy, yellow and black peoples are the ones rightly doomed to eventual extinction.

One can easily see what influence such a doctrine would have on the race problem in America. It meant moral revolution in the attitude of the nation. Those that stepped into the pathway marked by men like John Brown faltered and large numbers turned back.. They said: He was a good man--even great, but he has no message for us today--he was "a belated Covenanter," an anachronism in the age of Darwin, one who gave us life to lift not the unlifted but the unliftable. We had consequently ~~the present reaction~~ a reaction which says in effect, Keep these black people in their places, and do not attempt to treat a Negro simply as a white man with a black face; to do this would mean the moral deterioration of the race and the nation --a fate against which a divine racial prejudice is successfully fighting. This is the attitude of the larger portion of our thinking people.

...ld assume that this was a logical development following new scientific ...ledge, but the doctrine of Karl Marx would easily prove that it was more than ... Industrial Revolution had taken place in the nineteenth century which increased the ... capital in private hands and this coupled with an extra... technical advance and new widely desired materials like sugar and cotton made great increase of wealth under private control possible. It was this itch for larger income in Britain and France together with sugar monopoly in the West Indies and the cotton kingdom in the United States that made ~~an equal~~ of West Europe and North America welcome scientific reasons for despising the mass of mankind and refusing to admit them to the new democracy. The result was colonial imperialism built on the new technique of western industry, fed by free land and raw materials in Asia and Africa and especially capped by the cheapest of colored labor.

The resultant attitude brought neither mental rest nor social peace. On the contrary, ~~it is today~~ it involved a degree of moral strain and political and social anomaly that gives the wisest pause. The chief difficulty has been that the natural place in which by scientific law the black race ~~in America~~ should stay, cannot easily be determined. To be sure, the freedmen did not, as the philanthropists of the sixties apparently expected, step in a century from slavery to ~~nineteenth~~ twentieth century civilization. Neither, on the other hand, did they, as the ex-masters confidently predicted, retrograde and die. Contrary to both these views, they chose a third and apparently quite unavailed way. From the great, sluggish almost imperceptibly moving mass, they sent off larger and larger numbers of thrifty workmen and artisans, some merchants and professional men, and even men of educational ability and discernment. They developed few world geniuses, few millionaires, and few captains of industry and only a small number of artists of the first rank, but they have in a century gotten rid of the greater part of their illiteracy, accumulated many billions of dollars of property and gained now and then respectable attention in the world's ears and eyes.

(8-8-47)

progress of the black man in America is due to the exceptional men among them and does not measure the ability of the mass. Such an admission is, however, fatal to the whole argument. If the doomed races of men are going to develop exceptions to the rule of inferiority, then no rule, scientific or moral, should or can proscribe the race as such.

To meet this difficulty in racial philosophy, a step has been taken in America fraught with the gravest social consequences to the world, and threatening not simply the political but the moral integrity of the nation: that step is denying in the case of black men the validity of those evidences of culture, ability, and decency which are accepted unquestionably in the case of other peoples; and by vague assertions, unprovable assumptions, unjust emphasis, and now and then by deliberate untruth, aiming to secure not only the continued proscription of all these people, but, by caste distinction, to shut in the faces of their rising classes many of the paths to further advance.

When a social policy, based on a supposed scientific sanction, leads to such a moral anomaly, it is time to examine rather carefully the logical foundations of the argument. And as soon as we do this many things are clear: First, assuming the truth of the unproved dictum that there are stocks of human beings whose elimination the best welfare of the world demands, it is certainly questionable if these stocks include the majority of mankind; and it is indefensible and monstrous to pretend that we know today with any reasonable assurance which these stocks are. We can point to degenerate individuals and families here and there among all races, but there is not the slightest warrant for assuming that there does not lie among the Chinese and Hindus, the African Bantus and American Indians as lofty possibilities of human culture as any European race has ever exhibited. It is, to be sure, puzzling to know why the Soudan should linger [redacted] in culture behind the valley of the Seine, but it is no more puzzling than the fact that the valley of the Thames was miserably backward as compared with the

banks of the Tiber. Climate, environment, facilities of communication and [illegible] all accident, have played a great part in the rise of culture among nations: to ignore these and assert dogmatically that the present distribution of culture is a fair index of the distribution of human ability and desert, is to make an assertion for which there is not the slightest scientific warrant.

What the age of Darwin has done is to add to the eighteenth century idea of individual worth the complementary idea of physical immortality. And this, far from annulling or contracting the idea of human ability, rather emphasizes its necessity and eternal possibility--the boundlessness and endlessness of human achievement. Freedom has come to mean not individual caprice or aberration, but social self-realization in an endless chain of selves: and freedom for such development is not the denial but the central assertion of the evolutionary theory. So, too, the doctrine of human equality passes through the fire of scientific inquiry, not obliterated but transfigured: not equality of present attainment but equality of opportunity, for unbounded future attainment is the rightful demand of mankind.

32-8-49

JOHN BROWN

by W. E. B. Du Bois

Insert p. 379 for third paragraph:

What now did the hegemony of the white races threaten? It threatened by means of brute force a survival of some of the worst stocks of mankind. It attempted to people the best parts of the earth and put in absolute authority over the rest, not ususally (and indeed not mainly) the culture of Europe but its greed and degradation--not only some representatives of the best stocks of the West End of London, upper New York and the Champs Elysees, but also, in as large if not larger numbers, the worst stocks of Whitechapel, the East Side and Montmartre; and it essayed to make the slums of white society in all cases and under all circumstances the superior of any colored group, no matter what its ability or culture. To be sure, this outrageous program of wholesale human degeneration was not always outspoken, save in the backward civilizations of the Southern United States, South Africa and Australia. But its enunciation was listened to with respect and tolerance in England, Germany, and the Northern states by those very persons who accuse philanthropy with seeking to degrade holy white blood by an infiltration of colored strains. And the average citizen voted ships and guns to carry out this program.

This movement gathered force and strength during the latter half of the nineteeth century and reached its culmination when France, Germany, England and Russia began the partition of China and the East. With the sudden self-assertion of Japan and the use of China and the leadership of the Soviet Union, its wildest dreams collapsed, but it is still today a living, virile, potent force and motive, the most subtle and dangerous enemy of world peace and the dream of human brotherhood. It has a whole vocabulary of its own: the strong races, superior peoples, race preservation, the struggle for survival and a variety of terms meaning the right of white men of any kind to beat blacks into submission, make them surrender their wealth and the use of their women and submit to dictation without murmur, for the sake of being swept off the fairest portions of the earth or held there in perpetual serfdom or guardianship. Ignoring the fact that the era of physical struggle for survival has passed away among human beings, and that there is plenty of room accessible on earth for all, this theory makes the possession of guns, airplanes and rockets the main criterion of mental stamina and moral fitness.

~~(p. 979 insert continued)~~

Even armed with this morality of the club, and every advantage of modern culture, Western Europe has been unable to possess the earth. Many signs of degeneracy have appeared among them: their birth-rate is falling, their average ability is not increasing, their physical stamina is impaired, and their social condition is not reassuring. Lacking the physical ability to take possession of the world, they are today fencing in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and declaring that no dark race shall occupy or develop the land which they themselves are unable to use. And all this on the plea that their stock is threatened with deterioration from without, when in reality its most dangerous threat is deterioration from within.

(CONTINUE WITH BOOK - LAST LINE ... 581)

38-8-51

We are, in fact, today repeating in our intercourse between race all the former evils of class distinction within the nation: personal hatred and abuse, mutual injustice, unequal taxation and rigid caste. Individual nations outgrew these fatal things by breaking down the horizontal barriers between classes. We are bringing them back by seeking to erect vertical barriers between races. Men were told that abolition of compulsory class distinction meant leveling down, degradation, disappearance of culture and genius and the triumph of the mob. As a matter of fact, it has been the salvation of European civilization. Some deterioration and leveling there was but it was more than balanced by the discovery of new reservoirs of ability and strength. So today we are told that free racial contact--or "social equality" as Southern patois has it--means contamination of blood and lowering of ability and culture. It need mean nothing of the sort. Abolition of class distinction did not mean universal intermarriage of stocks, but rather the survival of the fittest by peaceful, personal and social selection--a selection all the more effective because free democracy and equality of opportunity allow the best to rise to their rightful place. The same is true in racial contact. Vertical race distinctions are even more emphatic hindrances to human evolution than horizontal class distinctions, and their tearing away involves fewer chances of degradation and greater opportunities of human betterment than in case of class lines. On the other hand, persistence in racial distinction spells disaster sooner or later. The earth is growing smaller and more accessible. Race contact will become in the future increasingly inevitable not only in America, Asia, and Africa but even in Europe. The color line will mean not simply a return to the absurdities of class as exhibited in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but even to the caste of ancient days. This, however, the Japanese, the Chinese, the East Indians and the Negroes are going to resent in just such proportion as they gain the power; and they are gaining the power, and they cannot be kept from gaining more power. The price of repression will then be

hypocrisy and slavery and blood.

This is the situation today. Has John Brown no message--no legacy, then, to the twentieth century?

3x-8-53

JOHN BROWN

by W. E. B. Du Bois

These are the dates whose events conditioned John Brown and his acts. Beginning with the Battle of Plassy in 1757 the loot of India began to pour into England. In 1769 the steam engine was invented and in 1793, the cotton gin. Between 1784 and 1804 the Sugar Empire in the West Indies began to disintegrate and former slaves and free Negroes controlled Haiti. For this reason and because of the revolt of the British conscience against the cruelties of the trade in 1808 the British made the African slave trade illegal and other nations including the United States slowly followed. In 1820 the Cotton Kingdom in the United States began to rise reaching its zenith in 1860. The cotton crop increased from a half million bales in 1822 to its five million bales in 1860. All this meant a world change in the production and distribution of goods. Capital increased immensely in the hands of private owners and their subsequent control of labor in industry became almost complete.

The French Revolution had demanded freedom for the indivdual--the liberty to do as he pleased for what he considered his own good and the consequent good of mankind. But in the Nineteenth Century this freedom rapidly became license for private owners of capital to control industry and income and thus rule mankind. In the first half of the Nineteenth Century, in 1843, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels called attention to this state of affairs in their "Communist Manifesto" which later Marx further developed in his great work on capital.

In the United States where John Brown lived the demand for "freedom" was still paramount and could be widely realized because land was free and there was an abundance of labor. John Brown never read the "Communist Manifesto" and knew little of the rise of Socialism. But he did realize that a suppressed and exploited part of the laboring class in America--the Negroes--had been deprived by capitalist and land monopolists of the freedom to earn a living and to direct their lives which was vital in John Brown's mind to a human being. He espoused therefore the freedom of the

slave knowing well that freedom alone was not the settlement of the Negro problem that this must be followed by education, the right to vote, and treatment as human beings. But all this he assumed was inherent in the American system and would follow the freedom of the slaves. Then in the year that he was crucified came Darwin's "Origin of Species" and gradually a changed attitude of science toward human beings. This was not merely a logical deduction from the doctrine of evolution. On the contrary it was used by those who desired large incomes through ownership of capital to excuse the growing reduction of the majority of the world's laborers to the cheap use of their toil and land for the increasing profit of capitalism.

38-6-55

The state impelled by the capitalists seized control of colonies using the labor in Asia and Africa and the islands of the seas instead of transporting it to America. By the use of this capital in far-off colonies the absentee landlord was replaced by the absentee investor so that the owners of capital knew less and less how their capital was used and were rewarded for this ignorance by increase of profit. This is characteristic of the capitalistsystem in this day. Owners do not know and gradually begin not to care how their capital is used so long as their income is assured and increases. The Western world consciously or unconsciously depends for its support, comfort and luxury on the low wage of colonial labor and the seizure of colonial land and materials. As a result of this we have war to force new divisions in the ownership of colonies and war between colonies and imperial powers.

All this John Brown did not know and could not foresee, but nevertheless he left a clear legacy: first, the right of the enslaved to repel oppression. Then beyond this a new attitude toward human beings and a belief in the abilities and character of the great mass of mankind. Even then as Lenin has shown must come a plan of life and work which will ensure the best interests of the masses and a discipline and dictation which shall through education and force compel the workers to follow and activate these plans. Out of this will arise a new interpretation of the word freedom. There must be left a wide individualism and yet no individual must be allowed to infringe upon another's freedom. In other words the future world will not be free in the sense that anyone can do what he pleases, but freedom in the

larger sense of having his acts work for the best interests of the peoples of the world. Beyond this science is psychology launched with Freud in 1895 a new concept of how the world works in its use of the human brain.

All this John Brown did not know and yet his life's work was in consonance with it. He believed in the abilities and worth of the souls of black folk. He believed in the gifts that they would be able to furnish America and he regarded them as equals to all Americans of any color. He believed that men should labor for what they earned and should not get their income by chance or inheritance. He believed in the freedom of the land and its fruits to be distributed in accord with the labor which was put upon it. Thus he was a pioneer in the fight for human equality and in the uplift of the masses of men.

There can be no doubt but that the progress of the emancipated slave in the United States since 1863 has been phenomenal. He has touched every phase of American development. He has furnished subjects for American writers and thinkers and himself contributed to American art, music and literature. He has given the nation invaluable labor and service, has taken notable part in the advance of science and discovery and without his own work, American industry could never have reached the heights which it has. The American Department of State in its desperate effort to fight Socialism and Communism has sought to emphasize Negro progress and has paid out considerable sums of money to bribe Negroes and induce them to travel and praise America in various parts of the world. Despite this, however, it is perfectly clear that while Negro progress has been great, it has not been nearly as rapid as it might have been had the Negro received decent treatment. He has been deliberately paid a lower wage than whites doing the same work or than immigrants from abroad. He has been denied perferment and promotion in industry ; kept out of scientific laboratories; discriminated against in scholarships and often actually beaten to submission to superior force and impudent assumption. If American Negroes had been given the chance that the Russian peasant has had since 1917 his contribution to the uplift of the world might easily have been startling. The repression and discrimination which he has met has held back the progress of the United States and the world and is

a thing of which this country must always be ashamed.

In murder and unjust punishment America has made a disgraceful record against the Negro race. Between 1882 and 1900, the whites lynched without trial four thousand Negroes beside killing more than ten thousand by mobs. When public opinion stopped lynching, injustice in the courts succeeded. A Negro had only to be arrested, to be found guilty and convicted in most Southern courts and many Northern. Three times as many Negroes in proportion to population go to prison as whites. Among children twice as many Negroes are arrested as delinquent. Half the prisoners serving life sentences and half those executed in the nation are Negroes who form but a tenth of our population. There is certainly crime among Negroes but it does not exceed that of the whites in anything like this proportion. The chief crime of Negro prisoners is the color of their skin. Not all America has approved or encouraged this injustice. Many have helped and defended the Negro, but the majority have permitted injustice without protest.

38-8-57

~~a thing of which this country must always be ashamed.~~

What would be the cost of liberty? What would be the cost of giving the great stocks of mankind every reasonable help and incentive to self-development--opening the avenues of opportunity freely, spreading knowledge, suppressing war and cheating, and treating men and women as equals the world over whenever and wherever they attain equality? It would cost something. It would cost something in pride and prejudice, for eventually many a white man would be blacking black men's boots; but this cost we may ignore--its greatest cost would be the new problems of racial intercourse and intermarriage which would come to the front. Freedom and equal opportunity in this respect would inevitably bring some intermarriage of whites and yellows and browns and blacks. This might be a good thing and it might not be. We do not know. Our belief on the matter may be strong and even frantic, but it has no adequate scientific foundation. If such marriages are proven inadvisable, how could they be stopped? Easily. We associate with cats and cows, but we do not fear intermarriage with them, even though they be given all freedom of development. So, too, intelligent human beings can be trained to breed intelligently without the degradation of such of their fellows as they may not wish to breed with. In the Southern United States, on the contrary, it is assumed that unwise marriages can be stopped only by the degradation of the blacks--the classing of all darker women with prostitutes, the loading of a whole race with every badge of public isolation, degradation and contempt, and by burning offenders at the stake. Is this civilization? No. The civilized method of preventing ill-advised marriage lies in the training of all mankind in the ethics of sex and child-bearing. We cannot ensure the survival of the best blood by the public murder and degradation of unworthy suitors, but we can substitute a civilized human selection of husbands and wives which shall ensure the survival of the fittest. Not the methods of the jungle, not even the careless choices of the drawing-room, but the thoughtful selection of the schools and laboratory is the ideal of future marriage.

The greatest source of human rejoicing today is the phenomenal rise of the people of Russia. From an ignorant, despised, suppressed peasantry they have in less than a century become in many respects the leading nation of the world. They have abolished poverty, and from the masses have risen an extraordinary number of gifted men. Their system of education surpasses that of any other part of the world and their scientific contribution during the twentieth century is among the wonders of mankind.

To this must be added the resurrection of China. This largest nation in the world is rushing forward with unexampled speed and efficiency. Despite the effort of the United States to dismember it, lie about it, and keep it out of the United Nations, it is becoming one of the greatest modern nations. ~~of the world.~~

The cost of repression is today large and continually increasing. The exploitation of cheap labor, the seizure of the land and its fruit, the problem of unemployment and the curbing of corporations are a tremendous drain on modern Western society with no near end in sight.

38-8-56

JOHN BROWN

by W. E. B. Du Bois

Transcript 385

The cost is not merely in wealth but in social progress and spiritual strength, and it leads ever to explosion, murder, and war. ~~All these things but increase the difficulty of beginning a regime of freedom in human growth and development--they make the cost of liberty.~~ Not only that but the very explosions, like the world wars, ~~which bring carnival of crime,~~ tend in the complacent current philosophy to spread ignorance. ~~create the environment of oppression.~~ "Blood will tell," men say. "The fit will survive; atop an ice-bubble and inevitably the steam will burst the iron," and therefore only the steam that bursts is worth the generating; only organized murder proves the fitness of a people for liberty. This is a fearful and dangerous doctrine. It encourages wrong leadership and perverted ideals at the very time when loftiest and most unselfish striving is called for--as witness Japan after her emancipation, or America after the Civil War. Conversely, it leads the shallow and unthinking to brand as demagogue and radical every group leader who in the day of slavery and struggle cries out for change. ~~freedom.~~

38-8-60

For such reasons it is that the memory of John Brown stands today as a mighty warning to his country. He saw, he felt in his soul the wrong and danger of that most daring and insolent system of human repression known as Negro slavery. He knew that in 1700 it would have cost something to overthrow slavery and establish liberty; and that by reason of cowardice and blindness the cost in 1800 was vastly larger but still not unpayable. He felt that by 1900 no human hand could pluck the vampire from the body of the land without doing the nation to death. He said, in 1859, "Now is the day to strike for a free nation. It will cost something-- even blood and suffering, but it will not cost as much as waiting. And he was right. Repression--seldom bred slavery, until in 1861 the South was farther from freedom than in 1800.

(more)

The edict of 1863 was the [illegible] emancipation and its cost [illegible] and treasure was staggering. But it was not all--it was only a fir[illegible]. There were other bills to pay of material [illegible], mental regeneration, mental training and moral relief. These the nation [illegible] Fifteenth Amendment, the Freedmen's Bureau, the crusade of school teachers, the Civil Rights Bill and the decision of the Supreme Court on segregated schools. But the [illegible] determination of the South to pay no single cent or shed for past error save by force, led in the revolution of 1876 to the triumph of secession.

38-8-61

Reaction meant and means a policy of state, society and individual, whereby no American of Negro blood shall ever come into the full freedom of modern culture. In the carrying out of this program by certain groups and sections, no pains have been spared--no expenditure of money, ingenuity, ph physical or moral strength. The building of barriers around these black men has been pushed with an energy so desperate and unflagging that it has seriously checked the great outpouring of benevolence and sympathy that greeted the freedman in 1863. It has come so swathed and gowned in graciousness as to disarm philanthropy and chill enthusiasm. It has used double-tongued argument with deadly effect. Has the Negro advanced? Beware his further strides. Has the Negro retrograded? It is his fate, why seek to help him? Thus has the spirit of repression gained attention, complacent acquiescence, and even cooperation. To be sure, there still stand staunch souls who cannot yet believe the doctrine of human repression, and who pour out their wealth for Negro training and freedom in the face of the common cry. But a large minority of Americans seem to have forgotten the foundation principles of their government and the recklessly destructive effect of the blows meant to bind and tether their fellows. We have come to see a day here in America when one citizen can deprive another of his vote at his discretion; can restrict the education of his neighbors' children as he sees fit; can with impunity load his neighbor with public insult on the king's highway; can deprive him of his property without due process of law; can deny him the right of trial by his peers, or of any trial whatsoever if he can get a large enough group of men to join him; can refuse to protect or safeguard the integrity of the family of some men whom he dislikes; finally, can not only close the door of opportunity in commercial and social lines in a fully competent neighbor's face, but can actually count on the national and state governments to help and make effective this discrimination.

32-2-62

Such a state of affairs is not simply disgraceful; it is deeply and increasingly dangerous. Not only does the whole nation feel already the loosening of joints which these vicious blows on human liberty have caused--lynching, lawlessness, lying and stealing, bribery and divorce--but it can look for darker deeds to come.

38-8-63

DuP

And this not merely because of the positive harm of this upbuilding of barriers, but above all because within these bursting barriers are men--human forces which no human hand can hold. It is human force and aspiration and endeavor which are moving there amid the creaking of timbers and writhing of souls. It is human force that has already done in a generation the work of many centuries. It has crowded eager children through a wretched and half-furnished schools system until from an illiteracy of seventy per cent, two-thirds of the living adults can read and write. The great mass of these men is becoming daily more thoroughly organized, more deeply self-critical, more conscious of its power. Threatened though it has been naturally, as a proletariat, with degeneration and disease, it is today reducing its death-rate and beginning organized rescue of its delinquents and defectives. The mass can still today be called ignorant, poor and but moderately efficient, but it is daily growing better trained, richer and more intelligent. And as it grows it is sensing more and more the vantage-ground which it holds as a defender of the right of the freedom of human development for black men in the midst of a centre of modern culture.

32-8-19-4

It sees its brothers in yellow, black and brown held physically at arms' length from civilization lest they become civilized and less liable to conquest and exploitation. It sees the world-wide effort to build an aristocracy of races and nations on a foundation of darker half-enslaved and tributary peoples. It knows that the last great battle of the West is to vindicate the right of any man of any nation, race, or color to share in the worlds' goods and thoughts and efforts to the extent of his effort and ability.

Thus today the Negro-American faces his destiny and doggedly strives to realize it. He has his tempters and temptations. There are ever those about him whispering: "You are nobody; why strive to be somebody? The odds are overwhelming against you--wealth, tradition, learning and guns. Be reasonable. Accept the code of charity and the cant of missionaries and sink contentedly to your place as humble servants and helpers of the white world." If this has not been effective, threats have been used: "If you continue to complain, we will withdraw all aid, boycott your labor, cease to help support your schools and let you die and disappear from the land in ignorance, crime and disease." Still the black man has pushed on, has continued to protest, has refused to die out and disappear, and today stands as physically the most virile element in America, intellectually among the most promising, and morally the most tremendous and insistent of the social problems of the New World. Not even the silence of friends, or of those who ought to be the friends of struggling humanity, has silenced him. Not even the wealth of modern Golconda has induced him to believe that life without liberty is worth living.

On the other side heart-searching is in order. [illegible] this land of ours: poverty is certainly not growing less, [illegible] wasted, business honesty is far too rare, [illegible] is threatened, bribery is poisoning our public life, theft is honeycombing our private business, and voting is largely uninteligent. But these evils are not progress. There are brave men and women striving for social betterment, for the curbing of the vicious power of wealth, for the uplifting of women and the downfall of thieves. But their battle is hard, and how much harder because of our race problem -- because of the calloused conscience of caste, the peonage of black labor lands, the insulting of black women, and the stealing of black votes! How far are business dishonesty and civic degradation in America the direct result of racial prejudice?

Well do I know that many persons defend their treatment of undeveloped peoples on the highest grounds. They say, as Jefferson Davis intimated, that liberty is for the full-grown, not for children. It was during Senator Mason's

inquisition after the hanging of John Brown, whereby the Southern leader hoped to entrap the Abolitionists. Joshua R. Giddings, keen, impetuous and fiery, was on the rack. Senator Davis, pale, sallow and imperturbable, with all the aristocratic poise and dignity built on the unpaid toil of two centuries of slaves, said:

"Did you, in inculcating, by popular lectures, the doctrine of a law higher than that of the social compact, make your application exclusively to Negro slaves, or did you also include minors, convicts, and lunatics, who might be restrained of their liberty by the laws of the land?"

Mr. Giddings smiled. "Permit me," he said, ". . . with all due deference, to suggest, so that I may understand you, do you intend to inquire whether those lectures would indicate whether your slaves of the slave states had a right at all times to their liberty?"

"I will put the question in that form if you like it," answered Davis, and then Giddings flashed:

"My lectures, in all instances, would indicate the right of every human soul in the enjoyment of reason, while he is charged with no crime or offense, to maintain his life, his liberty, the pursuit of his own happiness; that this has reference to the enslaved of all the states as much as it had reference to our own people while enslaved by the Algerines in Africa."

But Mr. Davis suavely pressed his point: "Then the next question is, whether the same right was asserted for minors and apprentices, being men in good reason, yet restrained of their liberty by the laws of the land."

Giddings replied: "I will answer at once that the proposition or comparison is conflicting with the dictates of truth. The minor is, from the law of nature under the restraints of parental affection for the purposes of nurture, of education, of preparing him to secure and maintain the very rights to which I refer."[1]

[1] Report: Reports of Senate Committees, 36th Congress, 1st Session, No. 278; Testimony of Joshua R. Giddings pp. 147-156

by W. E. B. Du Bois

Insert p. 393 following first paragraph and as substitute for second and third paragraphs:

This debate is not yet closed. It was not closed by the Civil War. Men still maintain that East Indians, Chinese and Africans and others ought to be under the restraint and benevolent tutelage of stronger and wiser nations for their own benefit. Well and good. Is the tutelage really benevolent? Then it is training in liberty. Is it training in slavery? Then it is not benevolent. Liberty trains for liberty. Responsibility is the first step in responsibility.

Even the restraints imposed in the training of men and children are for values that will in the end make greater freedom possible. Is the benevolent exploitation of today of such a character? Is England trying to see how soon and how effectively the Rhodesian Negroes can be trained for self-government or is she willing to exploit them just so long as they can be cajoled or quieted into submission? Is France freeing North Africa? Is the South trying to make the Negroes responsible, self-reliant freemen of a republic, or the dumb driven cattle of a great industrial machine?

8-8-47

No sooner is the question put this way than the defenders of modern caste retire behind a more defensible breastwork. They say: "Yes, we exploit nations for our own advantage purposely--even at times brutally. But only in that way can the high efficiency of the modern industrial process be maintained, and in the long run it benefits the oppressed even more than the oppressor." This doctrine is as wide-spread as it is false and mischievous. It is true that the bribe of greed will artificially hasten economic development, but it does so at fearful cost, as America itself can testify. We have here a wonderful industrial machine, but a machine quickly rather than carefully built, formed of forcing rather than of growth, involving sinful and unnecessary expense. Better smaller production and more equitable distribution; better fewer miles of railway and more honor, truth, and liberty; better fewer millionaires and more contentment. So it is the world over, where force and greed and graft have exacted rich reward from writhing millions. Moreover, it is historically unprovable that the advance of undeveloped peoples has been helped by wholesale exploitation at the hands of their richer, stronger, and more unscrupulous neighbors. This idea is a legend of the long exploded doctrine of inevitable economic harmonies in all business life. True it is that adversity and difficulties make for character, but the real and inevitable difficulties of life are numerous enough for genuine development without the aid of artificial hindrances. The inherent and natural difficulties of raising a people from ignorance and unmoral slavishness to self-reliant modern manhood are great enough for purposes of character-building without the aid of murder, theft, caste, and degradation. Not because of but in spite of these latter hindrances has the Negro-American pressed forward.

This, then, is the truth: the cost of liberty is less than the price of repression, even though that cost be blood. Freedom of development and equality of opportunity is the demand of Darwinism and this calls for the abolition of hard and fast lines between races, just as it calls for the breaking down of barriers between classes. Only in this way can the best in humanity be discovered and conserved, and only thus can mankind live in peace and progress. The attempt to force all whites above all darker peoples is a sure method of human degeneration. The cost of liberty is thus a decreasing cost, while the cost of repression ever tends to increase to the danger point of war and revolution. Revolution is not a test of capacity; it is always a loss and lowering of ideals.

11

25

JOHN BROWN

by W. E. Du Bois

Insert p. 395 at end of second paragraph:

But if it is a true revolution it repays all losses and results in the uplift of the human race. One could wish that John Brown could see today the results of the great revolution in Russia; that he could see the new world of Socialism and Communism expanding until it already comprises the majority of mankind; until it has conquered the problem of poverty, made vast inroads on the problem of ignorance and even begun to put to flight the problem of avoidable disease. It has abolished unemployment and is approaching the great day when all men will do for the world what they are best suited to do and will receive in return from the world not all that each may want but everything that each man needs.

28-2-69

John Brown taught us that the cheapest price to pay for liberty is its cost today. The building of barriers against the advance of Negro-Americans hinders but in the end cannot altogether stop their progress. The excuse of benevolent tutelage cannot be urged, for that tutelage is not benevolent that does not prepare for free responsible manhood. Nor can the efficiency of greed as an economic developer be proven--it may hasten development but it does so at the expense of solidity of structure, smoothness of motion, and real efficiency. Nor does selfish exploitation help the undeveloped; rather it hinders and weakens them.

It is now a full century since this white-haired old man lay weltering in the blood which he spilled for broken and despised humanity. Let the nation which he loved and the South to which he spoke, reverently listen again today to those words, as prophetic now as then:

"You had better--all you people of the South--prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question. It must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it, and the sooner you commence that preparation, the better for you. You may dispose of me very easily--I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled--this Negro question, I mean. The end of that is not yet."

MORALS AND MANNERS AMONG NEGRO AMERICANS

(18th Atlanta University Conference)

1913

Draft fragments, including "The Woman in Black" which was published in revised form as Section 8, "Home Life."

The cause of this youthful crime is:

(I) The difficulty of adjusting the young to a caste system.

(2) The poor home training.

(3) The demand for young strong convict labor.

Other causes of crime are dimly discernible: the training of the past shows itself in 6000 convictions for larceny: for slavery and subsequent partial payment in kind played havoc with ~~obstructions~~ distinctions of private property in the thoughts of the freedmen. Then too, fighting and brawling seem natural, even commendable to a certain state of advancement, but, but the surrounding white group brand this crime as heinous: hence the 3500 commitments for assault and the 1177 Negro homicides.

Other causes of crime not shown in these figures are:

(I) Po verty

(2) Discouragement arising from lawless treatment and withdrawal of civil and political rights.

(3) Lack of self-respect under a caste system.

What now is the remedy for Negro crime?

I. Justice in Southern courts; Negroes on the police force and in the Jury box.

2. Abolition of the economic demand for criminals in the South.

3. Better housing and a free chance to work in the North.

4. National aid to Negro education.

5. Better wages.

6. Full civil and political rights for Negroes, on the same basis as they are granted to whites.

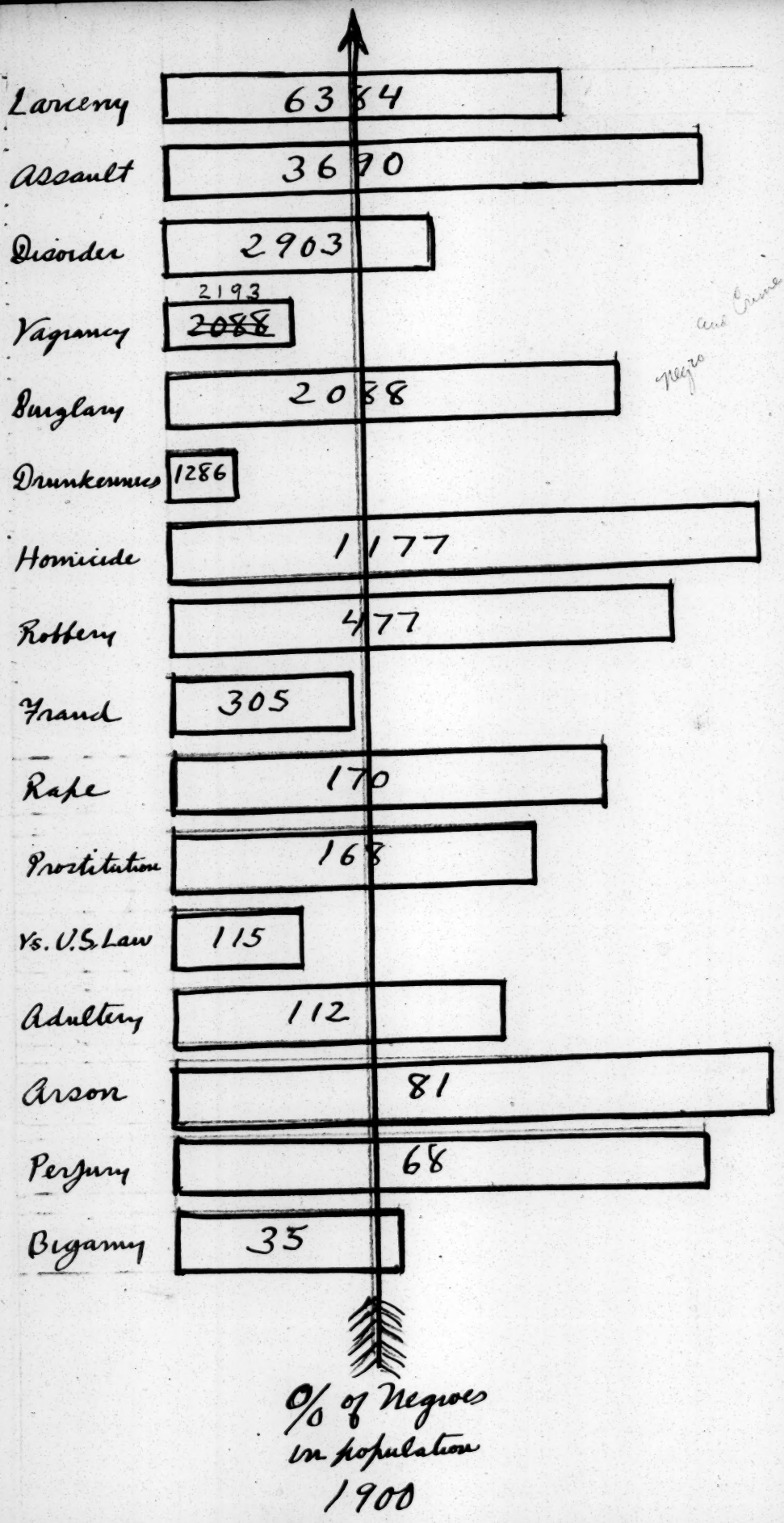
~~Finally let us remember~~ Two facts should be carefully considered. first, that as compared with European statistics, the rate of Negro commitments (~~more per million~~) is not large. France had in the nineteenth century figures varying from 2300 to 6000, England a rate of 22,000 convictions of all kind per million in 1891, and Ireland 43,565. Of course ~~then~~ judicial

processes are different, and stricter than ours, but also, we must confess, just so. Secondly there were in 1904 more than six million adult Negroes who were not arrested or committed to prison, and who did not deserve to be. They naturally resent being treated or discussed as though they belonged to the 24,000 actual delinquents or to the others deserving to be so classed.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

31-3-15

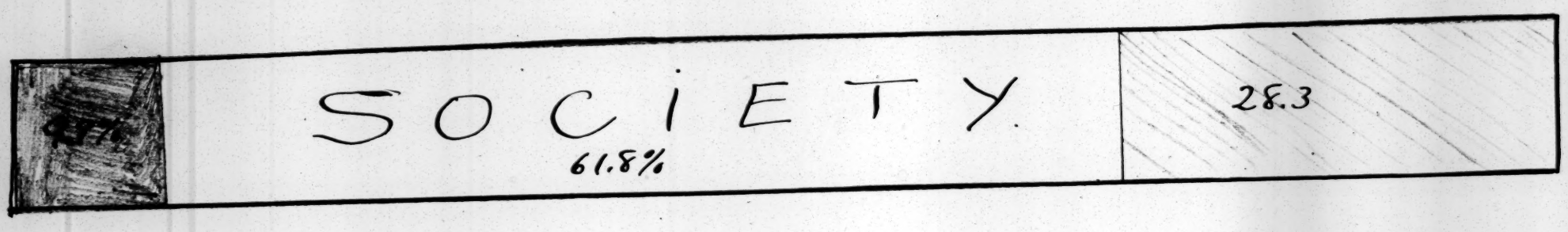
W. E. B. DuBois,
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY,
ATLANTA, GA.


Larceny
6384
Assault
3690
Disorder
2903
2193
Vagrancy
2088
Burglary
2088
Drunkenness
1286
Homicide
1177
Robbery
477
Fraud
305
Rape
170
Prostitution
168
Vs. U.S. Law
115
Adultery
112
Arson
81
Perjury
68
Bigamy
35
% of Negroes in population 1900

31-3-12

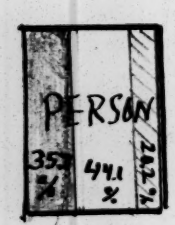
Crimes against:

31-3-13



62.5%

25.6%



10.4%

35.7

Diagram B.

● = Negroes

◍ = Foreigners

○ = Natives Whites

31-3-14

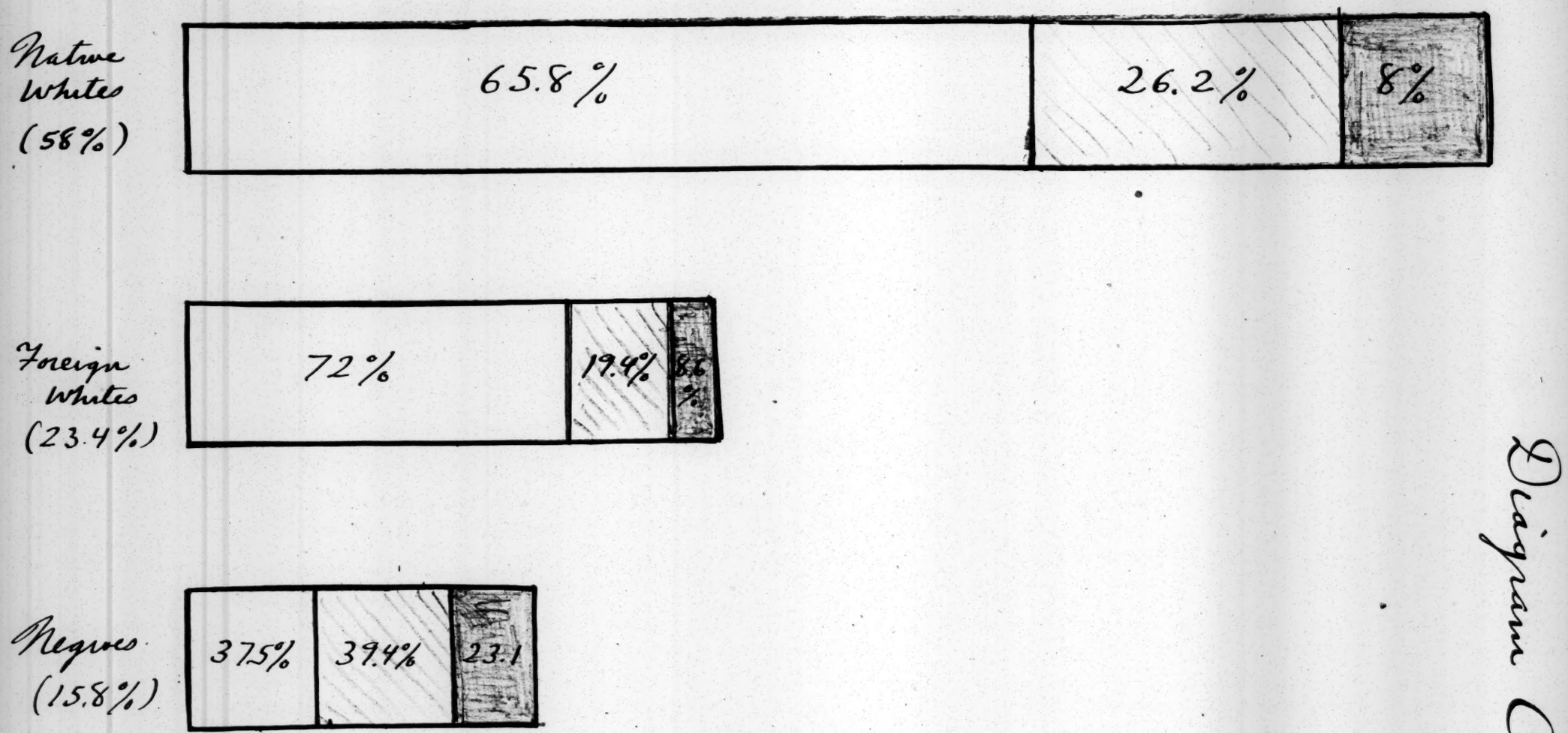
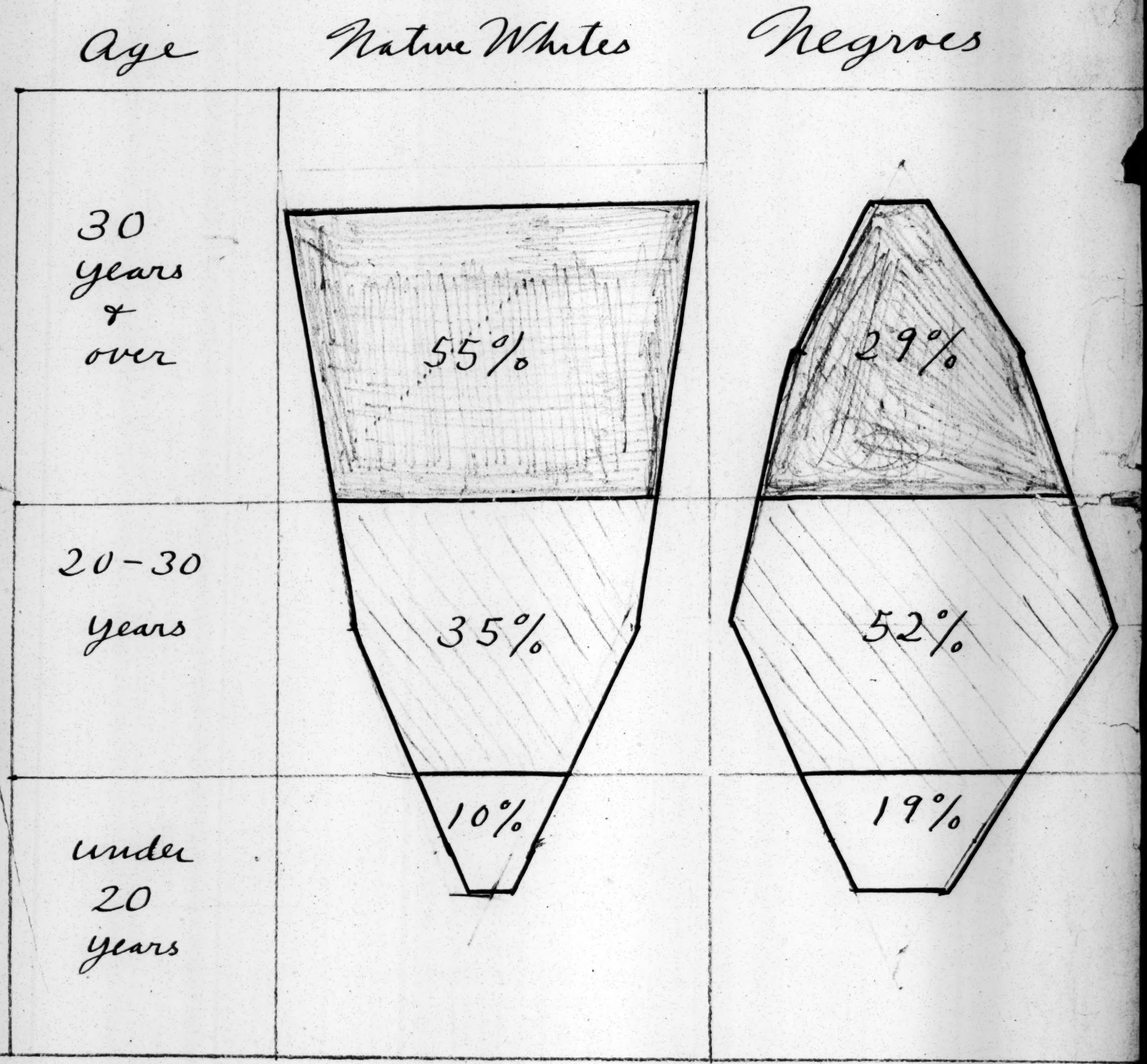


Diagram C.

Diagram F.



31-3-17

THE WOMAN IN BLACK.

--oOOOo--

The world that worships womankind tries often to forget its darker sister whose

" . . . . visage is too bright
To hit the sense of human sight
And therefore to our weaker view
O'er laid with black, staid Wisdom's hue;
Black, but such as in esteem
Prime Memnon's sister might beseem
Or that starr'd Ethiop queen that strove
To set her beauty's praise above
The sea nymphs . . "

Yet these women must be remembered - these dark daughters of Sorrow, from the primal black All-mother of men down through the ghostly train of mighty womanhood who walked out of the veiled mysteries of Asia and of Africa; from the dark Candace of Nubia, warring with the world, through dusky Cleopatra, down by fierce Zinghas to our own Phillis and Harriet and Frances Harper. They were not all Negroes? I do not know; but they were touched with the livery of the Sun and whatsoever Africa touches then and now is forever her own.

The Father and his worship is Asia; the precocious forward-striving Child is Europe; but the land of the Mother is and was, Africa. In some subtle and mysterious way, despite her slavery and her burdens, the spell of the African mother pervades her land. "Strike me" cries the Mandingo, "but revile not my mother." And the Herero swears (O endless oath!) "By my mother's tears!" In home, in work, in council, in government, the hand of the African mother is omni-present; as I remember through memories of others, backward through my own family, it is the Mother I ever recall; the little far off mother of my grandmothers who

sobbed her life away in song, longing for her lost palm-trees and scented waters; the tall and bronzen grandmother, with beaked nose and shrewish eyes who loved and scolded her black and laughing husband as he smoked lazily in his high oak chair; above all my own mother with all her soft brownness - the brown velvet of her skin, the sorrowful black-brown of her eyes, and the tiny brown- cap of waves of her mianight hair as it lay now parted on her forehead. All the way back in these dim distances it is mothers and mothers of mothers that seem to count and fathers are shadowy memories.

So too as I look about me to-day in this veiled world of mine, despite the noisier and more spectacular advance of my brothers, I instinctively feel and know that it is the five million women of my race that really count; black women (and women whose grandmothers are black) are to-day furnishing fifteen thousand of our teachers; they are the main pillars and form two thirds the membership of our 40,000 churches, and have with small doubt raised three-fourths of the fift millions in church property. If we have to-day, as seems sikely a half billion of accumulated goods, who shall say how much of it has been wrung from the hearts of 700000 servant girls and washerwomen and 600,000 women toilers in the fields? As mistresses of two mill on homes they are to-day seeking in marvellous ways to show forth our strength and beauty and our conception of the truth.

To no modern race does its women mean so much as to us, nor come so near to the fulfillment of its meaning, as one of our women writes:

"Only the Black Woman can say "when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me."

Their destiny and path in life thus cut singularly across that of the women of the whiter world and blazes a guiding way, whether they will see it or no. For these other women have long had their preordained place; to be beautiful, to be petted, to bear children. Such is their theoretic destiny and if perchance they have been ugly hurt and barren, that has been forgotten with studied silence. In partial compensation for this narrowed destiny (perfectly suited to but few) the white world has lavished its politeness upon womankind - its chivalry and bows its uncoverings, and courtesy - all the accumulated homage disused for courts and kings and craving exercise. The revolt of white women against this preordained destiny has in these latter days reached marvellous proportions but it is the revolt of aristocracy of brains and ability - the middle class and rank and file still plod on in the appointed path, paid by the homage the almost mocking homage of men.

From black women, however, (and from some others too but chiefly from black women and their daughters' daughters) this gauze has been withheld and with out semblance of such apology they have been frankly trodden under the feet of men. As Dr. Crummell puts it:

"In her girlhood all the delicate tenderness of her sex has been rudely outraged. In the field, in the rude cabin, in the wash-room, in the factory, she was thrown into the companionship of coarse and ignorant men. No chance was given her for delicate reserve or tender modesty. From her childhood she was the doomed victim of the grossest passion. All the virtues of her sex were utterly ignored. If the instinct of chastity asserted itself, then she had to fight like a tiger for the ownership and possession of her own person, and oftimes had to suffer pain and lacerations for her virtuous self-assertion. When she reached maturity all the tender instincts of her womanhood were ruthlessly

violated. At the age of marriage - always prematurely anticipated under slavery - she was mated as the stock of the plantation were mated, not to be the companion of ~~the~~ a loved and chosen husband, but to be the breeder of human cattle for the field or the auction block."

Down in such mire has the black motherhood of the race struggled - starving its own wailing offspring to nurse to the world their swaggery masters; wailing for their children's chains which affronted even the moral sense of an unmoral world. Many a man and woman in the South have lived in wedlock as holy as Adam and Eve and brought forth their black and brown and golden children, but because the darker woman was helpless, her chivalrous and whiter mate could cast her off at his pleasure and publicly sneer at the boy he had privately blasphemed.

I shall forgive the White South much in its final judgment day - I shall forgive it slavery for slavery is a world-old habit. I shall forgive its fighting for a well-lost cause and remembering that struggle with tender tears; I shall forgive its pride of race, the passion of its hot blood, and even its dear old laughable strutting and posing. But one thing I shall not firgive, neither in this world nor the world to come and that is its wanton and continued and persistent insulting of the black womanhood which it sought and seeks to prostitute to its lust. I cannot forget that it is such southern gentlemen into whose hands smug northern hypocrits of to-day are seeking to place our women's eternal destiny, men who insist on withholding from my mothers and wife and daughter those signs and appelations of courtesy and respect which he withholds from his white courtesans. What he has practiced he teaches to his children: On the streets of Nashville recently a beautiful girl passed a crowd of white boys playing marbles on the sidewalk.

"Wait till the lady passes" said one.

"She's no lady - she's a Nigger" answered another and they hooted the vilest epithets after her.

It is a little brown woman - beautiful, quiet, dignified and cultured who says:

"The feeling of slighted womanhood is unlike every other emotion of the soul. Happily for the human family, it is unknown to many and indescribable to all. Its poignancy, compared with which even Juno's spretae injuria formae is earthly and vulgar, is holier than that of jealousy, deeper than indignation, tenderer than rage. Its first impulse of wrathful protest and proud self-vindication is checked and shamed by the consciousness that self-assertion would outrage still further the same delicate instinct. Were there a brutal attitude of hate or of ferocious attack, the feminine response of fear or repulsion is simple and spontaneous. But sensibilities, from a hand which, by all known traditions and ideals of propriety, should have been trained to reverence and respect them, the condemnation of man's inhumanity to woman is increased and embittered by the knowledge of personal identity with a race of beings so fallen."

The result of this history of insult has been both fearful and glorious: it has birthed the haunting sheet-walker, the brawler and the beast of burden, but it has also, like the fire of the firring pot, begun to give the world a newer stronger woman, a woman unfed on blandishment and caramel, who out of the freedom thrown her for debauchery is bringing back to the world a personal liberty, economic independence and spiritual poise that will one day leaven and nerve the womanhood of the world.

All this has been preparing slowly and in the uncertain mists of years; first the far Wail of the Word with lisping Phillis and in stronger yet still fettered strain of Frances Harper, who saw and sang her Ethiopia as she stretched

" . . . Her bleeding hands abroad
Her cry of agony shall reach the burning
throne of God."

Then, in the days of abolition came the Music and the Vision: the voice of the Black Swan which the London Times declared on one occasion showed "as much pathos, power and effect as does the 'Swedish Nightengale', Jennie Lind" Mrs. Stowe heard her sing to fashionable London and wrote "Chevalier Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador sat by me. He looked at her with much interest 'Are the race often as good looking?' he said. I said 'She is not handsome compared with many, tho' I confess she looks uncommonly well to day.' The singing was beautiful."

Afterward there came up from the hearts of the race, but out of the mouths of songsters like Jenny Jackson those wonderful Negro folk songs, transforming themselves and growing in the mouths of the Hyer sisters and Flora Batson; and finally this song struggled to life and form in the art of Edmorah Nahar in whom Dion Boucicault saw "the power and sacred fire of genius;" and Edmonia Lewis whose studio at Rome was known in two worlds.

All this was half hidden, half known; for the voices of black singers could not sing away the Veil, and even the colored artist whom Modjeska and others prophesyed as capable of reaching "the top as an actress" was allowed no place on the stage, while the sculptress hid in Europe. The zest for beauty and aspiration thus early started in Black America had therefore to turn back to the ways of toil: Sojourner

Truth, the black sybil of the Abolition movement must arouse the drowsy slave - nation; Harriet Tubman with her charmed life and mystic visions must creep into the jaws of death and lead three hundred fugitives to freedom; Mary Shadd must tramp afoot thro' the winter snows of Canada to teach and inspire the blacks who had escaped the "Land of the Free" and were cowering beneath the Lion's Paw; and the gentle Louise De Mortie must walk into the [illegible] and lay down her life for the fever-stricken, saying simply "I belong to God!"

All this must be and more, to bring forward new ideals, to develop new strength and opportunities for black womanhood. To-day these dreams of the mothers are coming true. We have still our poverty and degradation our lewdness and our cruel toil, but we have too a vast group of women of Negro blood who for strength of character cleanness of soul and unselfish devotion of purpose is easily the peer of any group in the civilized world to-day. And more than that in the great rank and file of our five million women we have the up-working of new revolutionary ideals which must in time have vast influence on the thought and action of this land.

To be sure these women high and low are objected to, and objected to apparently for reasons peculiarly exasperating to reasoning beings. When in this world a man comes forward with a thought a deed a vision, we ask not, how does he look? but what is his message. It is of but passing interest that the messenger is beautiful or ugly - the message is the thing. This which is axiomatic among men is but partially true if the messenger be a woman. The white world still asks that a woman

primarily be pretty and if she is no the rich pouts and asks querulously: What else are women for?

Now beauty

"is its own excuse of being;" -

but there are other excuses as most men know and when the white world objects to black women because it does not consider them beautiful the black world of right asks two questions - What is beauty? and suppose they are ugly - what then?

For the most part human beauty is a matter of passing whim or fashion- in B. C. 2000 a black skin, in 2000 A. D. a white skin; to-day full breasted sturdiness, to-morrow sylphl ke slenderness. It is a mad race that is set for the 20th century beauty to fulfil the whim of the day and to those who watch their antics philosophically the thought must often come: how far are black folk ugly and how far merely unfashionable? But the important question, thank God! lies far beneath such surface trifles and asks: if ugliness and untidiness and eccentricity of face and deed does not bind men from doing the world's work and reaping the world's reward, how far shall it bind women? Other things being equal we all would prefer to be beautiful face and form and suitably clothed, but most of us are not one of the mightiest revolts of the century is against the devilish decree that no woman is a woman who is not by present standards a beautiful woman.

This decree the black women of America have in large measure escaped. Not being expected to be merely ornamental they have girded themselves for work instead of adorning their bodies for play. Their sturdier minds have concluded that if a woman be clean healthy and educated she is as pleasing as God wills and far more useful than most of her sisters. If in addition to this she be pink and white and straight-haired, and her

fellow men prefer this, well and good. But if she be black and brown and crowned in curled mists this is surely the flimsiest excuse for spiritual incarceration or banishment.

The very attempt to do this in the case of Negro Americans has strangely overreached itself. By so much as the defective eyesight of the white world rejects black women as beauties by so much the more t it needs them as human beings - an enviable as many a white as many a white woman knows.

Consequently for black women alone hansome is that hansome does if they are asked to be no more beautiful than God made them; but they are asked to be effecient - to be strong, fertile, musceled and able to work. If they marry they must as independent workers be able to help support their family. For their men are paid on a scale that makes their sole support of a family impossible. On the whole colored working women are paid as well as whites for similar work save in some higher grades, while colored men get from one-fourth to three-fourths less than white men. The result is curious and three fold: the economic independence of black women is increased, the breaking up of Negro families must be more frequent and the number of illegitimate children decreases more slowly among them than other evidences of culture increase, just as was once true in Scotland and Bavaria. What does this mean?

Most critics of women assume that to-day civilization is making a three fold choice between marriage and celibacy broken and unbroken family life, monogamy and promiscuity. With such choices they insist and rightly insist on the superiorityof marriage, the prohibition of divorce and the enforcement of monogamy. But the bold truth is that while civilization to-day faces no such three fold choice as indicated, but

quite a different trio, viz: Unmarried mothers or childlessness, divorce or prostitution, subjection of women or the economic and political equality of women. We may blink and splutter at the facts but this is what the civilized world faces to-day and it is choosing with deliberate blindness, childlessness, prostitution and subjection of women. On the other hand its treatment of the darker American women has forced them willy-nilly toward unmarried motherhood, easy breaking up of families and economic independence. Is this black solution of a white problem ideal? It is not, but I solemnly maintain that the betrayed girl-mothers of the black belt are better phenomena of civilized life that the childless wives of New England; that the deserted black wives of the west side of New York are better than the white prostitutes of the East side, and that the economic independence of women black or white is the greatest bow of promise in the skies of the 20th century.

Black women of to-day are being trained as no pin-money puppets, but as the working partners of farmers, ditchers, servants and carpenters.

True, in upper circles, the American ideal of beautiful pampered idleness - the Harem seductiveness of aimless vegetating, - leads and tempts many of us; but even here the deep seated habit of sharing with the man the economic burden of family is wide spread, so that from the Georgia field hand to the Washington school teacher, I seem to see growing out of Negro family life in America, a new heaven and a new earth, despite divorce, and despite what the world is pleased to call illegitimacy.

Out of it will come woman's freedom - freedom for women black and white - economic freedom, political freedom and - dare I say it? - sex freedom. When this freedom is full we will no longer pay men for work

they do not do for the sake of their harem; we will pay women what th they earn and insist on their working and earning it; we will allow those to vote who know enough whether they be black or female, white or male and we will war race suicide not by further burdening the over-burdened but by honoring motherhood even tho' the sneaking father shirks his duty.

Some few women are born free and some amid insult and scarlet letters achieve freedom but our women in black had freedom thrust contemptuously upon them. With that freedom they are buying an untrammelled independence; and dear as the price they pay for it, it will in the end be worth every taunt and groan.

I surely see more of promise for the world's future in the Black woman toiling for a living at her tub to supplement the starvation wage of her mate than in the white woman lolling in luxury, silk and gilded with the dole of a master; I see more beauty in a woman girded for work and tousled with toil than in a strumpet frilled for the footlights. I have more respect for a black servant girl who falls in her frank longing for motherhood than for the pink doll held to decency by iron bands and lisping insults on the untethered.

True, the end is not yet the ideal floats afar and in my interpretation of the meaning of economic independence among black women I am doubtless dreaming beyond present fact, yet all I say is not dream; as a colored woman has written: "There is a sense in which the colored woman is the newest woman in America" I look around to-day upon a growing group of black women leaders who are becoming more and more conscious of this fact. In this group are at least 500 college bred women and many thousands trained in high schools and academies. These women far more than their brothers are taking hold of the work of social reform; for thirty years a Woman's club of Wilberforce, Ohio has aided needy students; for seven years those in St.

Louis have supported an orphans home at the cost of seven thousand dollars. The colored women of Indianapolis have in recent years secured better work for 150 women; a Boston club has a home for working girls; a New Bedford club has a home for the aged and has collected nearly $40,000 endowment. The Alabama women have a state reformatory, the Illinois women, a hospital and orphanage; the [redacted] the Louisville, Ky. women have an industrial and charitable club housed in 20 rooms, a Springfield, O. group supports a day nursery. In North Carolina 250 working women by paying 25¢ a year and a pound of food a month care for six old people and keep watch over three hundred children. A Pennsylvania club has a colored woman as probation officer; a Michigan club has given $300. in charity in ten years; a Detroit club has sewing classes at an expense of $140 a year, while a Texas club has helped buy a piano for the colored schools and put drinking fountains in the yards.

As an entelligent colored woman observes:

"The club movement among colored women reaches into the sub-social condition of the entire race. Among white women clubs mean the forward movement of the best women in the interest of the best womanhood. Among colored women the club is the effort of the few competent in behalf of the many incompetent; that is to say that the club is only one of the many means for the social uplift of a race. Among white women the club is the onward movement of the already uplifted. The club movement among them is something deeper than a mere imitation of white women. It is nothing less than the organized anxiety of women who have become intelligent enough to recognize their own low social condition and strong enough to initiate the forces of reform."

Outside this club movement one might go on to point out other womens activities like the church workers, the school teachers and writers, the little group of artists and the 200 colored nuns in the American Catholic church. Who is it now that is leading this uplift of the women of a people? Of some of these new leaders even you, whose ears are stuffed with darkness, have heard. Seven women/ I might select who

typify the race to-day i its half developed wholly aspiring splendidly sacrificial spirit:

One typifying freedom who is among the clearest and most facile speakers of her sex in any land, a fearless champion in a crusade on two continents and an intrepid relentless breathless striver to-day. Another typical of self-sacrifice with her small smooth brownness - the builder and sustainer of a great school and the loving clean unspotted type of perfect self-forgetfulness; a third typical of brain power - a brilliant often unscrupulous intellect of marvellous facility and unconquerable energy, who twists thousands in her fingers. A fourth whose dramatic ability has held Boston spellbound and who (laugh! ye Gods!) was offered the position of leading lady in the Clansman! A fourth who up to last year led the 400 organized womens clubs and thro' them the active philanthopic rescue work among ten millions; a fifth whose conceptions in clay brought the notice of Rodin and a fifth whose voice was among the finest America has known but who is now singing to lead her own to song. This is no dream nor fantasy - these are real black women or granddaughters of black women of to-day. They mean something. Tomorrow they will mean more.

I honor them. Their beauty - their dark and mysterious beauty of midnight eyes and crumpled hair, and soft full-featured faces - is perhaps more to me than to you because I was born to its warmth and subtle spell; but their worth is yours as well as mine. No other women on earth could have emerged from the Hell of force and temptation that once engulfed and still surrounds black women in America with half the modesty and ~~purity and~~ womanliness that they retain. I have always felt like bowing myself before them in all abasement searching to bring some tribute to these long suffering victims, these burdened sisters of mine, whom the

41-9-207

typefy the race to-day i its half developed wholly aspiring splendidly sacrificial spirit:

One typifying freedom who is among the clearest and most facile speakers of her sex in any land, a fearless champion in a crusade on two continents and an intrepid relentless breathless striver to-day. Another typical of self-sacrifice with her small smooth brownness - the builder and sustainer of a great school and the loving clean unspotted type of perfect self-forgetfulness; a third typical of brain power - a brilliant often unscrupulous intellect of marvellous facility and unconquerable energy, who twists thousands in her fingers. A fourth whose dramatic ability has held Boston spellbound and who (laugh! ye Gods!) was offered the position of leading lady in the Clansman! A fourth who up to last year led the 400 organized womens clubs and thro' them the active philanthopic rescue work among ten millions; a fifth whose conceptions in clay brought the notice of Rodin and a fifth whose voice was among the finest America has known but who is now singing to lead her own to song. This is no dream nor fantasy - these are real black women or granddaughters of black women of to-day. They mean something. Tomorrow they will mean more.

I honor them. Their beauty - their dark and mysterious beauty of midnight eyes and crumpled hair, and soft full-featured faces - is perhaps more to me than to you because I was born to its warmth and subtle spell; but their worth is yours as well as mine. No other women on earth could have emerged from the Hell of force andttemptation that once engulfed and still surrounds black women in America with half the modesty and ~~purity and~~ womanliness that they retain. I have always felt like bowing myself before them in all abasement searching to bring some tribute to these long suffering victims, these burdened sisters of mine, whom the

41-9-207

world, the wise white world loves to affront and ridicule and wantonly to insult. I have known the women of many lands and nations - know and seen and lived beside them, but none have I known more sweetly feminine, more unswervingly loyal, more desperately earnest and more instinctively pure in body and in soul than the daughters of my black mothers. This then - a little thing - to their memory, and inspiration.

----ooOOOoo----

862-6-14

~~Not only this but today~~ this group is developing a social leadership and a sense of deep social responsibility. A glance at their work is almost bewildering. They furnish two-thirds of our teachers, an overwhelming majority of our church workers and no small proportion of our business folk, and in addition they are the ones who, turning from the beaten paths of bread and butter and livelihood, have taken up definitely and successfully the inner burden of social reform. Their work take s the form of general charity, womens clubs, olk folks homes, orphanages, hospitals, Christian associations, literary and art clubs, day nurseries, settlements, kindergartens and civil reform.

41-6-324

Who are the leaders and moving spirits in this renaissance of womanhood among black folk? It would be perhaps unwise to single out living leaders by name. But seven unnamed ones I might select who typify the race today in its partially developed, wholly aspiring, splendidly sacrificial spirit: One, typifying the thrist for freedom, is among the clearest and most facile speakers of her sex in any land, a fearless champion in a crusade on two continents and an intrepid relentless breathless striver today. Another, typical of self-sacrifice, with her small smooth brownness, is the builder and sustainer of a great school and the loving clean unspotted type of perfect self-forgetfulness; a third, typical of brain power, is a brilliant sometimes even unscrupulous intellect of marvelous facility and unconquerable energy, who twists thousands in her fingers; a fourth,- white granddaughter of blacks - whose dramatic ability has held Boston spellbound with a complete rendition of Anthony and Cleopatra - and who took the Belasco gold medal at Sargent's, was offered one year a place in the New Theatre when

§ 8. ~~Home Life~~ The Woman and Home Life.

The Woman in Black.

The world that worships womankind often forgets its darker sisters. They seem in a sense to typify that veiled melancholy

"Whose saintly visage is too bright
To his the sense of human sight,
And therefore to our weaker view
O'er laid with black."

Yet the world should not forget its these dark daughters of sorrow - from the primal black All Mother of men down through the ghostly throng of mighty womanhood who walked inthe mysterious dawn of Asia and Africa;

"That starr'd Ethiop queen that strove
To set her beauty's praise above
The sea nymphs."

Through dusky Cleopatra, dark Candaces and darker, fiercer Zinghas to our own day and our own land; in gentle Phillis, Harriet the crude Moses, the sybil Sojourner Truth and the martyr, Louise De Mortie.

The father and his worship is Asia; Europe is the precocious self-centered forward striving child. But the Land of the Mother is and was, Africa. In subtle and mysterious way, despite her curious

history, her slavery, polygamy and toil, the spell of the African mother pervades her land. Isis, the Mother is still titular goddess in thought if not in name, of the dark continent. Nor does this all seem to be solely a survival of the historic matridarchate through which all nations pass - it appears to be more than this as if the great black race in passing down the steps of human culture gave the world not only the Iron Age, the cultivation of the soil and domestication of animals but also in peculiar emphasis the Mother-idea. "No mother can love more tenderly, and none is more tenderly loved than the Negro mother" writes Schneider. Robin tells of the slave who bought his mother's freedom instead of his own. Mungo Park writes: " Everywhere in Africa, I have noticed that no greater affront can be offered a Negro than insulting his mother. 'Strike me,' cried a Mandingo to him enemy, 'but revile not my mother!" And the Krus and Fantes say the same. The peoples on Northern Zambeze and great lakes cry in sudden fear or joy: "O my mother!" And the Herero swears (Endless oath!) "By my mother's tears!" "As the mist in the swamps", cried the Angola Negro, "so lives the love of father and mother."

A student of the present Gold Coast life describes the Headman as head of the village:

"It is the duty of the Head of a family to bring up the members thereof in the way they should go; and by "family" you must understand the entire lineal descendants of a head materfamilias, if I may coin a convenient phrase. It is expected of him by the State to bring up his charge in the knowledge of matters political and traditional. It is ~~the~~ his work to train up his wards in the ways of loyalty and obedience to the powers that be. He is held responsible for the freaks of recalcitrant members of his family, and he is looked to to keep them within bounds, and to insist upon conformity on their part with the customs, laws, and traditional observances of the community.

It is a difficult task that he is set to, but in this matter he has all-powerful helpers in the female members of the family, who will be either the aunts, or the sisters, or the cousins, or the nieces of the Headman; and as their interests are identical with his in every particular, the good women spontaneously train up their children to implicit obedience to the Headman, whose rule in the family thus becomes a simple and an easy matter. "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." What a power for good in the Native State System would the mothers of the Gold Coast and Ashanti become by judicious training upon native lines!"

Schwemfuth declares of one tribe: "a bond between mother and child which lasts for live is a measure of affection shown among the Dyoor" and Ratzel adds:

Omit

Omit

Agreeably to the natural relation the mother stands first among

the chief influences affecting the children. From the Zulus to the Waganda, we find themother the most influential counsellor at the court of ferocious sovereigns like Chaka or Mtesa; sometimes sisters take her place. Thus even with chiefs who possess wives by hundreds the bonds of blood are the strongest," and the woman though often heavily burdened, is in herself in no small esteem among the Negroes is clear from the numerous Negro queens, from the medicine-woman, from the participation in public meetings permitted to women by many Negro peoples.

As I remember through memories of others, backward through my own family, it is the Mother I ever recall; the little far off mother of my grandmothers who sobbed life away in song, longing for her lost palm-trees and scented waters; the tall and bronzen grandmother, with beaked nose and shrewish eyes who loved and scolded her black and laughing husband as he smoked lazily in his high oak chair; only above all my own mother with all her soft brownness - the brown velvet of her skin, the sorrowful black-brown of her eyes, and the tiny brown-capped waves of her midnight hair as it lay new parted on her forehead. Allthe way back in these dim distances it is mothers and mothers of mothers that seem to count and fathers are shadowy memories.

Upon this African Mother-idea, the westward slave trade and American slavery struck like doom: in the cruel exigencies of the traffic in men and in sudden unprepared emancipation the great pendulum of social equilibrium swung from a time in 1800 when America had but eight or less black women to every black man all too swiftly to a day, in 1870, when there were nearly eleven women to ten men in our Negro population. This was but the outward numerical fact of social dislocation; within lay polygamy, polygandry, concubinage and moral degradation. They fought against all this desperately, did these black slaves in the West Indies among the half free artisans they set up their ancient household gods, and when Toussaint and Cristopher sat up their kingdom in Hayti it was based on old African tribal ties and beneath it the Mother-idea.

But the crushing weight of slavery fell on black women: under it there was no legal ~~control~~ marriage, no legal family, no legal control over children. To be sure custom and religion ~~were~~ replaced here and there what the law denied, yet one has but to read advertisements like these to see the Hell beneath the system:

"$100 reward will be given for my two fellows, Abram and Frank. Abram has a wife at Colonel Stewart's in Liberty county, and a sister in Savannah at Capt. Grovenstine's. Frank has a wife at Mr. LeConte's Liberty County; a mother at Thunderbolt, and a sister in Savannah.

- Wm. Robarts. Walthourville, 5th Jan., 1839.

"$50 Reward - Ran away from the subscriber, a negro girl named Maria. She is of a copper color, between 13 and 14 years of age - bareheaded and barefooted. She is small for her age - very sprightly and very likely. She stated she was going to see her mother at Maysville.

- Sanford Thomson.

"$50 Reward.- Ran away from the subscriber, his negro man Paula-dore, commonly called Paul. I understand Gen. R. Y. Hayne has purchased his wife and children from W. L. Pinckney, Esq., and has them now on his plantation at Goose Creek, where, no doubt, the fellow is frequently lurking.

- T. Davis.

The Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky said to the churches under their care, in 1835:

"Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. The shrieks and agony often witnessed on such occasions proclaim, with a trumpet tongue, the iniquity of our system. There is not a neighborhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts hold dear.

A sister of a president of the United States declared:

"We Southern ladies are complimented with the names of wives; but we are only the mistresses of seraglios."

Out of this what sort of black woman could be found into the world of today?! There are those who hasten to answer this query in writhing terms and who say lightly andrepeatedly that out of black slavery came nothing decent in womanhood; that adulatery and uncleanness was their heritage and is their continued portion. It is a terrible charge - a charge against millions of human beings - how many millions, few remember. The half million women of Negro descent who lived at the beginning of the 19th Century had become the mothers of two and one-fourth million daughters at the time of the Civil War and four and a half million granddaughters in 1900. Can all these women be vile and the hunted race continue to grow in wealth and character? Impossible. Yet to save from the past the shreds and vestiges of self-respect and chasity has been a terrible task - I most sincerely doubt if any other race of women could have brought its purity up through so devilish a fire. As the sainted Dr. Crummel once said of this his sister inthe blood:

"In her girlhood all the delicate tenderness of her sex has been rudely outraged. In the field, in the rude cabin, in the press-room, in the factory, she was thrown into the companionship of coarse and ignorant men. No chance was given her for delicate reserve or tender modesty. From her childhood she was the doomed victim of the grossest passion. All the virtues of her sex were utterly ignored. If the instinct of chastity asserted itself, then she had to fight like a tiger for the ownership and possession of her own person, and oftimes had to suffer pain and lacerations for her virtuous self-assertion. When she reached maturity all the tender instincts of her womanhood were ruthlessly violated. At the age of marriage- always prematurely anticipated under slavery - she was mated as the stock of the plantation were mated, not to be the companion of a loved and chosen husband, but to be the breeder of human cattle for the field or the auction block."

Down in such mire has the black motherhood of this race struggled - starving its own wailing offspring to nurse to the world their swaggering masters; welding for their children, chains which affronted even the

moral sense of an unmoral world. Many a man and woman in the South have lived in wedlock as holy as Adam and Eve and brought forth their brown and golden children, but because the darker woman was helpless, her chivalrous and whiter mate could cast her off at his pleasure and publicly sneer at the body he had privately blasphemed.

I shall forgive the White South much in its final judgment day - I shall forgive it slavery, for slavery is a world-old habit; I shall forgive its fighting for a well-lost cause and yet remembering that struggle with tender tears; I shall forgive its pride of race, the passion of its hot blood, and even its dear old laughable strutting and posing; but one thing I shall not forgive, neither in this world nor the world to come, and that is its wanton and continued and persistent insulting of the black womanhood which it sought and seeks to prostitute to its lust. I cannot forgive that it is such southern gentlemen into whose hands smug northern hypocrites of today are seeking to place our women's eternal destiny, men who insist on withholding from my mother and wife and daughter those signs and appellations of courtesy and respect which elsewhere he withholds only from bawds and courtesans. The result of this history of insult and degradation has been both fearful

and glorious: it has birthed the haunting prostitute, the brawler and the beast of burden; but it has also given the world a pure womanhood whose strength lies in its freedom and whose chastity was won in the teeth of temptation and not in swaddling clothes.

To no modern race does its women mean so much as to us, nor come so near to the fulfillment of its meaning; as one of our women writes:

"Only the black woman can say 'when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me.'"

They come first in earlier days like foam flashes on dark, silent waters - bits of stern dark womanhood here and there tossed almost carelessly aloft to the world's notice. First and naturally they assumed the panoply of the ancient African Mother of Men - strong and black, whose very nature beat back the wilderness of oppression and contempt. Such an one was that cousin of my grandmother whom Western Massachusetts remembers as Mum Bett. Scarred for life by a blow received in defense of a sister she ran away to Great Barrington and was the first slave, or one of the first, to be declared free under the Bill of Rights of 1780. The Son of the judge that freed her, writes: "Even in her humble station, she had, when occasion required it, an air of command which conferred a degree of dignity, and gave her an ascendency over those of her rank, which is very unusual in persons of any rank or color. Her determined & resolute character, which enabled her to limit the ravages of a Shay's mob, was manifested in her conduct

and deportment during her whole life. She claimed no distinction; but it was yielded to her from her superior experience, energy, skill, and sagacity.

Having known this woman as familarly as I knew either of my parents, I cannot believe in the moral or physical inferiority of the race to which she belonged. The degradation of the African must have been caused otherwise caused than by natural inferiority."

It was such strong women that laid the foundations of the great Negro church of today with its three and half millions members and fifty-sex millions of dollars in property.

One of the early mothers of the church, Mary Still, writes thus quaintly, in the forties:

"When we were as castouts and spurned from the large churches, drive from ~~their kn~~ our knees, pointed at by the proud, neglected by the careless, without a place of worship, Allen, faithful to the heavenly calling, came forward and laid the foundation of this connection. The women, like the women at the Sepulchre, were early to aid in laying the foundation of the temple, and in helping to carry up the noble structure, and in the name of their God, set up their banner; most of our aged mothers are gone from this to a better state of things. Yet some linger still on their staves watching with intense interest the ark as it moves over the tempestuous waves of opposition and ignorance. * * * * But the labors of these women stopped not here, for they knew well

that they were subject to affliction and death. For the purpose of mutual aid, they banded themselves together insociety capacity, that they might be betterable to administer to each others' sufferings, and to soften their own pillows. So we find the females in the early history of the church, abounded in good works, and inacts of true benevolence."

From such spiritual ancestry came two striking figures of war time - Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth.

For eight or ten years previous to the breaking out of the civil war a constant attendant at anti-slavery conventions, lectures and other meetings was a black woman of medium size, smiling countenance, with her upper front teeth gone, attired in coarse but neat clothes with an old fashioned reticule at her side. As soon as she sat down she would drop off in sound sleep. She was born a slave in Maryland in 1820, bore the marks of the lash on her flesh and has been made partially deaf and perhaps to some degree mentally unbalanced by a blow on the head in childhood. Yet she was one of the most important agents of the underground railroad and leader of fugitive slaves. She ran away in 1849 and came to Boston in 1854 where she ~~and~~ was welcomed into the homes of the leading abolitionists and everyone listened with tense interest to her strange stories. She was absolutely illiterate with no knowledge of geography, and yet year after year she penetrated the slave states and personally led North over 300 fugitives without losing a single one. A standing reward of $1,000 was offered for her but as she said in her patois: "The whites cannot catch me, for I was born with a charm and the Lord has given me the power." She was one of John Brown's closest advisers and only severe sickness prevented her presence at Harper's Ferry.

When the War cloud broke she hastened to the front, flitting down

along her own mysterious paths, haunting the armies in the field, and serving as guide and nurse and spy. She followed Sherman in his great march to the Sea and was with Grant at Petersburg, and always in the camps of the Union officers silently saluted her.

The other woman belonged to a different type - a tall, gaunt, black unsmiling sybil, weighted with the woe of the world. She ran away from slavery and giving up her own name took the name of Sojourner Truth. She says: "I can remember when I was a little young how my old mammy would sit out of doors in the evening and look up at the stars and groan, and I would say, Mammy, what makes you groan so? and she would say, 'I am groaning to think of my poor children; they do not know where I be and I don't know where they be. I look up at the stars and they look up at the stars.'"

The test of her conversion to Christianity was when she could say: "Lord, I love even white folks!" Her determination was founded on unwavering faith in ultimate good. Wendell Phillips says that he was once in Faniuel Hall, Boston, where Frederick Douglass was one of the chief speakers. Douglass had been describing the wrongs of the Colored race, and as he proceeded he grew more and more excited and finally ended by saying that they had no hope of justice from the whites, no possible hope except in their own right arms. It must come to blood. The must

fight for themselves or it never would be done. Sojourner Truth was sitting tall and dark on the very front se t facing the platform, and in the hush of feeling when Douglass sat down she spoke out in her deep peculiar voice, heard all over the house: "Frederick, is God dead?"

Such strong primitive types of Negro womanhood in America seem to exhaust its capabilities. They know less of not more worthy but finer type wherein trembled all that delicate sense of beauty and striving for self-realization w ich is as characteristic of the Negro soul as is its quaint strength and sweet laughter. George Washington wrote in grave and gentle courtesy to a Negress in 1776 that he would "be happy to see" at his headquarters at any time a person "to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations". This child, Phillis Wheatly, sang her brief and halting strain to a world that wondered and could not produce her like. Measured today her muse was slight and yet feeling her striving spirit we call to her still in her own words: "Through thickest glooms look back, Immortal shade." In the train of Phillis have other dark singers like Frances Harper, Admonia Lewis the sculptor and singers like the Black Swan

"Heard you that shriek? It rose
So wildly on the air,
It seemed as if a burdened heart
Was breaking in despair."

Now and then Frances Harper, the dark poet and lecturer of the Abolition crusade struck a sweet clear note that showed the gift within her; as when the echoes the cry of the bereaved slave mother

"Heard you that shriek? It rose
So wildly on the air,
It seemed as if a burdened heart,
Was breaking in despair."

Edmonia Lewis was born of a full-blooded Negro and a Chippewa Indian - she was short and dark, African in feature and Indian in hair. When she saw the statue of Franklin in Boston she said: "I too can make a stone man." A bust of Robert Gould Shaw enabled her to go abroad and she set up her studio in Rome. First came a statue of the outcast Hagar, for as she said, "I have strong sympathy for all women who have struggled and suffered." Then she carved a Madonna which was purchased by the Marques of Bute, and a long succession of excellent works. Her studio was visited by strangers of all nations.

The native song of the Negro race will produce great songsters when prejudice unbars the public stage. Already some have broken through the mists of whom perhaps the most noted was the Black Swan. Her voice, the London Times declared on one occasion, showed "as much pathos, power and effect as does the 'Swedish Nightingale', Jennie Lind". Mrs. Stowe heard her sing to fashionable London and wrote: "Chevalier Bunsen, the Prussian

Ambassador sat by me. He looked at her with much interest. 'Are the race often as good looking?' he said. I said, 'She is not handsome compared with many, though I confess she looks uncommonly well today.' The singing was beautiful."

Perhaps even higher than strength and art looms human sympathy and sacrifice as characteristic of Negro womanhood. Long years ago, before the Declaration of Independence, Kate Terynson was born in New York. Freed, widowed and bereaved of her children before she was twenty, she took the children of the streets of New York, White and black, to her empty arms, taught them, found them homes, and with Mr. Mason of Murray Street Church, established the first modern Sunday school in Manhattan. Sixty years later came Mary Shadd up out of Delaware. She was tall and slim, of that ravishing dream born beauty- that twilight of the races which we call mulatto. Well educated, vivatious with determination, shining from her sharp eyes, she threw herself singlehanded into the great Canadian pilgrimage when thousands of hunted black men hurried into Canada and crept beneath the protection of the Lion's paw. She became teacher, editor and lecturer, tramping afoot through winters snows, pushing without blot or blemish through

crowd and turmoil to conventions and meetings and finally becoming recruiting agent for the United States Government in gathering Negro soldiers in the West.

Before the War, the sacrifice of Negro women for freedom and uplift is one of the finest chapters in their history - one life will typify all: Louise DeMortie, a free born Virginia girl, lived most of her life in Boston. Her high forehead swelling lips and dark eyes marked her for a woman of feeling and intellect. She began a successful career as a public reader. Then came the War and the call. She went to the orphaned colored children of New Orleans - out of freedom into insult and oppression and in the teeth of yellow fever. She toiled and dreamed; in 1887 she had raised money and built an orphan home and that same year, in the 34th year of her young life, she died, saying simply: "I belong to God."

Such women it is, added to thousands of humbler black "mammies", faithful servants, toiling housewives and self-sacrificing mothers, who have builded the black womanhood of today.

~~In this land in 1900 there were 4,447,447 women of Negro descent - six hundred thousand of these were~~

Omit [As I look about me today in this veiled world of mine, despite the

noiser and more spectacular advance of my brothers, I instinctively feel and know that it is the five million women of my race who really count; black women (and women whose grandmothers were black) are today furnishing our teachers; they are the main pillars, and form two thirds the membership, of our churches, and have with small doubt raised three-fourths of the church property. If we have today, as seems likely, a six hundred million dollars of accumulated goods, who shall say how much of it has been wrung from the hearts of servant girls and washerwomen, and women toilers in the fields? As mistresses of two million homes these women are today seeking in marvelous ways to show forth our strength and beauty and our conception of the truth.

In this land in 1900 there were 4,447,447 women of Negro descent - twelve hundred thousand of these were children, another million were girls and young women under twenty and two million were grown women. As a mass these women were intelligent - a third of those from fifteen to twenty-five being unable to write. These women are passing through not only a moral but an economic revolution. Their grandmothers married at twelve and fifteen, but thirty per cent of these who have passed fifteen are still single. ~~Not only that but~~ My the economic foundation of the family - the ability to support and keep the group intact is not

In 1910 these figures had changed;
there were 4,941,882 colored women
of whom 2½ million were girls. Of these
ten years of age and over 30.7% were
illiterate & only 16% of those 15-19 years
of age. Marriage was more normal, 26.6%
of those 15 years of age & more boy single

yet certain, not simply because of moral laxness but principally because of low wages; for this reason is it that we find in 1900 one Negro woman in six widowed or separated from her husband, while among whites we find one in ten; in 1910 this condition had slightly improved, the figure for colored women being 15.9%.

Yet these black women toil and toil hard. There were in 1900, 1,832,818 Negro homes in the land. Out of these walked daily one and one-third million women and girls over ten to work - four out of every ten, as against one out of each six white women. These then are a group of workers fighting for their daily bread like men, independent, approaching economic freedom: they furnished a half million farm laborers, 70,000 farmers, 15,000 teachers and professional folk, 700,000 servants and washerwomen, and 40,000 in trades and merchandising. Add to these miscellaneous work and 200,000 school girls and we have nearly a million and a half. Subtracting the old and feeble, the defectives and the idle and we have probably less than one and a half million housewives to mann near two million homes. This is a sad deficiency and it tells for harm. Black mothers who ought to be home training their children are away at work. Girls who ought to be at school must help earn bread and butter. But while toil holds ~~their holds~~ their brothers in small towns and country, higher wages call the sisters to the city.

in the small towns and country, high wages calls the sisters to the city. The result is in cities like Washington and Baltimore the Negro women out number the men ~~thirteen to ten~~ ten to nine and the result is what Charlotte Perkins Gilman bluntly calls "cheap women" and illegitimacy.

In this mad heart-breaking struggle to live what then is the Negro woman's moral condition? There are plenty to hasten to say that it is bad, hopeless. It is often bad but it is infinitely better than we might easily expect. A Baltimore slum worker writes:

"My work in a large city has covered a period of nearly fourteen years. Thousands of girls have passed under my observation * * * * I believe the per cent of immorality to be low.

At this writing, my work is in a veritable slum. Degradation of every kind is rampant. In the next block above us houses of ill fame line both sides of the street. The occupants of these places are white. In a street parallel to this are houses occupied by both white and colored. Many of our children come from these places. The greatest per cent of degradation I have ever ~~seen~~ witnessed exists here, * * * but, taken all in all, I believe that eight per cent ~~of negro~~ would cover the mathematical reckoning as far as figures may be taken indicative of conditions of society.

MISCELLANEOUS

offeed this year a minor place in the New Theatre when death suddenly took her. She was, of course, white though black and onee (Laugh, ye Gods!) was offered the position of leading lady in the Clansman! A fifth is one who up to the last year led the 400 organized Negro women's clubs and through them the active philanthropic rescue work among ten millions; a sixth whose conceptions in clay brought the notice of Rodin, and a seventh whose voice was among the finest America has known but who is now singing to lead her own song. This is no dream nor fantasy - these are real black women or granddaughters of black women of today. They mean something. Tomorrow they will mean more.

What is today the message of these black women to America and the world? The uplift of Woman is next to the problem of the color line and the peace movement, the greatest modern cause. When now two of these movements - Woman and Color - combine in one, the combination has deep meaning.

In other years Woman's way was clear: to be beautiful, to be petted, to bear children. Such is their theoretic destiny and if perchance they have been ugly, hurt, and barren, that has been forgotten with studied silence. In partial compensation for this narrowed destiny (perfectly

suited to but few) the white world has lavished its politeness on its womankind - its ~~charit~~ chivalry and bows, its unciverings, and courtesy - all the accumulated homage disused for courts and kings and craving exercise. The revolt of white women against this preordained destiny has in these latter days reached splendid proportions, but it is the revolt of an aristocracy of brains and ability - the middle class and rank and file still plod on in the appointed path, paid by the homage, the almost mocking homage of men.

30-22-13

From black women of America, however, and from some others too, but chiefly from black women and thir daughters' daughters, this gauze has been withhold and without semblance of such apology they have been frankly trodden under the feet of men. They are and have been objected to, and objected to apparently for reasons peculiarly exasperating to reasoning beings. When inthis world a man comes forward with a thought, a deed, a vision, we ask not, How does he look? but What is his message? It is of but passing interest that the messenger is beautiful or ugly - the message is the thing. This which is axiomatic among men has been in past ages but partially true if the messenger was a woman. The world still wants to ask that a woman primarily be pretty and if she

is not the mob pouts and asks querulously: what else are women for? Now beauty "is its own excuse of being," but there are other excuses as most men know, and when the white world objects to black women because it does not consider them beautiful the black world of right asks two questions: What is beauty? and Suppose they are ugly, what then? Other things being equal we all, black and white, would prefer to be beautiful in face and form and suitably clothed; but most of us are not and one of the mightiest revolts of the century is against the devilish decree that no woman is a woman who is not by present standards a beautiful woman. This decree the black women of America have in large measure escaped from the first. Not being expected to be merely ornamental they have girded themselves for work, instead of adorning their bodies simply for play. Their sturdier minds have concluded that if a woman be clean, healthy and educated, she is as pleasing as God wills, and far more useful than most of her sisters. If in addition to this she be pink and white and straight-haired, and her fellow men prefer this, well and good; but if she be black and brown and crowned in curled mists, this is surely the flimsiest excuse for spiritual incarceration or banishment. The very attempt to do this in the case of Negro Americans has strangely overreached itself. By so much as the defective eyesight of the white

world rejects black women as beauties, by so much the more it needs them as human beings - an enviable alternative as many a white woman knows. Consequently for black women alone as a group, handsome is that handsome does, and they are asked to be no more beautiful than God made them, but they are asked to be efficient, to be strong, fertile, muscled and able to work. If they marry they must as independent workers be able to help support their family. For their men are paid on a scale that makes sole support of the family impossible. On the whole colored workingwomen are paid as well as whites for similar work, save in some higher grades, while colored men get from one-fourth to three-fourths less than white men. The result is curious and three-fold: the economic independence of black women is increased, the breaking up of Negro families must be more frequent and the number of illegitimate children decreases more slowly among them than other evidences of culture increase, just as was once the true in Scotland and Bavaria. What does this mean? It forecasts a mighty dilemma which the world of civilization, despite its will, must one time frankly face: the unhusbanded mother or the childless wife. God send us a world with woman's freedom and married motherhood inextribably wed! But until he sends it, I see more of future promise in the betrayed girl-mothers of the Black Belt than in the childless wives of the

North; and I have more respect for the colored servant who yields to her frank longing for motherhood than for her whiter sister who offers up children for clothes. Out of ... sex freedom that today makes us shudder will become in time a day when we will no longer pay men for work they do not do for the sake of their harem; we will pay women what they earn and insist on their working and earning it; we will allow those to vote who know enough whether they be black or female, white or male, and we will mend race suicide not by further burdening the overburdened, but by honoring motherhood even when the sneaking father shirks his duty.

"Wait till the lady passes," said a Nashville white boy.

"She's no lady - she's a nigger," answered another.

Some few women are born free and some amid insult and scarlet letters achieve freedom, but our women in black had freedom thrust contemptuously upon them. With that freedom they are buying an untrammelled independence; and dear as the price they pay for it, it will in the end be worth every taunt and groan. Today the dreams of the mothers are coming true. We have still our poverty and degradation, our lewdness and our cruel toil, but we have too a vast group of women of Negro blood who for strength of character, cleanness of soul and unselfish devotion of purpose, is today, easily the peer of any group in the civilized world. And more than that, in the great rank and file of our five million women we have the up-working of new revolutionary ideals which must in time have vast influence on the thought and action of this land. For this, their promise and for their hard past I honor the women of my race - their beauty, their dark and mysterious beauty of midnight eyes, crumpled hair, and soft full-featured faces, is perhaps more to me than to you because I was born to its warmth and subtle spell; but their worth is yours as well as mine. No other women

on earth could have emerged from the Hell of force and temptati[illegible] that once engulfed and still surrounds black women in America with half the modesty and purity and womanliness that they retain. I have always felt like bowing myself before them in all abasement searching to bring some tribute to these long suffering victims, these burdened sisters of mine whom the world, the wise white world loves to affront and ridicule, and wantonly to insult. I have known the women of many lands and nations known, and seenand lived beside them, but none have I known more sweetly feminine, more unswervingly loyal, more desperately earnest and more instinctively pure in body and in soul than the daughters of my black mothers. This then, a little thing, to their memory and inspiration.

---ooOO()OOoo---

THE NEGRO

Handwritten draft of "The Coming of Black Men"

Chapter II

The Coming of Black Men.

The pre-historic movements of men can only be guessed at today, but anthropological research is slowly making some things known. From some center in southern Asia primitive man began to differentiate in two directions: toward the south appeared the primitive Negro, long headed and curled flattened hair follicle; he spread along southern Asia and passed over into Africa where he remains today as the real dwarfs of the center and the Bushmen of South Africa.

Northward and eastward primitive man became shorter and broader headed and straight-haired and spread over eastern Asia forming the mongolian type. Either thru the intermingling of these two types or as some prefer to think by the direct prolongation of the original primitive man, a third intermediate type of human being appeared with straight hair and cranial measurement intermediate between the primitive Negro and mongolian. All these three types of men intermingled and flood each

and also developed variations according to climate and environment

Much speculation has accordingly been ripe concerning the origin of many distinctly differentiated modern groups. The older "Aryan" theory assumed the migration and Empire of one dominant Asian race of Caucasoid congeners to whose blood and influence all modern culture was due. To this "white" race, Semitic Asia, a large part of Black Africa and all Europe was supposed to belong. This "Aryan" theory has been practically abandoned in the light of recent research and it seems probable now that Europe was settled by Man from the primitive African stock evolved in Asia the Semites and later in Africa, the Mediterranean with the exception of
race which formed the dominant Negroid characteristics and the modern Negroes. The blue eyed light haired Germanic people arose as a modern variation of the mixed peoples produced by the mingling of these Ancient Human elements. The East moved on this ~~footing~~ developed line of course right

30-1-45

yet been found and there is still much to learn & explain. But it is certainly known today beyond doubt that the so-called Hamites of Africa, the Somali and Abyssinian, with their curly and frizzle haired subordinates of North and East Africa are not "white" men in any possible sense of that much overworked racial designation. They are plainly Negroes if we use that word in any but a needlessly narrow & unscientific sense, with longer or smaller modifications of Semitic blood. The Semites too show their Negroid ancestry in hair and head form.

The early human history of Africa therefore may be reconstructed in some such way as this

30-1-46d

Primitive man probably entered Africa from Asia some 50,000 years ago, The ~~Negro sub species may have originated in~~ coming from passing sea-ways to the regions of the great lakes. the Indian peninsula. The dark-skinned, spiral-haired men ~~then seem to have~~ had wandered eastward as well as westward. They entered Burmah and the islands of the south seas on the one hand; on the other hand they can be traced through Mesopotamia, where they gave curly-hair and a Negroid type to Jew, Syrian and Assyrian. In Arabia perhaps the Negroes divided, sending one stream into Europe by way of Syria. Its traces are manifest not only in skeletons but in the brunette type of south Europe. The other branch proceeded to Egypt and tropical Africa.

30-1-46d

This primitive African was ~~probably~~ not an extreme type; one may judge from modern Pigmy and Bushmen, that his color was often reddish or yellow, and his skull was sometimes ~~often~~ round like the Mongolian. He settled possibly on the broad regions between Lake Chad and the Great Lakes, and remained there long stretches of years.

After a lapse of perhaps 30,000 years came a further migration of Negroid peoples whom we sometimes designate as Hamites or the "Mediterranean Race." These in turn developed on the one hand into the Semites, and on the other hand, they mingled with the primitive Negroes and became the various Negro tribes of to-day.

As we near historic times, the migrations of men became more frequent, from Asia and from Europe, and in Africa came movements and minglings ~~commingling movements~~ which give to the whole of Africa a distinct mulatto character. The basal proto-nigritian

30-1-47

stocks were "mulatto" in the sense of being not widely differentiated from the dark original Australoid stock ~~that became the white man~~. As the earlier yellow Negro developed in the African tropics to the bigger, blacker type, he was continually mingling his blood with similar types developed in temperate climes to sallower color and straighter hair.

30-1-482

We find, therefore, in Africa to-day every degree of development in Negroid stocks, and every degree of intermingling of those developments both among African peoples, and between Africans, Europeans and Asiatics. The mistake is continually made of considering these types as transitions between absolute Caucasians and absolute Negroes. No such absolute type ever existed on either side. Both were slowly differentiated from a common ancestry and continually remingled their blood while the differentiation was progressing. The prehistoric Negro is mulatto in color or hair or both, and no absolute Negro type in the popular conception of the idea ever existed. From prehistoric times to our day, Africa is humanly the land of the Mulatto. So, too, was earlier Europe and Asia, only in these countries the Mulatto was early bleached by the climate, while in Africa he was darkened.

The curious intermingling of men in Africa is reflected in the distribution of languages. Roughly speaking, Africa can be divided into two language zones; North of the fifth degree of North latitude is the Zone of Diversity, with at least a hundred groups of widely divergent languages; South of the line there is one minor language (Bushman-Hottentot) spoken by less than 50,000 people, and elsewhere the predominant Bantu tongue with its various dialects, spoken by at least fifty millions.

30-1-486

It is interesting to note that those very scientists who have depended on language to prove the ethnic and cultural unity of the mythical "Indo-germans" have tried to make ~~this typical~~

Egyptian culture ~~asides~~ decide the fact that it is difficult to connect the Egyptian language with ~~any~~ Asiatic tongues. Lepsius assumed that Bantu was the original Negro tongue; that the Egyptian and Hottentot were ~~colonies~~ colonies ~~offsets~~ tongues originating in Asia and that the advance of the Bantus cut these two speeches in twain left mixed dialects behind and spread the Bantu speech in the south. ~~Since~~ ~~these records to~~ If the Egyptian and Hottentot tongues came from Asia even in prehistoric times they left no apparent trace and as Sergi maintains "everything favors an African origin". (p 100)

Ethnologically historic times it seems clear that the second migration of Negroes ~~Asiatics~~ type from southern Asia settled somewhere around the great lakes and ~~abroad~~ or drove back into forest and desert the primitive yellow ~~and~~ red Negroes were evolved the modern Negro; during that evolution the race sent offshoots down

30-1-49

the Nile valley. ~~and along the shores of the~~ He were developed primitive Ethiopian civilization and gradually through contact with the Semites the culture of Egypt.

The Negroes also expanded westward straight across the continent pushing the primitive ones into the forests and southward. Centers of higher culture began to appear along the gulf of Guinea and ~~pushed back~~ pushed back eastward meeting Egyptian influences at Lake Chad.

Later the Negroes expanded southward along the Indian ocean and with doubt began the civilization which culminated later at Zymbabwe and may be faintly traced across the Kalahari desert. ~~Recent~~

Hemmed in between all these influences a new like group of Negroes in central Africa began to press for room. They dwelt at the barrier of Egypt at Ethiopia; without doubt they pressed hard on the ~~Eg~~ along Yoruba and Benin on the west. Perhaps it was the expansion of this latter kingdom into the Congo Valley. ~~That~~ started the trade

30-1-50

of warlike barbarians advancing south and eastward. Calling themselves proudly The People (la Bantu) these tribes skirted slowly the Congo forests being held back by natural difficulties or perhaps by some organized power emanating from the West Coast. Down past the great lakes passed the Bantu nations gradually conquering every thing before them until they had overcome the resistance on the east coast and had curled back with the Congo valley down in South Africa and back again to the Zambesi.

30-1-51

All the southern peninsula thus became Bantu in language and culture Joined the with the Bantu breed had whom the ancients of Ethiopia and the ~~Arabians~~ semitic Himyaites of the highland Coast eventually ~~mixed~~ broken groups and ~~daughters~~ tribes of Negroids of mingled Bantu, ancient Negro and semitic blood

Meantime ~~in the 2nd century, A.D.~~, from the Northern shores of Africa influences began to creep through the desert wall. Greeks Phoenicians and Romans penetrated to Nigeria and left and took away far reaching influences. Perhaps some influences? Greek culture reached even the Gulf of Guinea by way of the Niger; the Sahara desert paths brought Negroes to Carthage and the Mediterranean coast and carried trade to Negroland. By Zanbu and perhaps Grecian influences were also left and successive movements of Negroes westward across the broad Sudan ~~belts~~ stimulating influences as far west as the Atlantic and perhaps planted the cross before the crescent on the Gulf of Guinea.

~~Negro tribes have been mixing~~
~~freely in the travel and barge movements~~
~~there were in the Mediterranean armies~~
~~that conquered North Africa~~

30-1-52

~~The influences of culture of the west and of Egyptian influences early began to stimulate progress in the western Sudan~~

The influences of these trade routes added to the those of Egypt Ethiopia Benin & Yoruba stimulated centers of culture in the central & western Sudan and the great paths of European & African trade began to develope. Negro soldiers served largely in the armies that enabled the Mohammedans to conquer ~~capture~~ North Africa and Spain. Eventually beginning in the 10th century Islam crept across the desert into Nigeria. The new religion found an excellent culture & it came not a conqueror but as an adapter and reform. Civilization received new impetus as a wave of mohammedanism swept eastward reaching the ~~western~~ great kingdoms of Mali the Songhay, Bornu and the Hausa States.

The older culture was not overthrown and took a great many things into itself

and manual force [illegible] It gave stubborn battle for the older culture for seven or eight centuries

Dictation 30-1-54

When it was that the Negro race of Africa developed in its most unmixed form. In the ancient world Africa was no more a slave supply ground than Europe or Asia and the slaves of Greece and Rome were more largely White than colored. The slaves of the Egyptians were mixed Negroes, but so were many of their nobility and some of the Pharaohs. Here for geographical and economic reasons chiefly drawn from Africa & Asia; & later under Mohammedan influence there came Asia a more distant demand slavery as a system became re-created a new base of life and white Negroes Negroes became of prime value and thus was became the domestic slavery of Africa furnished a supply of slaves which earned and came from Europe & only in limited quantities from Asia for economic & political and not racial reasons: African industry shall rested on the family & the domestic slave trade [illegible]

and Europe had reached a system of Slave serfdom.

30-1-55

PAN-AFRICA: THE STORY OF A DREAM

1961
Draft pages, 1-11

PAN-AFRICA

THE STORY OF A DREAM

CHAPTER I ACCRA

For now a month I have lived in Accra, the capital city of the new independent republic of Ggana, West Afriaa. To this fairy land, I was transported by way of Prague and Rome, both fitting fables for this transmigaration of souls. In Prague which I had seen previously in I893, I950 and I958, I met the presient who writes books, the minister of education and culture and the rector of Charles University, founded 300 yers before America was discovereved and which in I958, gave me an honorary degree in a ceremony I shall never forget. In I960 , the minister of culture showed me the Spartakade, the Czech festival which comes every five years. Sixteen thousand girls from every corner od Czechoslovakia danced in intricate pattern and colorful uniform before fifty thousand spectators; and then sixteen thousand boys; and then sixteen thousand adults, It was a rare spectacle of discipline and unity of joy and plan

Then over Vienna we reached Rome. I had not seen the Eternal City since I893, when I and a young Englishman, touring as students from Berlin, were stoned in the Forum and called "Franchesi"! Rome was not built in a day and cannot be seen in a day but a day was all we had. We saw the Forum now buried in the vast encroaching city; it seemed but ragged reminiscence; we saw St Peters and its garish colors amid mighty memories and vast plaza we saw the Colloseum, that ghost of the past and we saw the city Mussolini built, that ghost of an unbelivable present.

At midnight we flew to Africa. Over ~~Casablanca~~ Tripoli and the Great Sahara across we flew, and over Kano, all in darkness -- Kano where my dear friend , Colonel Young died of what was really suicide when the land which he so selflessly served viciously rejected his service. At last we came to the Gulf of Guinea where 200 years ago (or was it 300?) an ancestor of mine was probably stolen by a Dutchman and dragged to New York, where as Tom Burghardt or some father of his, he worked in the Berkshire valley of Massachusetts, fought for his freedom in the Revolution and through his great granddaughter brought me into this curious world.

Accra has grown from a trading "castle" built by the Portuguese in in the Fifteenth century into a city of 300,000. It clustered in huts with windin paths next the sea, thenextended (a marketplace and a) as a trading center, a haunt of fishermen and at last capital of a profitable British colony. Finally long streets stretched to the countryside, with circles and avenues name after African lands and curved roads ~~with~~ leading to nests of surburban homes amid trees and flowers. Its inner purlieus are crowded with sidewalk salesmen and especially women; great departmentstores have been built and offices for government officials; motor carsjam the winding thoroughfares and strange tongues with British English mingle on the streets. It is an overgrown village laid out to become a metropolis, with arch and fountain; house of parliamen and supreme court, Unilevers, Kingsway and the African marketplace overlying and under carbody ~~threading~~ ~~through~~ all.

39-IC-33

We came to witness the last act (or the first ?) of a great world drama. An early center of the African slave trade to America had become a colony of the British Empire, set down by Guggenheim as an example of and then suddenly in a whirl of revolution, yet without blood, being before our eyes transformed into ~~xxxindependentxxxxxxx~~ self-ruled colony in I957 and today into a republic, shorn of a queen, and yet in the British Commonwealth

The leader of all this was a young man whom I met in Manchester, England, fifteen years ago. He urged me to come and see the first fruit of his effort, but my country suspected me of too much sympathy with Socialism of Russian Communism and refused me a passport, but sent Vice President Nixon instead. In ~~xxxxxxx~~ I958 the nation unchained me and my wife and I had a miraculous trip to the world of Socialism from Prague to Moscow and Tashkent to Peking. My wife went also to Egypt and the Sudan, to Nigeria and theAll-African meeting in Accra in I958 There she read my message to Africa while I lay in a Soviet Sanitarium, not sick but guarded from ~~being sick~~ illness

After our return, our passports after a hesitation of months were cancelled for our crime of openly and joyously visiting China. We were about to content ourselves to stay home indefinitely, when here came two invitations: to the Spartakiad in

Chechovakia and again from my friend Kwame Nkrumah in West Africa. We appld for new passports; Nkrumah cabled the State Department, the Ghana consul vitd the State department and others pinted out the rich investmet which American Big Busines hoped to place in Africa. We got three-year passports but were asked to promise to visit no country with which the United States has nd diplomatic relations. Since we are sure thatthe greatest nation in the world cannot long be kept from recognition by the United States, we signed the promise

We were not in time to see the complete ceremony of transposing from white Britain from rule in Ghana and in place setting up Black Africa. But we saw its essential parts and it was a work of art. It moved with every at British good form, with solemn ceremony and correct dignity. With all pomp and circumstance Lord Listowell, in gold braid and plume, Her Majesty's governor of Ghana, was was dined, presided as parliament was prorogued, escorted to his plane by the new black President of the Republic of Ghana in robed in kente cloth. On July first the new Predident, is inaugurated. He is Preceded by the Golden Sword of State, police criers and drummers, and the Army, Kwame Nkrumah is sworn in by the black chief justice, Sir Arku Korah and and the people shout their approval as the national anthem is played. There is a ceremonial parade, firewoeks and the Flame of Freedom is lighted.

All this we came too late to see but on July second after our arrival, the First Parliament of the Republic of Ghana was opened and we were there. All the distinctly British paraphernalia were gone. There were no wigs, God was not asked to save the Queen and there were few white officials

39-IC-34

~~THE REPUBLIC IS INAUGURATED~~ 4

descended & knelt & carved on a the Golden Stool

There was a certain magnificance in ~~it all~~ the ceremony -- the echo of ancient splendor; carving stood out on walls with stately ~~glory and~~ splendor; and over all was color: the riot of every earthly tint; the roar of crimson, royal darkness; a golden chair and its unveiling: yellow and purple, green and blue, white and orange-- ~~crown of leaf and plate.~~ A chief sat in front of me, with a crown of leaf and plate, wreathed in crimson and gold and regally sitting on a tufted cushion. Beyond over the audience lay white and cream lace, necklaces of pale, pure gold, turban and fez now the massive mace-bearer was passing, a big and stately man entered majestically with purple greaves. ~~Then~~ the trumpets trembled in partial tones, bits of promised music from the legends of chiefs the drums rolled in perpetual, irregular rythm. Red-coated soldiers stood on guard sceptres and batons, figures and forms; scroll and triangle, line and dot,, interlaced curve and square. Over all lay a mist of gold encrusted with crimson and black. Everywhere were comely features, erect carriage, a ~~distinct~~ British pattern but behind all the African pattern, stern and eternal. The white ~~gowns~~ robes of the Moslems floated about and in the seats of Parliament sat a hundred members, robed and gowned, eight of them women, one a son of the great Casely-Hayford, one who married Cripps daughter and one president of the Republic and a right honorable Britsih Privy Councellor With all the pomp and circumstance, the ceremony was simple. There were no wigs and igsignia of nobility save that of chiefs. Without the portic, a Parmount Chief, crowned and gowned in gold danced before his gods and poured libations ~~while two~~ tall, full-bosomed women, black and proud floated around him, ~~Within~~ In simple decorum, Nkrumah in his kente-cloth robe, wlked to the rostrom and seated himself in the carved and gold-crused ceremonial chair. Then he stood and outlined a socialist state ~~while~~ as Parliament cheered. Again the trumpets trembled and blared, the drums revelled ~~and rolled~~ and the national anthem of new Republic roared in the throats of thousands. It was a day never to forget. For here a marriage of British custom with ancient African culture had been erected slowly relentlessly, without pause or hesitation a new nation , whose life was so intertwined with international trade and manufacture that it was at once an integral part of modern capitalism and yet a socialist state based on a co munism ~~axxxxxx~~ much older than the American slave trade. It was a fantastic evolution led by Kwme Nkrumah.

CHAPTER II OF DREAM AND DEED

There is a dangerous dichotomy in modern thought which must be recognized and reconciled or we will never ~~reduce~~ coalesce etihcs and science to one unified world. What has a Dream to do with the future? Science says Noting, it but unsubstantial shadow floating along side Fact. Everything answers Ethics for it is the map of the coming world; drwn right a it guides us to Good; drawn wrong and Bad it enthrones Evil and destruction. These two interpretations, instead of admitting their fundamental contradiction, carry on as though they spelled no ~~inherent contradiction~~ incoherence: Science admits no happening which was not included in the Past and birthed by unalteralterable law, while "eligion worships all-powerful Will who makes of earth and man whatever man and earth wish to be.

Mankind must reconcile this contradicgion or give up logical thought ~~thought~~ or purposeful deed. To This the scientific method of the Nineteenth Century points the way to ~~acco plsh:~~ assumption and test. I beg to adduce one example, a small one as history and experience go, as well as I know. As a little brown boy born in a white skinned New England, my black mother's family told me that they were African. But of that Africa which was their motherland my schools and surroundings taught me almost nothing. There was a map of Africa in my geography which I early learned to draw. I early knew Gibraltar, the Nile, the great Gulf of Guinea and the Cape called Good Hope. I saw pictured of alleged Africans but they had but faint resemblance to my grandfather Othello. In my history books there was no story of Africa, only ~~save~~ Egypt and Egypt was and was not in Africa, depending on whether I believed the map or the written text. Apparently I could take my choice and I did.. I built an Africa of mighty folk who happened to be black of skin but just as human as ~~a~~the others who were brown, yellow, red or pink. This I knew because I knew black folk. My mother was black and my cousins and many strangers from the world without.

Yet as I grew to manhood this knowledge of mine was called a dream by all the world about me, including, strange to say many if not most other folk , as dark or darker than myself. But this dream of mine I hugged close to

my soul, vowing that if it was not true it would be true if any way my thought and muscle could make. Today in I960, with a sort of mad rush my dream is becoming true, and I stand almost frightened at the fact and method of this happening I try of course not to distort or exaggerate the facts. All this is not the result of my own little dream, it is the accumulating and deam of thousands of minds and milions of sweating backs and gripp ng hands. It is not yet a complete accomplishment, but rather the dawn of a shadow of a finished fact. But it no longer remains a deam, it has already become a measurable scientific fact.

39-12-37

This as I sence it is the story of its developement. In I900, as I taught at A Negro college in the United States, Atlanta University, I had entered on a systematic study of the Negro race, especially in the United States , but also in the Americas and in Africa itself. This study had begun at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 and carried on for I8 months resulting in one of the first American social studies of a group of of developing working people. At Atlanta for ~~the next~~ I3 years this became a programme of I00 years study of the Negro race and as part of this study I made a series of charts of Negro progress in A merica which gained a grand prize at the Paris Exposition in I900. The printed reports of my studies had becom known in Europe and on my way back to America. I was invited to take part in a "Pan-African Conference" in London, called by a colored West Indian barrister, H. Sylvester Williams. Of Mr Williams himsllf and his ideas of Africa I never learnd much nor did I know whence he got his use of the term "Pan-Africa" which I then heard for the first and liked. Probably Mr. Williams had in mind some consideration of missionary work, for he invited members of the Colenso family and other missionary folk.. It happened however that I was beginnig to get some ideas of Africa's future from my studies and my reading of the results of the Congres of Berlin, Stanley's travels and the Congo Free State. I was made secretary of the conference and wrote the resolutions

Bishop Alexander Walters, a prelate of the African Methodist church

one of then the most powerful Negro organizations, and would have done something with this new responsibility, had it not been for new responsi ities which piled on him, including the presidential of I9I2 and the First World War. My hands too were full: lynching and mob violence spead in America; Booker washington doctrines of apesement spread; I criticised him in my book "Souls of Black Folk" in I903, organized the Niagara Movement in 1905 and in I9IO gave my study of the Negro and became chief of propaganda in the New NAACP in I9IO. In I9II I returned to my interest in Africa as secretary for the United States of the Races Congress ~~afxi~~9which met in London. This meeting of persons of all races including Africans, West Indians, East Indians, Europeans and Chinese, clarified my ideas. Due in part to the illness of Sir Harry Johnson I took a leading part and began to think of Africa as the home of free, thinking and acting men. But alas, while we were still in session, that German warshipsailed into an African p port and World War began. Free Africa was the child of forty years of violence, murder and destruction.

39-1C-38

CHAPTER III The FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Thhe decade from I9IO to I920, in the United States was the era when black Americans arose from the struggle of emancipation, and the of Reconstru ction of democracy after war and awoke to a new, long and fierce struggle to become modern men and join in the re-birth of Africa. First came organization and the Crisis a monthly which I ed ted for a quareter of a century to set the new objects of a new people. Then came a war with its question as whether black Amer- icans ~~ar~~ were citizens fighting for a country which was theirs or cheap labor to be used for profit. The result was compromise which looked like victory but actually sent Negro soldiers to France as stevadors to move the materia which the Allies needed and from the sale of which the Unitd States reap a millio dola s a day profit. A few black soldiers had to be sent along with these workers, along with 700 Negro officers, whose treatment aroused black America and gave me a chance to visit France right after the Armistice and investigate

I conceivd a bright idea. I recalled my dream of Africa. I wrote the harried President Willion and suggested that the German colonies in Africa become a new free Africa, in which Africans had some voice in its government. Wilson did not answer my letter but it came to the attention of the peace congress of Versailles and my further action emphasized my suggestion. I tried to assemble a "Pan-African Congress in Paris on my arrival inthe winter of 1918.I place the proposal before such Americans as I knew. They were of one mind: the thing was impossible. Parsi was still under marshall law; this was a matter of high politics and an merican negro had no right to openits discussion; I turned to Colonel House the President's alter ego. He decided that it would do no harm to listen to me, depite my race and clor. He gave me a courteous hour and promised to give the matter some attension. He probably referred it to one of the committees on peace, but I heard no more from him. Then I took the war into Africa. I knew how much France had put dependence on black troops. I knew that one African held a place near cabinet position and i soon learned that Blaise Diagne, a black Senegalese had been instrumental in bringing 700,000 black troops, "volunters" as as those were called whom the chiefs ordered to go. It was these men who stopped the first onsl aught of the Germans. I heard that stoty of the black battalion which for the first time in their lives faced the thunder of german artilley on Flanders field they raised the gribzal war cry and the tempest of lead swept them down. They cried again and again the blod bathed thunder rolled; again and a gain the war cry sounded until the silence found no living black man on that field. France shuddered but it could never forget.

39-12-39

I went to Diagne and he received me with interest and vivid curiousity He was glad to hear of Africa overseas. Of course he said almost before he thought, you can meet and talk. This is a free land. I will speak to Clemenceau It was more difficult than he had thought. Who was this Du Bois, The Tiger asked . What did he represent, what power was behind him. The discussion dragged on. December and January rolled by, with chilly, damp weather. But I haunted Diagne and he was ashamed to fail. What was there to fear? Few would attend this meeting

Outsiders could get no visas, and those there would be under the watchful eye of the Co,onial Office and of Disg e himself. Moreover the gesture would apea appease Africa and Afriaca was showing signs of consciousness. At last, in ebruar permission came with advice: Hold your Congress but say little about it; meet quietly, but go ahead. I was elated and my few white American friends amazed. But I soon realized that I had not gained much. Already came the news that the American Secretary of State had announced that the Congress would not take place and refused passports to those who hzd applied. From England came the news that the Secretary of the ~~xxxxxx~~ Abroniges Protection Society wold not be allowed to send its secretary and the old abolition forces could not be represented. Of course black Africa would be kept away save those aleady i n Paris. But I kept gr grimly at work. There was a nucleus of Negroes in Paris: a few American Negro troops; an American consul at and his willing wife Ida Hunt. Some other West Indians domiciled in Franceand others of Negro descent. Altogether we mustered I9 persons who enrolled at the Grand Hotel on ebruary, I9I9, under the chairmanship of Blaise Diagne, with me as secretary and the French Secretary of Colonies in watchful daily attendance. During this time my ideas on Africa and its future had broadened and clarified. My resolutions were changed slightly in some debate but on the whole went through virtually as I wrote them The world listened and I went nome tired but triumphant.

39-IC-40

CHAPTER IV THE YEAST WORKS

The First Pan-Af ican Congress , small and relatiely unimportant as it was, had three major results; first it started in Africa itself and especialy among th leading black intelligentia, a movement to organize for eventual shring in the government of colonies. Second in the West Indiees there was revived along ex- i ste t demand for self-rule which hd triumphed in blood in Haiti in the I8th century. Nealy every island had its movements of varying sorts but in Jamaica there appeared after the First World War, Marcus Garvey, first as head of a small industrial school and then as leader of an adventure in commence and trade. Garvy sensed the economic develpe of the West Indies and wanted Negroes to go into busine

on his own hook and take over at least part of the inter-islamd trade. There was in Africa, and particularly West Africa a notable set of intelligent Africnas. Many were educated in England and msot were British in culture and ambiideal.They had small regard for colored Americans s and regarded the African chie chieftainship with som disdain. They had no idea therefore xx of joining an American Pan-African movement, especially when British politics and business advised against it.They had long sought to be recognized as leaders of a rising Africa, but the colonial officials outwitted them by forming alliance with the chiefs and by securing controllof the chiefs being able to rule the colonies with considerable sucess with the educated Negro leaders outside the ropse. After the first Pan-African Congress,it occurred to many of the African intelligentia first to use their tribal bonds to ally themselves with the chiefs and secondly to take real leadership xxxx of the tribes and force the imperial powers to grant the natives a greater share in government control.

39-12-41

Leaders and scholars like Casely -Hayford of

therfore in 1920 secured the co-operation of a number of powerful chiefs, and called a West Avrican Congress at I was not invited not being a British subject and somewhat suspect by the British rulers ans having revolutionary objects. The West African Congress was of a hibgh order and eventually forced the government to grant tne natives a substantial start toward self-government. Thier argument for African democracy was a classic. Othe movements toward self-rule wer encouraged by this congress and by my Pan-African movement.

Garvy in the West Indies was a demagogue. His education was not broad and he was careless in his morals. But he was a born leader of men in an environment where leadership was sorely wanting, The Jamaica leaders were mostly mulattoes, who aped the British and despised tne blacks. Garvy became leaderx of the black masses and srirred them to frenzy by praisig black blod and slandering bastards. Moreoeer he attacked the basic problem of poverty and unemployment. This brought him to New York, where thousands of West Indians lived and where many had prospered. Here he formed his Negro Improvement society,

Started a newspaper and had his attention turned toward Africa by the pan-African movement. He attempted sevral commercial ve tures including the Black Star steamship line. He had no talent for businesnor experience and in 11 of them failed miserably. But in his propaganda for an Africa ruled by Africans, he was amazingly sucessful. He never visited Africa and knew little of conditions there among natives or colonists but his exhortations for Africans to have voice in the rule of Africa spread wide and came to the ears of many young blck men. Garvy himself wasted funds, ranted and boasted and finally ran counter to American law by selling passages on non-existant boats and was arrested He charged that I and other American Negroes were persecuting him but in this he was wrong. Only hisown rhodomontade betrayed him into the hands of whites who began to fear him. He was deported to Jamaica and finally died in London

CHAPTER V. THE SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

After the First Pan-African Congress in I9I9, I began to plan a second for I92I. It provrd a d fficult task. First of all the NAACP which had suported the first congress, was no longer willing to continue sponsorship. As one of our leading directors said: we have enough problems of our own in America without going to Africa to find and settle others

24-21-63

THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO

Draft fragments, Chapters 3 and 16

[FROM CH. 3]

Few States present better opportunities for the continuous study of a group of Negroes than Pennsylvania. The Negroes were brought here early, were held as slaves along with many white serfs. They became the subjects of a protracted abolition controversy, and were finally emancipated by graddal progress. Although, for the most part, in a low and degraded condition, and thrown upon their own resources in competition with white labor, they were nevertheless so inspired by their new freedom and so guided by able leaders that for something like forty years they made commendable progress. Meantime, however, the immigration of foreign laborers began, the new economic era of manufacturing was manifest in the land, and a national movement for the abolition of slavery had its inception. The lack of skilled Negro laborers for the factories, the continual stream of Southern fugitives and rual freedmen into the city, the intense race antipathy of the Irish and others, together with intensified prejudice of whites who did not approve of agitation against slavery--all this served to check the development of the Negro, to increase crime and pauperism, and at one period resulted in riot, violence, and bloodshed, which drove many Negroes from the city.

Economic adjustment and the enforcement of law finally allayed this excitement, and another period of material prosperity and advance among the Negroes followed. Then came the inpouring of the newly emancipated blacks from the South and the economic struggle of the artisans to maintain wages, which brought on a crisis in the city, manifested again by idleness, crime and pauperism.

Thus we see that twice the Philadelphia Negro has, with a fair measure of success, begun an interesting social development, and twice through the migration of barbarians a dark age has settled on his age of revival. These same phenomena would have marked the advance of many other elements of our population if they had been as definitely isolated into one indivisible group. No differences of social condition allowed any Negro to escape from the group, although such escape was continually the rule among Irish, Germans and other whites.

34-2-84

[Note – to be appended to Chapter XVI, unnumbered.]

A word ought to be said as to the practical aspects of drawing the "Color-line". All men acknowledge that discrimination based simply on race or color is a concession to barbarism. Nevertheless it often happens that philanthropic enterprises come face to face with the alternatives of either excluding Negroes from the benefits of the enterprise, or of seeing their efforts wholly or partially fail. Under such circumstances all that can be asked is that those upon whom the decision rests fully realize the gravity of their choice. Sometimes, without doubt, it is the least of two evils to exclude Negroes; but it is certain that the temptation to do this is weakly yielded to at present far more often than is necessary or decent. Whenever the color-line is drawn simply to avoid unpleasantness or "trouble" it would in most cases be far better to give up the enterprise than to perpetuate an indefensible wrong.

30-1-57

Color-discrimination can be based on five grounds: (a) Difference in the social condition of whites and blacks; (b) Advantages of group action (c) Deep-seated, inherited prejudice; (d) Fear of public opinion; (e) Whim.

(a) It may be in certain localities that the Negro population is by training and condition in no

respect suited to take advantage of opportunities which the whites would grasp and profit by. In such cases discrimination on account of color may at times ~~see~~ be justifiable; care must be taken however for it must be remembered that in few localities are the Negroes all of one homogeneous class; usually there are some above the average, and these very ones who need encouragement will usually be the ones whom the discrimination will influence most.

30-1-58

(b) Sometimes a proper degree of cooperation in work can be secured only by grouping together small numbers of persons with mutual interests ~~acquaintances~~ — as, e.g., children of the same neighborhood, men of the same trade, or persons of the same race or social class. Where this is the case it may be advantageous to put Negroes by themselves, Italians by themselves, etc. It is not always certain however that this method will bring the best results, and it should not be too eagerly seized upon as an excuse for discrimination against Negroes or foreigners or certain social classes.

(d) ~~There~~ The most baffling problem is that of the persons with deep-seated unreasoning prejudices against a particular class of persons. Some-

times it is against Jews, sometimes against Irishmen, but most frequently it is directed against Negroes. Such prejudices are usually inherited or imbibed during childhood and youth and often will yield neither to reason or religion. In such cases the choice lies between two evils: the one of giving up the enterprise, the other of excluding Negroes simply because of their race and color. No more unpleasant dilemma can be faced, and while the last horn is more usually chosen, it is unfortunately because in general the evil of such a procedure is not fully realized.

These four cases are the only ones where there is sometimes excuse for discrimination. Even in cases where the expediency is undeniable it must be clearly recognized that ~~some~~ great harm is being done. Moreover the fact that Negroes are being discriminated against must be stated honestly and openly, with no attempt at deception, and the grounds therefor candidly made known.

It may be hard to make such a plain statement, but a failure to do so is an additional injury and a lie: an injury to a proscribed people who otherwise will be supposed to be receiving help where they are not; a lie which gives an enter-

prize credit for what it does not do, and does not intend to do. Two or three of the most popular enterprises of Philadelphia are guilty of such veiled and # unknowleged discrimination against Negroes which is often unknown & then own directors and undreamed of by the benevolent public. There is no defense for such a crime

30-1-60

The remaining two ~~irrational~~ grounds upon which color-discrimination is based are never justifiable excuses. By far the larger part of the existant color-prejudice in the city is by no means of the inborn ineradicable sort, but is rather a fear of the opinion of prejudiced persons. Foreigners, ~~and~~ natives of the lower class, and the newly rich, have all seen Negroes so mistreated and held in so little consideration that they think it smart and respectable & ape their betters in this respect. Such prejudice is merely ignorance and must be met by firmness, reason and enlightenment. So too whimsical objection & the physical peculiarities of the Negroes, must as in the case of hunch-backs and red-headed people, be also met by common sense and appeals to the better self.

~~A careful consideration of cases of~~

RUSSIA AND AMERICA: AN INTERPRETATION

Draft manuscript

RUSSIA AND AMERICA

An Interpretation

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

49-2-9

New York

1 9 5 0

FOR SHIRLEY GRAHAM

49-8-10

THE APOLOGY

Three times during the last quarter century I have had glimpses of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For more than four-fifths of the last hundred years I have lived in the United States of America. In 1926, for a month or more, I saw Moscow and the other chief cities of the Soviets from Leningrad to Kiev, and from Nijni Novgorod to Odessa. Ten years later in circling the earth I saw the Soviet Union from Moscow to Manchuria, over Omsk, Novosibirsk and Lake Baikal and thence to China and Japan. A third time in 1949, amid the twenty-eight marble pillars of the formar Hall of Nobles in Moscow, I looked into the faces of a thousand Russians from every p rt of the vast nation, and joined them in a plea for peace. I read the books of other visitors, Then I said, I must write a book. So this at last is the book I have written. And may men have mercy on my word.

W. E. B. Du Bois

New York
23 West 26th Street
On a day in June, 1950

49-2-11

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	The ~~An~~ Apology	iii
I.	A Quest for Clarity	1
II.	The Soviet Union in 1926	18
III.	Blind Staggers: 1917 - 1936	47
IV.	I Gird the Globe	72
V.	The Reign of Roosevelt	152
VI.	The Witch Hunt	203
VII.	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 1950	248
VIII.	World Peace	300

49-2-12

CHAPTER I

A QUEST FOR CLARITY

Erastus Milo Cravath, first president of Fisk University, looked like God. Certainly like the God which the Congregational sunday school painted on my child mind. He was tall, a little stooped, with long white beard and silver hair. His face was misty, with lineaments like those limned by fifteenth century Italian painters; and his blue eyes hid beneath bushed brows, whence they gleamed, now stern, now sombre. Sometimes we students thought they twinkled; as when he earnestly asked the Lord, as he often did, to "forgive us for our short-comings;" we were convinced he referred to little Cummings, a fellow-student who was an imp.

I was just turned twenty when we five seniors entered the President's class in Philosophy: Tyndal, dignified but dumb; Lenora, sleepy but keen, with her long black Indian hair; Edmondson, then, elegant and scholarly; Mamie, cold, spotless and bitter; and I, the youngest and most unsophisticated. To me college was very serious business. I was especially thrilled with this course. At last I was getting at the inner meaning of Things and about to face ultimate Truth. I was weary of "elements" and "introductions" and second-hand comments and descriptions.

The new text said that we were to study the "Stream of Consciousness," without reference to Space and with no limits of Time. Needless to say that eventually I was in part disappointed. On occasion when we were apparently splitting consciousness into unrelated parts, I ventured to remind our grave teacher that the knowing Mind could not thus be limited in space; he answered

49-2-13

drily, "But it must be somewhere!"

One thing, however, that course of study did was to open vistas and resolves. I was going to know Truth. I was going to stop at no little college for colored folk in Tennessee; I was going to seek the best and largest institutions in the world until I knew what Life was and Why.

Good old Professor Chase, who taught everything called "science" and who always advised his pupils on ways of eventually earning a living, could arouse little response in me. I was not interested in earning a living. I was going to study; and when the Hartford Theological Seminary offered me a scholarship, I was almost rude. I did not regard theology as study nor was I going to be a minister. What I regarded thereafter as being Captain of my soul was of course mostly good luck; but sure enough next year, after graduation, I appeared at Harvard. It was not the Harvard of the Boston Brahmins nor the Hasty Pudding Club, of neither of which had I ever heard; nor had I the slightest interest in Yale games. I entered the Harvard of William James, Josiah Royce, George Santayana, Nathaniel Shaler and Albert Bushnell Hart and they gave me their friendship.

41-2-14

Josiah Royce, with his enormous red head and incomparable mind, led me to a conception of absolute reality through philosophic idealism. This derived of course from the thinking of the Master, Emanuel Kant, and with the young George Santayana, incredibly handsome, I read the Critique der reinen Vernunft and staggered somewhat uncertainly down to the vast Hegelian system of universal comprehension. But no mention was made of Karl Marx and his application of this interpretation of the development of thought and action to the daily work and wage of men. I am sure Santayana would have regarded this as unworthy of the high aims of Philosophy.

William James in the Fall of 1888 took over Ethics, while Palmer was on leave. By his pragmatic shift from absolute right and wrong to conduct

that would bring the best results, he guided my thinking from the absolute to the relative and from systems to human beings. He emphasized this by setting me to study mediaeval Scholasticism and its intricate but futile and sterile thinking; he advised me to avoid metaphysics if I could. I did so, and it was Francis Peabody's course on social problems which let new light in on my life interests. Peabody was a clergyman rather than a scientist and he was regarded rather lightly by the greater minds of the University. His course was orientated toward philanthropy and organized charity, rather than poverty-stricken and ignorant and ailing men. But it awakened me. I began to sense something wrong in the underlying organization of human work and income and something not entirely race prejudice. I began to hear of Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Proudhon and of their criticism of modern industry. But still there came no word of Karl Marx.

It is natural that one born in the midst of a particular social problem should tend to interpret all other problems in its light. In my earlier years then the problems of property, work and poverty were to me but manifestations of the basic problem of color. My family in its various branches were poor or at best middle-class: small landholders, slipping down to house servants, barbers, waiters and laborers. So far as they were not rich and influential, the cause to my youth was clear: color-prejudice, which denied good position and fair wage to Negroes. But I was honest enough to add to this, laziness and failure to save. For in our New England village of five thousand with surrounding farmers, there was no great disparity of wealth and what existed could certainly be explained in part by thrift and saving, and much of the rest by inheritance, which was the same thing a generation removed.

In after years I sensed there had been much before my eyes which I did not heed. There was for instance, a woolen mill in the upper town which not

49-2-15

only fouled the lovely Housatonic river but nurtured about it a wretched slum of poor Irish and German workers. The owners, two brothers, were rich and lived downtown in fine houses. I knew for I was chum of their two sons and played and ate in their homes. I saw no close connection between the mill and its slums, and their wealth, which could not be explained by shiftlessness and saving. And the fact that the mill children disliked me, did not occur to me as possibly their opinion of a toady to the rich. Nor was I really consciously a worshipper of wealth; but since my lack of means came from lack of thrift among my folk and lack of recognition of desert by whites, my path seemed clear: hard work and enlightenment.

When I went South college, I saw poverty which was still due to shiftlessness but that shiftlessness more certainly and openly the result of past slavery of the workers and present injustice. Race problems, therefore, to my mind became the main cause of poverty, probably because I saw little of the poor whites and envisaged them as carriers of color prejudice. Nothing in my college courses at Harvard led me yet to question the essential justice of the industrial system of the nation.

I did,however, after the first year, veer from my chosen field of pure philosophy. After looking into Scholasticism of the past and the pure Idealism of the nineteenth century Germany, I sensed the dead-end ahead and talked to William James. He said frankly, "DuBois, if you've got to study Philosophy, you will. But if you can turn aside, I advise you to do so." I turned aside. I had already begun to sense the path from Metaphysics to Science -- Münsterburg had just arrived -- and I had not only touched Geology and Chemistry, but been attracted by the new Social Sciences,and History under Albert Bushnell Hart, particularly the history of slavery.

I gained a conception of the universe not as static and eternal Truth as my youth conceived, but as ever changing and developing facts; and of law

49-2-16

not as statute legislation but of workable hypothesis regarding the Unknown, ready for restatement whenever new facts and a better hypothesis demanded. Hart was the antithesis of James: slave of infinite system; stickler for detailed "facts;" insatiable chronicler of deeds. He was antidote to my previous unlimited speculation; he kept me busy in tireless research; but he furnished me no broad guiding principles of interpretation for human life. I began restlessly studying and classifying.

I turned to Economics and under our keenest Economist, Frank Taussig, took his favorite course on "The Wages Fund." Here my mind began to rebel. Taussig was logical and learned. But he was dogmatic and wrong. He set up a series of assumptions on human nature and activities in the world and then argued from these assumptions to unquestionable laws of wages and profits. The reasoning was logical. The assumptions were not allowed to be questioned, for his learning refuted every attempt. At the end of his course the Ricardian Iron Law of Wages stood fast and eternal.

It was in my senior year that I took two other courses in my search for more satisfactory orientation for life work. One was conducted by Edward Cummings, a slim newcomer from European study, who instructed us in a new subject called "Sociology," which was not recognized by Harvard as a science then nor for twenty years after. When finally it was born in the Yard, it was under the midwifery of a white Russian opponent of the Russian Revolution.

In 1890, Cummings brought us the beginnings of metaphysical sociology, based on Comte and innocent of Marx. He talked of the Social Body, its activity, thought, and Soul. If I had not already been grounded in James, Royce and Santayana, this might have satisfied me. As it was, I was repelled and asked some disturbing questions in class, presuming on my high status as senior: where was the Ego back of this Soul? And could an unified and inte-

49-a-17

grated organism exist without an Ego? There was, of course, no satisfactory answer to such queries and after a year or so, Cummings went into the ministry as assistant to Edward Everett Hale. I remembered him because through his good offices I later borrowed Hale's gorgeous academic gown for my commencement part on "Jefferson Davis as a Representative of Civilization."

My graduate work with Albert Bushnell Hart was more successful in results. Hart was not a profound scholar, but he was a systematic collector of historic documents as facts, and he inspired his students to real work in historical research. His system of filing and array of file cases was imposing and tremendously reassuring. I started with a bibliography of the Nat Turner Insurrection and ended with a Ph.D. thesis on "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America," which became the first number of the then new Harvard Historical Series.

Hart expected me to become a collector and arranger of historical information as he was, and he would have opened many doors for publication, even to fighting the Color Line which might have hindered my work. But I had other ideas. I was dissatisfied with my study of the Slave Trade because it ended too abruptly and yielded too narrow a field for valid judgment of human action. If I could study what man had done, why not investigate thoroughly and scientifically what he was doing now and what he might do in the future? In other words, I was seeking a science of human action which could be used not only for studying the Negro Problem, but for all the problems of the poor and ignorant. I do not know just when or how clearly all this matured in my mind; but when I went to Germany in 1892, I was ready to study basic industrial and social reform.

It was in Germany that my first awakening to social reform began. My teachers, Adolf Wagner and Gustav Schmoller, were not radicals nor Marxists; but they were broad and inspiring men, and the atmosphere of Rudolf Virchow,

49-2-18

"rector magnificus," when I entered the University of Berlin, led me far. Nor did the frenzied diatribes of Von Treitschke fail to open my eyes to the connection between European imperialism and race hate. I can see him now -- huge, nervous, black coated, with swift, tumbling words; glaring, as it seemed, directly at me as he said, "Die Mulattern sind niedrig: sie fühlen sich niedrich!"

I became consequently particularly interested in the Social Democratic party; they were the greatest party in Germany but had been gerry-mandered out of their strength by Bismarck. But they were strong and growing and they emphasized the fundamental Marxian doctrine of the basic importance of labor in human culture. I attended their meetings and picnics and became strongly tinged with theoretical socialism. Moreover, I now actually saw poverty: in Germany, in Italy, in Eastern Europe; poverty which was not a matter of race, but of industrial organization. And when Race entered as a cause of social dislocation, as it did in Germany and Poland, it was a matter of white folk and not of the color line.

Returning to America in the Fall of 1892, I was plunged into the color problem again; but not with the same provincialism as before. For me social reform still meant primarily the opening of doors to black men, so that they might run the race of life in equal competition with the white. I was teaching at Wilberforce -- Greek, Latin, German, everything but the new Sociology which I yearned to help build as a science, when Booker T. Washington laid down his industrial program at Atlanta in 1895. I was all for it, save one thing: it must be implemented by the vote and not fatally ignore the suffrage; and the voter must be guided by trained minds.

After two years, came my chance to place my theories of race relations on a scientific basis, where practical statesmen could link them with the social uplift of all men. I got a year's chance to study the Negro in a

49-2-19

single Philadelphia ward. This work, which was lengthened to nearly two years, made, for me, the problems fronting the Negroes, clear and vivid and launched me on a scientific solution of broad social measurement, presenting facts to the world for use in any way men would. In such an ivory tower of social reform I went to a life work at Atlanta University.

But after thirteen years of effort, I found my life revolutionized; I found, on the one hand, hard as I tried to present carefully garnered and objective truth to the American world, this world would not support the effort; and that with the facts before it, lynching and lying in America increased and the Tuskegee idea, distorted from its defensible logic, was being used to close Negro colleges and make Negro labor a low-wage caste. Reluctantly I turned from science to propaganda and went to New York to help organize and conduct the new National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

49-2-20

I attended a Races Congress in London in 1911, and addressed it. I began to give attention to the race tensions of the East. I remember advising a high-caste Indian who was consulting me, to make alliance between India and the new British Labor Party. He stiffened and said slowly, "I do not think we would like to be associated with dirty English workers." I think we all began to think of a new era of interracial comity, but even then tremors foretelling the First World War reached us. Back in the United States, I was compelled to surrender thoughts of detached scientific study of the race problem and go into the arena as a social fighter rather than as a scientific student. I deeply disliked this role and never proved demagogue enough to be successful as popular leader or public propagandist. But I did succeed in 1910 in establishing the Crisis magazine as an organ for my ideas, and it gained wide circulation. In 1915, I took a brief trip to Jamaica and for the first time saw the colonial problem face to face.

In New York, I was thrown with Socialists; among my colleagues in the N.A.A.C.P. were Charles Edward Russell, William English Walling and Mary White Ovington, all members of the Socialist Party; there were conservatives like Oswald Garrison Villard and liberals like John Haynes Holmes and Joel Spingarn, but I joined the Socialist Party in 1911, and from then forward began to regard the problem of race, more and more as part of the problem of industrial reform.

But two developments obscured my broader vision: first the extraordinary anti-Negro outbreak following the election of the first Southern-born president since the Civil War; for whose election I had left the Socialist Party in 1912 to fight; and secondly, the outbreak of the First World War, with race riots, lynching and burning; migration and hostile legislation; the appearance of the Negro as strike-breaker, and the question of his entrance into the army as private and officer.

It was then that the Russian Revolution took place and I scarce knew what it meant to me and to the world. Not much had been said of Russia in my school days, in secondary nor high school years. In college, I remember reading George Kennan's articles in the Century magazine. These stories of cruelty and injustice connected with banishment to Siberia stirred me greatly: the long trek across a quarter of the world; the tearing apart of families; the insensibility to human suffering. I have never quite outlived the impression which these stories made upon me. Rather negligently I followed what little was offered in the press on Russian history and policy. Chiefly it was a matter of Czars and Grand Dukes in their relations with Western Europe; of the folks themselves there were only incidental references to picturesque mujiks. Passing references to anarchists and the assassination of a Czar and high officials, left in my mind the current impression of Russia as semi-civilized and tyrannous.

49-2-21

Czar Alexander III was reigning while I was studying in Germany and in 1893, sent his fleet to France to conclude the Entente Cordial. This was impressed on me as I saw in Berlin, on the Tempelhofer Field, a celebration of the renewal of the Triple Alliance, with pomp and pageantry and with Wilhelm II and the Italian Crown Prince present. Later in 1900, I attended the most perfect of international exhibitions in Paris and crossed the Pont Alexandre which celebrated the new Franco-Russian alliance. For my exhibit on American Negroes I received a gold medal; and at the same time I noted exhibits of the new Russian industry which French investment was then nourishing.

All this was of passing interest until Russia and Japan went to war in 1904-1905. I admired the temerity of one of the Darker peoples daring to wage war against a great white power. I remember outlining its progress on the floor of the chapel of Atlanta University and using my baby daughter's choo-choo train to mark the moving of the armies along the Trans-Siberian railroad. My concept of Russia began to gain body and clearness. Already my contact with socialism in Germany had made me critical of Czarism, and there was now added the race problem in the conflict of a white and colored people. After that I followed from afar the Russians struggle for emancipation and drew parallels between Russian peasants and American Freedmen, emancipated at nearly the same moment and both kept in slavery by denial of land. I read of the pogroms against the Jews and likened them to our lynchings, which were ominously increasing.

Then came the unthinkable First World War, which tore at the moorings of all my historical knowledge and economic foresight; and at its edge, the Russian Revolution of 1917. I was bewildered at what was happening and tried for ten years to withhold final judgment. With students and audiences and on paper, I maintained that I did not know what was really happening in Russia

49-2-22

or how it would result. I certainly believed Russia needed radical reform and was encouraged at the Menshevik effort under Kerensky. When the Bolsheviks came to power, I hesitated; was this Thermidor or something more permanent and fundamental? Was Marxian Communism possible or a wild, perverted dream? I again relapsed into silence; but I did believe that the Russian people had a right to experiment and that the United States ought to recognize the new government. We had certainly recognized worse in the past.

I had succeeded in circulating the Crisis magazine widely and could now give some attention to broader aspects of social reform; and one symbolic occurrence after the Russian Revolution fastened my attention. We had gone to live in an apartment in lonely Carnarsie, outside New York City, when one day a strag dog came to us; he was young, scrawny, and dirty, but had evidence of breeding. So my little daughter kept him for her own and he grew sleek and beautiful. Then one day two Russians appeared, a man and his wife. They pointed to the dog and said he had run away from them.

"It is our dog," and "Larrabee!" they called; and he went, wagging his tail. But my wife came quietly to the door and said, "Steve!" and leapt back in joy and wriggled on her and kissed her. Then there was parleying and tales of his beautiful wolfhound mother and "will you take him?" asked my wife, her voice soft with fear. The Russian woman petted the dog tenderly and said, "No, we go back to Russia, now that Revolution has brought Freedom; and leave him with you, for he loves you and you are kind."

Meantime my attention was diverted. In the peace negotiations following World War I, I conceived the idea that the emancipation of Africa from colonialism might begin. I first tried to have German Africa set up as an international domain ruled by world science and philanthropy with representation of the educated Negro world. I think this idea had some effect in implementing the final Mandates Commission. I went to France in 1918, to advocate

49-2-23

my ideas through a Pan-African Congress which was held in Paris with the consent of Clemenceau and was followed eventually in 1921, and 1923 by further meetings in London, Paris and Brussels. Here extraordinary opposition developed among the Colonial Powers and I was accused openly in Brussels of being financed by Russia, which again called my attention to the Revolution there.

I made my first visit to Africa in 1923, visiting Liberia and few English and French colonies on the West Coast. I became vividly aware of a Negro Problem far greater than I had envisaged in America, and my mind leaped further; more or less clearly I found myself asking: Is the problem of color and race simply and mainly a matter of difference in appearance and cultural variation, or has it something in common with the industrial organization of the world? With Poverty, Ignorance and Disease? Has Revolution in Russia something fundamental for the Negro Problem in the United States and the Colonial Problem in Africa?

But despite questionings and faith, I continued puzzled about Russia and what was happening there. The papers were flooded with tales which I did not want to believe and yet found no answer. I realized that wartime propaganda had begun to dominate newsgathering and that it was difficult to get the truth on many matters. How far this would eventually go, I did not then dream. Claude McKay took me to task in 1921, for not appreciating the meaning of the Russian Revolution. I replied in July:

"Mr. McKay is wrong in thinking that we have ever intentionally sneered at the Russian Revolution. On the contrary, time may prove, as he believes, that the Russian Revolution is the greatest event of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and its leaders the most unselfish prophets. At the same time, The Crisis does not know this to be true. Russia is incredibly vast, and the happenings there in the last five years have been intricate to a degree that must make any student pause. We sit, therefore, with waiting

49-2-24

hands ~~listening~~ and listening ears, seeing some splendid results from Russia, like the cartoons for public education recently exhibited in America, and hearing of other things which frighten us.

"The editor of The Crisis considers himself a Socialist but he doesnot believe that German State Socialism or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat are perfect panaceas. He believes with most thinking men that the present method of creating, controlling and distributing wealth is desperately wrong; that there must come and is coming a social control of wealth; but he does not know just what form that control is going to take, and he is not prepared to dogmatize with Marx or Lenin. Further than that, and more fundamental to the duty and outlook of The Crisis, is this question: How far can the colored people of the world, and particularly the Negroes of the United States, trust the whole working classes?

"Many honest thinking Negroes assume, and Mr. McKay seems to be one of these, that we have only to embrace the working class program to have the working class embrace ours; that we have only to join trade Unionism and Socialism or even Communism, as they are today expounded, to have Union Labor and Socialists and Communists believe and act on the equality of mankind and the abolition of the color line. The Crisis wishes that this were true, but it is forced to the conclusion that it is not.

"The American Federation of Labor, as representing the trade unions in America, has been grossly unfair and discriminatory toward Negroes and still is. American Socialism has discriminated against black folk and before the war was prepared to go further with this discrimination. European Socialism has openly discriminated against Asiatics. Nor is this surprising. Why should we assume on the part of unlettered and suppressed masses of white workers, a clearness of thought, a sense of human brotherhood, that is sadly lacking in the most educated classes?

49-2-25

"Our task, therefore, as it seems to The Crisis, is clear: We have to convince the working classes of the world that black men, brown men, and yellow men are human beings and suffer the same discrimination that white workers suffer. We have, in addition to this, to espouse the cause of the white workers, only being careful that we do not in this way allow them to jeopardize our cause. We must, for instance, have bread. If our white fellow-workers drive us out of decent jobs, we are compelled to accept indecent wages, even at the price of 'scabbing.' It is a hard choice, but whose is the blame? Finally, despite public prejudice and clamor, we should examine with open mind in literature, debate, and in real life the great programs of social reform that are day by day being put forward."

In April, 1922, I spoke a stronger word: "Russia is the most amazing and most hopeful phenomenon of the postwar period. She has been murdered, bullied, lied about, and starved, and yet she maintains her government, possesses her soul and is simply compelling the world to recognize her right to freedom even if that freedom involves the industrial reconstruction of her society."

Later my views became more definite: "There can be no question but that the Russians have made a good appearance at Genoa. Their demand for recognition as a de jure government was logically inevitable and unanswerable. Their initial offer to reduce the military forces so as to lessen France's excuse for a great army was not only delicious but fair; their treaty with Germany was reasonable within itself and no one else's business; their offer to assume the pre-war debt incurred by a Czar for the purpose of enslaving the mass of Russians was generous; and their desire for a loan paralleled the desire of nearly every other nation. The world still has a right to doubt the ability of the Bolsheviki to conduct, in peace and prosperity, industry and government by democratic political methods, or even by oligarchy for the

49-2-26

benefit of the mass of people; or of the right of a government to sequester private property and manage commercial enterprises.. We ourselves are doing business as expressmen, farmers, manufacturers, bankers, miners and weather prophets. The Bolsheviki may be dreamers, but they are not fools."

In 1923, I invited Claude McKay, who had visited Russia, to tell our readers what he saw and heard. He wrote: "Though Western Europe can be reported as being quite ignorant and apathetic of the Negro in world affairs, there is one great nation with an arm in Europe that is thinking intelligently on the Negro, as it does about all international problems. When the Russian workers overturned their infamous government in 1917, one of the first acts of the new Premier, Lenin, was a proclamation greeting all the oppressed peoples throughout the world, exhorting them to organize and unite against the common international oppressor -- Private Capitalism. Later on in Moscow, Lenin himself grappled with the question of the American Negroes and spoke on the subject before the Second Congress of the Third International. He consulted with John Reed, the American Journalist, and dwelt on the urgent necessity of propaganda and organizational work among Negroes of the South.

"The subject was not allowed to drop. When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921, he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negroes among the Soviet Councils of Russia."

I was impressed by McKay's story of his experience in Russia, but at the same time I was upset by the current newspaper stories about Russia: Community of women; easy divorce and systematic abortions; collapse of industry, slave toil and continued incipient revolt; famine, hunger, homelessness and despair. I was determined if ever the chance came to vist Russia and see for myself.

49-2-27

The chance came. Into my office early in 1926, walked three strangers. One was a dark, short man, evidently educated and well-bred, who spoke only Russian and French. His attractive and carefully groomed wife spoke Russian, German, Italian, and English, all with facility. With them was a tall, blonde German, a more nervous, impatient character, who could use only his native tongue. They introduced themselves as Russians, familiar with my periodical and anxious to enlist my sympathy in their effort to obtain for Russia the recognition of the United States.

I was a little amused at their apparent ignorance of the lack of influence of a Negro with Washington; but I told them I thought recognition ought to be given, although I added frankly my usual line of not being able to judge of the new Russian regime since I knew so little about it, and found reliable information so difficult to obtain.

The German appeared to be an impatient revolutionist who wanted action. He hinted at revolt among oppressed Negroes. I sought to explain that we were winning our fight, albeit slowly, by peaceful but continuous agitation and legal battle. He did not stay long in New York.

The other two were of different calibre. I explained to them the Negro problem as I saw it. They talked of Russia and its aims. Other calls and talks followed, which I and my wife enjoyed very much. At last, they said frankly: "Would you not like to visit the Soviet Union so as to make up your mind as to its aims and accomplishment?" I said I certainly would. "I am not at all satisfied with the knowledge that I have of the Russian Revolution. I should like to learn, if possible, at first hand just what has taken place in Russia and just what the development is at present. I do not know that I could learn anything that would be of advantage to the colored people of the United States, but if there is anything to learn I am eager to learn it. On the other hand, in undertaking this or any other trip I should not want to obligate myself to come to any particular conclusions or to follow

49-23-28

any line of action or to see the facts with any other eyes except my own."

They thereupon offered to pay the expense of the trip, with the clear understanding that I would be free to examine conditions and come to my own conclusions. I accepted the offer with alacrity and left for Russia in the Summer of 1926.

I went to Antwerp to see Rubens. I ascended the Rhine looking again at the vaulted Cathedral at Cologne, at the Lorelei, at the Rheinfels; glancing at the old street of the Jews in Frankfort. I went up into the Thuringian forest where I first learned to know the old world and its culture, a half century ago. But all my friends in Eisenach had disappeared in the war, with little trace. I saw Berlin, a giant city which had become since the day I knew it, one of the centers of the world. But never before have I seen so many girls for open sale as on the streets of Berlin. I had to wait a week for a visa, since I could get none in the United States. When my visa came, more confusion arose since my name, "Du Bois," had been translated "Wood." A messenger had to come all the way from Russia to straighten things out. At last in the Summer of 1926 I set sail for Russia from Stettin.

49-2-29

Simon Peter would have called me a scoffer;

> "saying, where is the promise of his coming?
> for since the fathers fell asleep, all things
> continue as they were from the beginning of
> creation!"

CHAPTER II

THE SOVIET UNION IN 1926

It is 1926. I am sitting in Revolution square opposite the Second House of the Moscow Soviets, and in a hotel run by the Soviet Government. Yonder the sun pours into my window over the domes and eagles and pointed towers of the Kremlin. Here is the old Chinese wall of the Inner City; there is the gilded glory of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior. Through yonder gate, on the vast Red Square, Lenin sleeps his last sleep, with long lines of people peering each day into his dead and speaking face. Around me roars a city of two millions.

I have been in Russia something less than two months. I did not see the Russia of war and blood and rapine. I know nothing of political prisoners, secret police and underground government. My knowledge of the Russian language is sketchy; and of this vast land, one of the largest single countries on earth, I have seen only a small part. But I have seen something. I have traveled two thousand miles and visited four of its largest cities and many of its towns. I have seen the Neva, Dnieper, Moscow, and Volga Rivers, and stretches of land and village. I have looked into the faces of its races -- Russians, Ukranians, Jews, Tartars, Gypsies, Caucasians, Armenians, and Chinese.

I have not done my sight-seeing and investigation in groups and crowds, but have in nearly cases gone alone with one Russian-speaking friend. In this way I have seen schools, universities, factories, stores, printing establishments, government offices, palaces, museums, summer colonies of children, libraries, churches, monasteries, Boyar houses, theatres, cinemas, day nurseries and cooperatives. I have seen some celebrations -- 200,000

49-2-30

youths marching on Youth Day. I have talked with peasants and laborers, commissars of the Republic, teachers and children.

I have walked miles of streets in Leningrad, Moscow, Nijni Novgorod and Kiev, at morning, noon, and night; I have trafficked on the curb and in the stores; I have watched crowds and audiences. I have gathered some documents and figures, plied officials with questions and sat still and gazed at this Russia, that the spirit of its life and people might enter my veins. I stand in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be partially deceived and half-informed, but if what I have seen with my eyes and heard with my ears in Russia is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik.

This enthusiasm did not mean that in 1926, Russia was a picture of happiness and success. It was not. There was stark poverty. I remember the hordes of incredibly dirty, ragged and wild children of war and famine who were hiding in the sewers and stealing like beasts through the streets at dusk. I remember the long lines of ragged people, waiting to buy a loaf of bread. I remember also the bookstores, the readers on the trams, the crowds in museums. A poor land, but a land of enthusiasm and one which to my astonishment had not emerged from war in 1918, on Armistice Day, but was beginning just in 1926 to breathe air free from Civil War and invasion, promoted and participated in by my own nation.

We had ridden out of Stettin at eight in the morning, along flat land. The city rose a little old and yet new, with busy harbor; and we sailed the long, broidered river bay and the canal mole. Three days we glided through the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland until we came to the East Sea. Some Germans aboard were returning to the Volga and they sang sad, sweet folk songs in the night. German and Russian was heard and a little French, but no English. The low, grey back of Gothland rose on the left in the late afternoon of the second day. Many ships, hurrying toward Stockholm,

49-2-31

slipped by noiseless in the night, but in the morning low islands lay in the East. Esthonia came and a little fairy island rising eastward like a secret resting plce of elves beneath the grey,cold rain.

There was ever a secret excitement among us: we whisper and speculate -- Russia? We exchange rumors -- we correct them and spread others -- Russia! Mysterious -- ahnungsvoll! Many of the passengers are German tourists; there was a bridal couple, very conscious; a Paris Teuton, big, calm and cold; a mother with her young, golden daughter quite spoiled by "mutti;" a big and bearded Russian, a former judge, but not a "comrade;" he hates the Bolsheviks; an actress, silked, and coifed; all the world! We sang by phonograph, "In einem Kühlen Grunde."

The chimneys of Reval smoke far away and its great lighthouses rise; a sail boat gracefully crosses our bow and then Kronstadt -- long lines of empty docks -- a few warships, dismantled; old yellow forts, and warehouses, some crumbling, some rebuilt -- most of them empty; and above all, a golden Dome -- stately in the quiet morning. This is a ghost city of a dead Empire.

49-2-32

I first went to St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, and walked the Nevski Prospect. I stood in the Place of the Revolution and the parade ground looking on the proudest of bridges, spanning the Neva. There was a moving monument, marble and double-eagled: a low wall of greyish brown with great square stones and wide openings; with the graves of a thousand victims dead beneath the flowers. In the center were the Sickle and Hammer, and the words:

You who fought for the freedom of the world
You who are her first victims and whom we envy
You who fighting since 1848
Deserve to lie here too.

Last night at twilight I walked in the Square before the Winter Palace. It loomed red-brown and the statues and chimneys above it were as ghosts. It must have been a brilliant and wonderful city in the day of Czars for those who could enjoy it. There is a certain barbaric splendor that blends here

and there -- the red marble column to the Napoleonic Wars is almost Egyptian -- the marble Atlases before the Hermitage -- the gigantic bronzes of Cathorn.

Leningrad is cleaning house feverishly, raking, planting, white-washing and painting. There is not much new building, I should say. But there is so much to be done, and they're at it.

The Neva ripples -- a bright and beautiful silver band, beneath a half dozen bridges, with palace and fortress and towers of churches. Last night I wandered up and down the October Prospect. The electric light came on late; people wandered; two were drunk. The park at the end was filled with a quiet, happy crowd; unaccompanied young women walked unaccosted.

It would be hard to recall my first impressions of the population of Leningrad. There are a number of whining beggars near the great hotels and and even on the trams; there are some unkept and wild-looking street gamins. Yet the off-scourings of men seem comparatively few; the level of prosperity, however is low! Poor clothes, old fashioned and patched, few silk stockings, bad shoes, and yet on the whole a contented looking folk -- busy going and coming, working; not unusually gay but not morose, nor complaining.

49-2-33

Some of the people on the street seemed a bit gruff and envious. There are covert comments on our Western clothes. One girl streetcar conductor did not like to give us directions; she looked a fallen shopgirl; another was very kind -- she looked a risen peasant. There are strong internal foes of the Bolsheviki evident: intellectuals, merchants, gentry. Manners on the street are not too good, but tempers are placid; there is some bowing and raising of hats, but few pardons are asked. With general kindliness comes some rude, self-assertion from the gutter. They naturally crave for comfort and luxury. I saw a kerchiefed woman very poorly dressed, standing in perfect silence, motionless beside a window of dresses, silks, and underwear!

The public ordering of the revolution has been in some respects a masterpiece! Books, books, books, cheap and of every sort, size and subject,

everywhere. Public monuments are cared for; they left Alexander III in mighty bronze and said simply: "This is the author of our troubles." They let Catherine the Great, flaunt her ample skirts without remark. The Czars, from Peter to Alexander II, lie buried in the Cathedral of Peter and Paul, lying in simple marble state; Peter the Great rides unmolested in his great boulder; but schools, theatres, state stores, newspapers, carry a mighty propaganda. In nine years the people have had put before them a new interpretation of history and economics.

We saw the prisoners cells in the Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul -- the church of the Czars; the little house built within a house where Peter the Great lived. We rode out to the islands of the Blessed, which was once the Czar's village (Tarsko-Selo) now called the children's village (Detskoe-Seloe). Those may see the meaning of this who glance at the palace of Alexanders -- that golden throne room -- the rooms of amber and marble; the tables of lapis lazuli and mother of pearl, the equisite inlaid floors. It is a barbaric burst of splendor to titillate the jaded palates of the masters of millions -- outdoing Versailles, Potsdam, Berlin, and Vienna.

Leningrad is almost surrounded with factories. They tell me of great iron and steel works, and a factory population which was the backbone of revolution. Tall chimneys smoke everywhere and large numbers of workmen pass. The ride between Leningrad and Moscow is like Southern New England in olden times: rolling pines and beeches, cattle and horses, grass. Only villages are huddled grey and poor and the crops look meager. Yonder Moscow, squats and burns, flat like a wide village, built like an irregular star of circles about the Kremlin.

First came the Kremlin as a fortress in the twelfth century; then in sixteenth century came the inner city around the Kremlin called Chinese Town; then in the seventeenth century came the enveloping wall of the White City followed by a wall of a larger city of artisans,and finally, the new suburbs

49-2-34

of servants and artisans and further extended a greater city, one beyond even the ancient fortress and out past the new Maidens Convent.

From the Sparrow Hills of romance (the "Lenin Hills" of Revolution) Moscow looks rather splendid, laying in the wide bend of the river with its great cathedral of Christ rising in five golden domes and almost hiding the Kremlin. Moscow also is feverish with repairs -- painting, whitewashing, building with wood, brick, plaster, and stone -- scaffoldings rise and fall, roofs swarm with hammering; barred sidewalks drip with calcimine, roads are torn up and put down, domes are gilding; flowers are planted, old walls and monuments are restored. But with all this the city is still cold and worn. Leave any modern city unkept for ten years and it is half-ruined. Moscow is poorly clothed -- very poorly, but fairly fed and badly housed. There is a fad of careless dressing; blouses, caps, and boots, colored shirts and collars for men; blouses, kerchiefs, socks for women; yet the women eye Western clothes hungrily, and the state taxes their import remorselessly.

I visited one of the great state factories of the Moscow cooperative where they employ 1,875 people and make candy, cookies, soap and perfume. The director was a former workman of the factory, nominated to the post by his fellows and appointed by the directors -- a free, simple fellow of forty, full of enthusiasm and eager to inform, to whom the working folk raised their hats. The machinery was modern and made in England; the employees were clothed in white, simple, inexpensive cotton drill. At the expense of the factory, the meals of soup and a meat course, with bread, were furnished. Then in a clean, light living room at thirty kopeks a piece, they had a library of 4,000 books and a reading room. The librarian, a brown slip of a girl, a voluntary Communist worker, was vibrant, talkative, exact with her records and careful of her card catalog.

The children, from two to nine, were taken care of in a day nursery with

49-2-35

nurses and daily visits by the physician. Visitors and mothers were compelled to wear cotton over their clothes and the children had aprons. They were given regular afternoon naps in bed, meals with milk and eggs. There was a garden with sand for them to play. Mothers had a clean room and table to come and nurse their children.

The products are beautifully made with clean, unadulterated materials and supplied to the public ten to twenty per cent cheaper than private firms. Above all is the spirit, the gaiety, the earnestness and rising efficiency, the health, light and air. Twenty-five per cent of the workers are Communists. Girls on piece work are said to earn normally $25.00 a month; some men earn $1,200 a year. All get one month's vacation with pay and free medical care and insurance.

There was one interesting incident: as we visitors came in, a big, capable working-woman pushed by. She was dissatisfied wit her job in one of the stores; she did not like the manager and wanted the Director to transfer her. He promised her an answer tomorrow. "Tomorrow!" she "thou'd" him; "would you tell your wife that?" "But I must consult the manager." "You'll forget" -- "No, I won't" -- "Well, can't you decide now -- you see it's this way," and the long explanation was gone over again. "Well, tomorrow I will see," repeated the young and harassed chief. She finally took his phone number and left. There was no anger but there was a lot of industrial democracy.

In the State Printing office, Russia is printing books for her one hundred or more languages. Everybody, even workers at lunch were eager to show us. The school had a hundred apprentices -- Jewish, Chinese, Tartar, Arabic -- a dozen or more people, boys and girls. School books, new alphabets, cards, placards, all sorts of things in black and color were scattered about. Students are sent by trades-unions or at public expense. They are fixing and comparing letters of the alphabets by all sorts of devices. They have

49-2-36

German, English and American equipment, but German is cheapest and English and German firms give credit terms. They spend 250,000 rubles a month on the work. They spent 500,000 rubles on equipment last year and will spend 400,000 next. They set type here, print, cut and bind, photograph and make plates, repair and rebuild machines. It is a little nation of nations working happily together.

I saw two universities today, the Communist University for Eastern peoples; 1,000 students with everything furnished, clothes, food, tuition and ten rubles a month for extras. Laboratory and seminary methods were used with charts, reports and careful individual records. There is a four-year course in mathematics, science and social sciences, with considerable practical work in factories and in villages. There are 72 nationalities attending; only Communists are admitted, chosen by their own nationalities. They must be healthy, have a record of two or three years work and advanced enough in education.

49-2-37

The Chinese University, of 300 to 400 students (60 women) with a two-year course, is privately supported, with a fine library and reading room. There are striking diagrams of China's political and economic serfdom showing England in control of customs and salt; France running the Post Office, and each foreign director with two to eight European advisors. Students are crowded in the reading and studying rooms with interpretators and Japanese dictionaries.

The great national library now named after Lenin has three million volumes -- old fashioned but beginning to grow. It received only a pittance under the Czars but now has new buildings and modern equipment. A little library school trains two hundred librarians in one and two-year courses for village libraries.

The library of the Communists Academy has 800,000 volumes and has never

been catalogued by modern methods. A tall, charming, and beautiful woman is at the task and had a dictionary card catalogue of 15,000 titles already started - a hard task with Russian and Latin lettering. She had worked in America seven years in the Library of Congress and at the Widener Libary of Harvard. She was full of enthusiasm in her cramped but overflowing quarters and expects a modern library within two years. They spent $100,000 last year on new books. Once she and her husband had been exiled for seven years in Siberia under the Czars, but in 1905, they escaped to America. There he made a speech in Russian and said that the revolution must in time spread to America. He was arrested and sent for a year to prison at Easton, Pennsylvania. She said he suffered more in that year than in the seven years in Siberia and came out on a stretcher, prostrate from typhus and pneumonia. For a year he was ill.

I saw the Marx-Engels Institute -- a marvelous collection of the whole literature of economic revolt the world over and in all modern tongues; books, pamphlets, and 40,000 photostatic copies. It is one of the finest working libraries I have seen, with 175,349 volumes.

The museum of the Revolution is a history of Russian effort to be free -- in picture, relic, and manuscript such as the world has seldom known. It is almost unbelievable how the Russian people were murdered, oppressed and tortured. Since 1774, many have fought back; in 1825, in the 40's and in the 60's; a vast army struggled in 1905; and the first victory came in 1917. In blood and tears Russia has striven for freedom.

There is much criticism allowed in Russia. One man writes in the press of rubbers, "I suppose if I live, I may get to buy rubbers by Christmas." Mensheviks complain that the state has no money -- "Where are the rubles?" Peasants complain that the new manufactures are not good. There is argument as to wages.

The theater for the people is thriving in poverty and bareness, yet with

49-2-38

beauty. I saw Don Juan in the Experimental Theatre rarely done with the Mozart music and new words. Propaganda was there and "Revolution" rose to hunt down the profligate and save wives, daughters, and sweethearts; but it was done with a smile, gaily and artistically. I saw "Boris Gudonoff" played with historic costumes; there were magnificent settings. I saw "The Woodland" interpreted by Meyerhold; the barest mechanicisms, no scenery, footlight, no props but extraordinary acting! In one of the studios of the Art Theatres the lovely farce, "The Flea," was given -- the peasant blacksmith who knew English technique and made a mechanical flea, and fitted with horseshoes and marked with his sweetheart's name. Finally, I saw Meyerhold's prophetic "Hail China!"

Russia seems to me the only modern country where people are not more or less taught and encouraged to despise and look down on some group or race. I know countries where race and color prejudice show only slight manifestations, but no country where race and color prejudice seems so absolutely absent. In Paris, I attract some attention; in London I meet elaborate blankness; anywhere in America I would get anything from curiosity to insult. In Moscow, I pass unheeded. Russians quite naturally ask me for information; women sit beside me quite confidentially and unconsciously.

49-2-39

Today I was on the estate of the Counts of Orlof. One could still picture its former glories; a palace of marble, with silk, gold, and paintings; a vast park with noble trees, a rolling lawn, vales and dells; a lake and the gleam of the Moscow river; parkways enough to house a town; little palaces, a beautiful bath house, rows of flowers; offices, barns and buildings. It was the kingdom of a little king, two miles from the Chinese City but now in the suburbs of ~~the city.~~ Moskow.

The early Orlofs got their start when one became sweetheart of the Great Catherine. They reigned in luxury and splendor for two centuries. Then the Soviet Republic took their property and made it into a public park and turned the palace into a furniture museum. Frankly, this property would

seem to be doing Russia more good in its present use than in its former. That the present Orlofs suffer is true; but that the Orlofs from start to finish, have received ten times as much as they ever gave; and that Russia has been long carrying them as unhealthy barnacles on her body,economic and social, is quite as true.

In the Museum one noticed the beauty and splendor that once surrounded the Few. Were they high-thinking artists enjoying life? Those that were, revolted from the system. The others had their maws "filled with over-plus" and were still an-hungered. Idle profligates was the largest crop.

I went to the Tretykov Gallery today and saw the Russian world of Art preserved; an astonishingly beautiful thing; a beauty once set apart and but half known; the work of Repin; his heart-breaking "unexpected" and his "Ivan the Terrible" with his murdered son; Vereschagin's skull; marvelous religious conceptions with strong and beautiful faces; Menshikov in exile; fairies and gods; "The Last Judgment" with the golden domes of Russian churches. All about us were crowds of workers and peasants listening to art explained. I never saw or dreamed of a picture gallery with such an audience -- women, children, boys, men; uncouth, crowding, but rapt.

Tonight I saw Lenin lying as if asleep. There was a long, long queue of workers,as every night. We went into the Square beneath the walls of the Kremlin. He lay so still and natural -- a little man, bold and blonde, bearded, with clipped moustache, just asleep. His form was partly outlined. Above on the Kremlin burned the Red Flag. On the square directly opposite his tomb, and occupying a vast building with iron girders and shops exhibits of all kinds, were installed some of the most active retail activities of the New Economic Policy. Here one could buy almost anything in necessities and luxuries from Western markets; and the aisles were crowded.

One afternoon I visited Radek of the Executive Committee, in a room in the Kremlin in vast disorder; books,pamphlets, a wide couch bed, a desk, a

49-2-40

table; a typewriter, chairs, tobacco and magazines: not a storehouse, but a workshop. He was a spare man, almost insignificant, but with good eyes, pleasant voice and encyclopedic knowledge. He talks English, French and, of course, Russian. His English had a strong accent, but was good and fluent. We talked of races and racial minorities; of the 600 Chinese students in Russia, and how hard they work; of the returning power of Germany and the restoring of her colonies. He was much interested in American Negroes and incensed at the Negro-hating trade unions. He believed in the rapprochement of the colored peoples. He came with me to the gate of the Kremlin. His wife and little girl are in this country; "We revolutionists cannot afford large families -- we must be on the go." Later I had tea with his family.

The Kremlin is a thing unique -- fortress and royal residence set on a low hill -- gleaming under gilded, copula and pointed Italian towers, and clasped by a vast brick wall with swallow tail battlements. It is a magnificent jumble of times and things, powers, tyranny, wealth, war, religion, murder, jealousy and revolution.

I saw here something of the glory of the Czars of Russia and the Russian Church, including the magnificent service which Catherine the Great gave to her favorite Orlof; the clothing of Czars, and finest of silver and gold jewels and pearls, swords, scepters; ivory in all forms, clocks, watches, crown jewels, mirrors and tables; a riot of glory of wealth and beauty. The extravagance was tempting; the icons plastered and inscribed with gold pearls and diamonds; cathedrals and palaces crowded together and the Cathedral of the Czars crowning all with its lofty arches and wealth of jewels, and paid for by starving workers and peasants.

Over the Kremlin lukks the spirit of Ivan the Terrible and his broken bell and the tower opposite; the denuded statue of the assassinated Alexander II, and the Czars in magnificent madness. Catherine is there too, her carriages, her silver, her gifts. There is a beautiful old and Byzantine palace

49-2-41

from whose roof Napoleon saw Moscow burn and the marble statue of himself which he lugged t Moscow but had to run and leave.

Last night we were in a self-governed school session. Children, some 200 from thirteen to seventeen years of age, boys and girls, had a glorious time. They had a "wallpaper"with news; they laughed, shouted, and played tag. Finally, they took their places on benches in fairly quiet order. There was a "presidium" of four -- with one girl. A black-haired boy rose to deliver the chief address -- could he speak forty minutes, he asked diffidently? "No," was the cry; they allowed thirty and finally thirty-five minutes. In a matter of fact way, he told of the origin of the Youth Movement in Russia; how other organizations had fallen away from the Communist ideals; how the pioneers differed from the Scouts; how they must strive for world unity and against war.

They sang the Internatioale, with saluting hands. Then others spoke. One boy told of what had been done to ward off tyranny and bureaucracy; a little lad of thirteen and a girl made speeches. They finally invited the principal of the school to address them. He criticized their late beginning and poor singing. Then they staged a play, impromptu: Russia, Red-flagged in distress; the Communist Cadets ran to her aid; boys and girls represented Italy, Germany, France, Spain; one represented the small nationalities of Russia and spoke broken Russian. Another represented America, talking of money and checks. There followed gymnastics, the girls bare-legged and in bloomers; then "questions and answers;" dancing and singing, joy, enthusiasm, noise and lovely deference to and ignoring of the strangers present; a beautiful evening with children of workers.

I saw parts of the tenth Celebration of Youth Day in Moscow. Today 200,000 children and youth with more grown-ups marched through the Red Square: Russians of all sorts and kinds, a hundred or two Chinese, Tartars, Caucasians, Turks, two or three Negroes; -- an extraordinary demonstration. First several

49-2-42

thousand delegates from the provinces stood in the Square and listened to speeches from Commissars and guests. Then the marching began and lasted two hours. Red streamers and mottoes were carried; uniforms and everyday clothes. Some of the vagabond children in rags, were singing and marching. It looked like an enthusiastic, voluntary mass movement, tremendous in size and deep in belief. There were many groups of athletes, bare-legged boys and girls -- splendid, powerfully limbded. One group of Chinese were in native costume. I never saw a greater variety of Russian types, all aggressively working-class and glorifying in it. In the afternoon at the fair grounds they were at it again, marching and playing -- some little horse-play but no roughness and no degeneracy.

Yesterday, my last in Moscow, we went at one o'clock to a peoples' court: a clean, square, white room with wooden benches, a table draped in red, a judge, two assessors, and a clerk. It was well filled with people.

The judge was intelligent without airs; the Assessors seemed ordinary common people. They listened but said nothing. Thecase was a labor dispute. The coal carriers who supplied engines had too far to walk with their coal and it ruined their clothes. They wanted state uniforms and pay for those which ought to have been furnished since 1925. A railroad man testified and the judge and all debated, the judge directing the talk. All stood within the rail around the table. There was no Bible, nor swearing of witnesses. The case was carried over. The next case had lawyers and was postponed because of absence of witnesses.

After the court, I visited the Secretary of the Trade Union Central Organization of the USSR in a huge office building. There are twenty-three unions of workers of all Russia, with 90 per cent of all wage earners as members. The Biennal Congress had 1,800 delegates -- one for each 10,000 members. State Central Organizations had delegates in proportion to institutions represented. These elect national delegates, who are uninstructed.

49-2-43

Industries not trades are represented and all in a given industry join; transfer from industry to industry is allowed. Sweepers as well as skilled workers are all in the same union and each with one vote.

Strikes against managers occur sometimes and are arbitrated. There are 9,000,000 wage earners, and the number is increasing rapidly with increasing industrialization. All factories are now in use, but some with poor machinery. New factories are being constructed.

But after all, Moscow is the center of bureaucracy. Real Russia lies outside. I had always wanted to Nijni Novgorod, far out on the Volga. I wanted to see the Ukraine. Once at Kiev, I started to return through Poland and Berlin, but scanning my geography I figured out a bit of almost impossible romance at no greater cost, and said to myself, "Why not return by the Black Sea and Constantinople and Greece, Naples and Gibraltar?" I hesitated. It seemed almost fantastic; and yet at last I ventured.

49-2-44

First I went to Nijni Novgorod, tempted by the name which I remembered from my boyhood; and wishing,too, to get nearer the geographical heart of this vast land. It was a long, hard rail ride and in some ways disturbing. The name of the city was soon changed to Gorki, for awful reasons which I did not then in the least comprehend. The city, at the head of the majestic Volga, full of historic associations, suddenly seemed to mean but one thing to me -- war and its pitiful aftermath. To be sure the broad and once beautiful and prosperous center of a world-wide trade was reeling to its feet; I saw schools and factories; some buildings and trade and commerce starting to revive down the river. But chiefly I saw a people shattered and torn by a war which I smugly imagined had ended nearly a decade ago. The wild and savage forays of Denékin and Kolchak on their dash to Moscow backed by British gold and American food, lived again in the battered walls and torn streets of this key city, between Asia and Western Russia.

And gleaming through the rubble peered the Church. I can see yet that gem of a cathedral -- tiny, narrow, but elegant and utterly beautiful; jewelled and decorated, with the rich voices of priests still intoning; with faded Christ and Virgin peering mistily out of rich dark walls; and without a city stricken by Civil War and foreign invasion, so far from help that all seemed lost even when the miracle came, and Moscow hurled the invaders into the Black Sea. It was a cold, hard trip back to Moscow, but with it went the thrill of realizing how near the West had come to conquering Russia and stopping the crucial effort to make socialism work, and how completely it had failed.

I turned next to Kiev. The sunflowers of Russia were blooming in the black Ukraine. The poet Schevtchenko and his black American friend, Ira Aldridge, lived in my memory. We crossed the sand-barred Dnieper, a great tower rising before us with smaller turrets of gold and wide white walls. We saw the low-flaring domes of the city. Physically Kiev is fantastic. The Dnieper almost knots itself around it and the city rises, plane on plane, each one at angles with the other, all facing different fronts and all apparently unseen and unheard of by the other. It gives the impression of three or four independent cities in juxtaposition and yet not neighbors for their streets never apparently meet nor mingle.

We went to the Polytechnique with 2,500 students and well-equipped laboratories for research; then to the Lenin school for abandoned children where 1,000 children are maintained at a cost of $135,000 a year. The children come voluntarily -- on a week's trial and then are sifted and distributed to one, four, and seven-year courses with shops, common boarding, and division into circles of common living, recreation, etc. Club rooms, and theatres are furnished and most of the pupils look happy. Ten or twelve run away each year and to not return.

49-2-45

I visited an old fortified monastery with its great towers and clouds of golden domes. A charming lady who spoke French showed us the museum and underground catacombs with its tombs and bodies -- a curious and gruesome sight. There were some icons of the sixth to the eleventh century and chests with complicated locks. There were beautiful vestments -- oh, the money spent on vestments in Czarist Russia! "You should see the Ukraine in its beauty," said Madame, well-bred and a bit pitiful in manner. She had many memories. The day was grey, slightly leaden aloft. The Dnieper was a brown stream and the purple steppes shelved away into blurred shadows. I'm sure the Ukraine in Spring must have a startling beauty.

In the cities, the land the home questions are difficult to estimate. There are some new one family houses. I saw building in Nijni Novgorod and the outskirts of other cities; some large apartment houses for a hundred or more families, with one to four rooms, are building in Moscow and Nijni Novgorod. In most cases people are swarming in buildings once built for the rich.

Odessa is decidedly Western in aspect, even more than Kiev, with few domes and none of gold -- with great square blocks of yellow stone houses. One saw the peasant costumes of the Ukraine and people, gay, careless, fairly well satisfied, although I suspect much complaint, from the former well-to-do; and the merchant and marine workers of Odessa must complain. There is the wide sweep of the Black Sea; I walked beside it hours today; the shore plunges down in ruined wall and ravine and the dark water gleams below. There is a statue of Pushkin --"from grateful Odessa" -- a beautiful opera house, once a work of consumate art. I saw the steppes and bridges of the "Battleship Potemkin."

Odessa is an imposing city from the sea, even if its harbor is empty and in disrepair. We slipped out of the harbor with red flag flying, turned sharply to the right and sailed on the dull gray Black Sea, along the way of the Golden Fleece from Byzantium to Greece. We sailed long, quiet days and

44-3-46

nights until suddenly Constantinople flames in the morning sun. The towers of gold -- clean and high -- the vast, ugly and magnificent bulk of St. Sophia, the grace and mounting beauty of the Magnificent Suliman.

I remember that civilization came to Russia from Constantinople. Greek orthodox fleeing from Islam, rested and grew in Kiev and Moscow. The Iconoclasts drove the icon to Russia. St. Sophia and the East developed the dome churches and overlaid them with gold. Visitors -- rich and near rich -- will prefer Constantinople to Moscow. Shops here are full of luxuries for the rich; women are silk-clad and for sale. The world is ordered for the well-to-do.

In Moscow there are few prostitutes and few luxuries for sale. It is on the enntrary, a straight, almost grim region of poorly clothed people and a terribly earnest attempt to erect a world of and by the workers. Beggars? There are beggars in most cities; but in Constantinople they are a permanent, stereotyped popular institution with signs for explanation and arrangement. In Russia they are a dwindling remnant.

49-2-47

It is on its economic problem that Russia in 1926, must ptimarily be judged. Russia had established a socialistic state. The world had long been veering toward Socialism. We had made essays toward socialism; but when the Socialistic state appeared full-fledged, most of us called it by other names and refused to judge it by its socialism, but rather we insisted on investigation of the ethics of the methods underlying its establishment.

What had Russia done in 1926, to establish a Socialistic State? First, it had nationalized the land. Every inch of land in Russia -- the air above it and the resources beneath belong to the Russian State. Person who wish to till the soil may have as much land as they can successfully till, with the labor of their own family; and with the death of the father, the children may have first chance at tillage of the same soil. Preference as to kind and place of soil goes to the former users of any particular piece. The mineral

and oil rights may be farmed out by the government for a term of years but the government retains ownership of mines and wells and the terms of the leases are limited. Improvement on the land -- houses on farms and homes of the dwellers belong to the builders if they cost less than about $15,000 -- if more, their ownership goes to the state after forty-nine years.

The State [illegible] either conducts industry itself or sets the levels of private enterprise. All of the fundamental industries -- manufacture of steel and iron, preparation of foodstuffs and clothing, most of the exporting industries, like coal mining and so on, are conducted as state-owned trusts. The work of distribution of the products of these industries, in order to provide foreign industries, is conducted fully by the state, the great cooperative stores and by direct sale, and it is partly open to private enterprise. The scope of private enterprise is therefore mostly confined to imported luxuries or near luxuries.

The government conducts education on a broad scale -- not simply common school and elementary training training, but also higher and universal training, industrial training and techniques of all grades, as well as general social education and information, including newspapers, radio, news collection and the like. It also undertakes day nurseries, child refugees, orphanages, old age and motherhood pensions, workers vacations, and so on.

All this requires enormous capital, a wide spread bureaucracy of intricate administration and individual effort of a high order. How far is this extraordinary effort successful? The peasants are elevated with their access to the land but they have low production because of ignorance, antiquated methods and lack of machinery and markets. This the government is meeting partly by general and special education. Schools are being established slowly but in considerable numbers.

But here already in 1926 loomed trouble. I sensed it when in Leningrad

49-2-48

our "ishvorshnik" peasant turned cabby for the winter pointed to a tractor in the suburban fields near an agricultural experiment station. "See there?" he said, "Waste of money! They have tried to teach the peasants of my village t use such contraptions; it wouldn't work . I put my horse in and pulled them out."

Never on so broad a side has an attempt been made to reach and civilize the country districts of a vast land and raise the rural economy to a level with the urban. The city is trying to help by entertaining peasant visitors. Peasant hostels are being established; I saw the vast one in Moscow and I visited one in Nijni Novgorod. Children, students and workers are sent to the country on vacations; cooperation is taught and attempted in machinery; markets and model farms are being established. Soil investigation goes on. But all this merely scratches the surface. Russia is a wide, expansive land. The peasants are widely scattered. Some land is rich, some is very poor. In general, their winter is terrible and floods and famine must be faced now and then.

Meantime, Russia is at work. God how these officials work! Comrade H--- spends six hours in office and six to eight hours in inspection and lectures; the assistant to Lunarchasky, the Secretary of Trade Unions, the head of the Mosselïron, all are men working to the limit and even failing in health. One day I talked with the head of democratic education. He had finished a hard Saturday morning -- committees, phone calls, callers, and clerks. We came at 2:30 in the afternoon and about three he began to talk and explained clearly until five! Comrade Elena works six hours in the office and eight in the field -- committees, lectures, inspections. But on the building goes.

Finally, if Russia fails, reason in industry fails. If Russia succeeds gradually every modern state will socialize industry and the greater the Russian success, the less revolution.

All the polite culture and grace of high society and wealth of Russia

49-2-49

are in exile, with their disbelief in and contempt for democracy; bearing testimony against Soviet Russia in places of influence throughout the world.

The tremendous task of maintaining the dictatorship of the Communists and keeping inner disagreement from disrupting it, is met by denouncing, by criticism and discussion of problems of policy; shall a surplus of income go to wages or to state-owned capital? To necessities or to general culture? But at least they are openly discussing such problems, which are problems of every state, but usually decided among us by war or strike without reasonable discussion.

Nowhere in modern lands can one see less of the spender and the consumer, the rich owners and buyers of luxuries, the institutions which cater to the idle rich. One sees in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev neither first-class hotels, nor luxurious restaurants; neither private motor cars, nor silk stockings nor prostitutes. All these insignia of the great, modern city are lacking. On the other hand, the traveler misses the courtesy and savoir faire which one meets in the hotel corridors of London and Paris; one misses the smart shops and well-groomed men and women who are so plentiful in Constantinople and Berlin. Does this mean that Russia has "put over" her new psychology? Not by any means. She is trying and trying hard, but there are plenty of people in Russia who still hate and despise the workingman's blouse and the peasant's straw shoes; and plenty of workers who regret the passing of the free-handed Russian nobility; who miss the splendid pageantry of the Czars and who cling doggedly to religious dogma and superstition. There must be in Russia dishonest officials and inefficient statesmen. But here Russia has no monopoly. There are those in Russia and outside of Russia who say that the present effort cannot succeed for exactly the same reasons tht men said the Bourgeoisie could never rule France.

But it is the organized capital of America, England, France, and Germany which is chiefly instrumental in preventing the realization of the Russian

49-2-50

workingman's psychology. It has used every modern weapon to crush Russia. It sent against Russia every scoundrel who could lead a mob and gave him money, guns, and ammunition; and when Russia nearly committed suicide in crushing this civil war, modern industry began the industrial boycott, the refusal of capital and credit which is being carried on today just as far as international jealosy and greed will allow. And can we wonder? If modern capital is owned by the rich and handled for their power and benefit, can the rich be expected to hand it over to their avowed and actual enemies? On the contrary, if modern industry is really for the benefit of the people and if there is an effort to make the people the chief beneficiaries of industry, why is it that this same people is powerless today to help this experiment, or at least give it a clear way? On the other hand, so long as the most powerful nations in the world are determined that Russia must fail, there can be but a minimum of free discussion and democratic difference of opinion in Russia.

There is world struggle then in and about Russia; but it is not simply an ethical problem, as to whether or not the Russian Revolution was morally right; that is a question which only history will settle. It is not simply the economic question, as to whether or not Russia can conduct industry on a national scale. She is doing it today and in so doing she differs only in quantity, not in quality from every other modern country. It is not a question merely of "dictatorship." We are all subject to this form of government. The Russian question is: Can you make the worker and not the millionaire the center of modern power and culture? If you can, the Russian Revolution will sweep the world. One can stand on the streets of Moscow and Kiev and see clearly that Russia has struck at the citadels of the power that rules modern countries. Not manhood suffrage, woman's suffrage, state regulation of industry, social reform nor religious and moral teaching in any modern country have shorn organized wealth of its power as the Bolshevik Revolution has done in Russia.

15-2-64

Is it possible to conduct a great modern government without autocratic leadership of the rich? The answer is: this is exactly what Russia is doing today. But can she continue to do this? This is not a question of ethics or economics; it is a question of psychology. Can Russia continue to think of the State in terms of the workers? This can happen only if the Russian people believe and idealize the workingman as the chief citizen. In America we do not. The ideal of every American is the millionaire -- or at least the man of "independent" means or income. We regard the laborers as the unfortunate part of the community and even liberal thought is directed toward "emancipating" the workingman by relieving him in part, if not entirely, of the necessity of work. Russia, on the contrary, is seeking to make a nation believe that work, and work that is hard and in some respects disagreeable and to a large extent physical, is a necessity of human life at present and likely to be in any conceivable future world; that the people who do this work are the ones who should determine how the national income from their combined efforts should be distributed; in fine, that the workingman is the State; that he makes civilization possible and should determine what civilization is to be.

For this purpose he must be a workingman of skill and intelligence and to this combined and Russian education is being organized. This is what the Russian Dictatorship of the Proletariat means. This dictatorship does not stop there. As the workingman is today neither skilled nor intelligent to any such extent as his responsibilities demand, there is within his ranks the Communist Party, directing the Proletariat toward their future dictatorship. This is nothing new. In this government "of the people," we have elaborate and many-sided arrangements for guiding the rulers. The test is, are we and Russia really preparing future rulers? Insofar as I could see, in 1926 shop and school, in the press and on the radio, in books and lectures, in trade unions and National Congresses, Russia is. We are not.

Visioning now a real Dictatorship of the Proletariat, two questions

49-2-58

follow. Is it possible today for a great nation to achieve such a worker's psychology? And secondly, if it does achieve it, what will be its effect upon the world? The achievement of such a psychology depends partly upon Russia and partly upon the United States and the Western part of Europe. In Russia one feels today, even on a casual visit, the beginning of a workingman's psychology. Workers are the people that fill the streets and live in the best houses, even though these houses are dilapidated; workers crowd (literally crowd) the museums and theatres, hold the high offices, do the public talking, travel in the trains.

The Soviet program is mainly psychological; can a people be trained to work effectively with the general prosperity as the motive and the fear of poverty and old age taken away? The present generation of lazy, indifferent and inefficient workers were trained under capitalism. Their psychology will change slowly. Leisure and taking away of the fear of poverty will mean to them loafing, laziness, and self-assertion; to a large extent, the tremendous strain of the transition period.

49-2-53

The Soviets have had war after war, conquest after conquest and famine, and but three years of experiment. Can the Soviets conquer jealosy and envy on the part of the workers? Yes, they answer by giving them necessities. But how about luxuries? By raising a public opinion against luxuries. There is something like this now. Moscow has no well-dressed leisure class. But it is a hard job and you and I, who have been trained to distrust human nature and believe in selfishness and lust, may easily believe a task impossible. Sometimes we seem to be right.

There is no question but that governments can carry on business. Every government does. Whether governmental industry compares in efficiency with private industry depends entirely upon what we call efficiency. And here it is and not elsewhere that the Russian experiment is astonishing and new

and of fateful importance to the future of civilization. What we call efficiency in America is judged primarily by the resultant profit to the rich and only secondarily by the results to the workers. The face of industrial Europe and America is set toward private wealth; that is, toward the people who have large incomes. We recogniz e the economic value of small incomes mainly as a means of profit for great incomes. Russia seeks another psychology. Russia is trying to make the workingman the main object of industry. His well-being and his income are deliberately set as the chief ends of organized industry, directed by the State.

I leave one subject to the last of my 1926 observations of Russia: religion. I lived two months opposite the inscription on the Second House of the Soviets, written by Lenin:

"Religion is the opium of the people!"

Whatever was true of other lands, this was certainly true in Russia in 1926 and before. Symbols of religion dominated the city, from the vast five domes of the Cathedral of Christ -- a greater and four lesser; five crosses, a greater and four lesser; and gilded lace-like chains which held them. It cost $200,000 a year to gild the cathedral. The 350 other churches of the city dominated the landscape, as they loomed and glowed.

There gems of beautiful bejewelled churches; there hordes of priests intoning litanties, begging alms, forgiving sins. There were thousands of shrines. One of the most striking of Russian pictures which I saw was Vasnetzof's "Last Judgment," with conventional angels, Christ and God. But the heaven in the backgroumd were the golden domes of Moscow. Only one who hears the chant of a Russian service, sees its color and genuflections; only those who know the gorgeous litany and the beautiful Russian churches can realize what Lenin meant when he called the Russian religion, "opium."

But it was worse than opium. It was the Russian Priest, Father Petrof, who said in 1908, "There is no Christian Czar and no Christian government.

49-2-54

Conditions of life are not Christian. The upper classes rule the lower classes. A little group keeps the rest of the population enslaved. This little group has robbed the working people of wealth, power, science, art, and even religion, which they have also subjected; they have left them only ignorance and misery. In the place of pleasure they have given the people drunkenness; in the place of religion gross superstition; and beside, the work of a convict, a work without rest or reward.

"The ruling regular clergy with its cold, heartless bony fingers, has stifled the Russian Church,killed its creative spirit, chained the Gospel itself, and sold the Church to the Government. There is not an outrage, no crime, no perfidy of the state authorities, which the Monks who rule the Church would not cover with the mantle of the Church, would not bless, would not seal with their own hands."

The British Trade Union report of 1925 says: "The Holy Shrines at all the main street corners of the large cities are still open and well patronized. Priests in the dress of their calling are still seen about the streets...

"A very strong propaganda in the Press, the schools, colleges, and Trade Union clubs is, however, carried on against religion generally, and especially as practiced by the old Orthodox Church. The kissing of crosses and ikons is prohibited by the Ministry of Health as being accountable for the spreading of infectious diseases, especially consumption and syphilis. The practice, however, still survives; though long queues of infected children waiting to receive the sacrament from the same chalice are no longer seen. The remains of certain saints,whose bodies were supposed to be preserved intact, and thowse forehead was exposed through an aperture in the lid of the coffin to be kissed by thousands of pilgrims, have been exposed to public view as dust and bones, while the supposed forehead was shown to be but a puckered piece of leather fastened to the doffin lid.

49-2-55

"The former Government-controlled licensed houses of prostitution, where girls were exposed for hire at a recognized fee, have been closed. In Tsarist days these houses were a recognized Government institution; the opening ceremony was undertaken by a police officer and the premises blessed by Russian Orthodox Priests."

One thing was certain: if there were to be a Russian Revolution, it had to begin by the domination of the Church by the State.

There is one thing I remember from this visit of 1926; it was not vivid at the time but came back to me later: it was the admiration which the Russians had for the United States. Chiefly it was naturally the envy of our marvelous technique; our mastery of natural forces and the deft way we turned them to our will. I remember somewhere in mid-Russia being shown through a vast repair factory for locomotives. Amid all sorts of difficulties and scarcities engines were being repaired and built. It was a miracle of desperately hard work with only fair accomplishment. The director had a right to be proud and was; but he said, apologetically, "Of course, it's nothing compared to what you do in your Pittsburgh!" The Russians in 1926 were determined to believe that the fundamental American democracy, bursting up from a land of workers, who had freed slaves and made the lowly rich, would eventually sympathize with and support the struggling Russian state. Just as in 1789, they hailed free France, and in 1848, welcomed the victims of repression. They knew or thought they knew that in the end America would clasp hands with the U.S.S.R.

It happened that just before I went to Russia, a delegation of nine workers representing the British Trade Union Congress, left London early in November, 1924, and spent two months in sight-seeing and study. Their report of conditions at nearly the same time as I made my notes serves to confirm in my mind the fairness of my observations. I venture to quote a few paragraphs.

49-2-56

"The Soviet system at present consists of a series of compromises, most of them in constant change. One of the most striking characteristics of the present regime is its readiness to recognize failure. Should a Communist theory fail to give the required results it is scrapped for all practical purposes as ruthlessly as any Tsarist tradition. On the other hand, should ideas of institutions or individuals associated with the old order prove useful instruments there is no hesitation in using them.

"For all opposition is as yet silenced. But the need of it is not so much felt, owing to the extraordinary candour and criticism of those conducting affairs, and their readiness to conform their policy to new requirements of the moment. The constant elections and discussions at congresses keep those in power in touch with opinion; while the continuous stream of official publications and pronouncements keeps opinion informed of any defects that may develop in the system and of the proposals for reform. In fact, the critical functions of an opposition both in the press and on the platform are largely performed by the Government itself. The speeches of political leaders are generally critical lectures on economics, not the appeals to passion and partisanship that are found necessary elsewhere.

"As to the persistent assertions in the Press that the present regime in Russia is a 'reign of terror,' the Delegation would wish to put on record its conviction that this could not be honestly believed by any unprejudiced person traveling within the Union and talking to its citizens."

The report, dated 1925, concludes:

"In view of the information contained in the preceding chapters -- all of which has been obtained by themselves from sources and through channels that convince them as to its general accuracy -- the Delegation has come to the following conclusions: That the USSR is a strong and stable State: That its Government is based firstly on a system of State Socialism that has the active support of a large majority of the workers and the acceptance of an

49-2-57

equally large majority of the peasants; and, secondly, on a federal structure that gives very full cultural and very fair political toleration: That the machinery of government though fundamentally different from that of other States, seems to work well, and that the government it gives is not only in every way better than anything that Russia has ever yet had, but that it has done and is doing work in which older State systems have failed and are still failing; That these good results have reconciled all but a very small majority to renouncing rights of opposition that are essential to political liberty elsewhere. And that this causes no resistance, partly because these rights have been replaced by others of greater value under the Soviet system, and partly because recent movements have been steadily towards their restoration: And finally, that the whole constitutes a new departure of the greatest that is well worth foreign study and a new development that may be greatly benefited by foreign assistance."

But here -- here in the white Silence of the Dawn,
Before the Womb of Time
With bowed hearts all flame and shame,
We face the birth-pangs of a world:
We hear the stifled cry of Nations all but born --
The wail of women ravished of their stunted brood!
We see the nakedness of Toil, the poverty of Wealth,
We know the Anarchy of Empire, and doleful Death of Life!
And hearing, seeing, knowing all, we cry:

Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!

49-2-58

CHAPTER III

BLIND STAGGERS, 1917-1936

Sitting in Moscow on my arrival August 28, 1926, I was reading the New York Times; it said "Revolution has broken out in Cronstadt. Streets are flowing with blood!" I stared in astonishment, for the issue was dated the very day I had landed in Cronstadt. One can know what Cronstadt looked like when I landed by reading page 20. The dispatch was dated from Riga. That explained much. Riga was in Latvia; just south of Estonia and but 50 miles from Lithuania, these three states of Clemenceau's Cordon Sanitaire, whence European Big Capital would one day re-conquer Russia. Thus Riga had long been a nest of liars who poured fairy tales about Russia into the West. Even I had known that and how could the TIMES be misled into printing this story without confirmation? I went back in my own mind to what I had known about Russia since the Revolution and remembered that I was astonished to learn how long the war had lasted in Russia after the Armistice. Leaving Russia in October 1926, I tried after my return to America to collect and organize my knowledge and read neglected books and reports.

49-2-59

The result was amazing. I presume in all our knowledge something like this takes place: save in some narrow file we know events and situations vaguely, from newspapers, magazines or a book or so. But soon we are making judgments and coming to conclusions not on a basis of carefully garnered knowledge, but on flimsy generalizations influenced tremendously by current public opinion. Thus we tend to learn our history backwards.

I had known that Czarist Russia naturally resisted the revolution. But of the extent of that counter-revolution and of the active help in manpower, material and arms, supplied by the civilized world; of the spying and intrigue from all Europe which had accompanied and inspired this war of reaction; I had but the vaguest information. Indeed I did not learn

the whole story until Sayers and Kahn published their "Great Conspiracy" in 1946.

What amazed and uplifted me in 1926 was to see a nation stoutly facing a problem which most other modern nations did not dare even to admit was real. Taking inspiration directly out of the mouths and dreams of the world's savants and prophets, who had inveigled against modern industrial methods; against the co-existance of progress and poverty; against slums and disease; this new Russia led by Lenin and inspired by Marx proposed to build a socialist state with production for use and not for private profit; with ownership of land and capital goods by the state and state control of public services including education and health. It was enough for me to see this mighty attempt. It might fail, I knew; but the effort in itself was social progress and neither folishness nor crime.

Russia was handicapped by 95% of illiteracy among her peasants and nearly as much among her working classes; by a religion led by a venal and largely immoral priesthood, dealing in superstition and deception, and rich with the land and loot of grovelling followers. Most of her industrialcapital was owned by foreigners whose only interest was the 50 or 75% which they reaped from merciless exploitation. Her government had long been shot through with dishonesty and graft under dissolute nobles and fawning lackeys. Her punishment of crime and independent thought had long affronted the civilized world. Yet the best people of Europe and America seldom raised a finger of protest but fawned on Russian royalty and aristocracy, receiving them with open arms and loud sympathy when they were repudiated.

Now after this first glimpse of Russia I traveled home. I had made a great pilgrimage; the sort of journey of which one dreams. I had seen the Scheldt at Antwerp and the paintings of Rubens; I had seen the

49-2-60

CHAPTER III

towers of Cologne, the Rhine and the Lorelei; I walked by the Rathhaus of Frankfort and through the Thuringianwald to the Wartburg of Luther; through Berlin and its Thiergarten. I had gone to the Baltic Sea, the Nevsky Prospeck and the Winter Palace; for me the Red Flag had waved above the Kremlin, the slow boats had moved down the Volga and the Great Fair had opened at Nijni Novgorod; down the Dnieper I had found the Black Sea.

Now I turned backward toward home. Going I saw glimpses of the Glory that was Greece and the Grandeur that was Rome: the foundations of that European culture into which I was born--foundations now in semi-ruin. Along the Bosphorus, villas of tarnished splendor and semi-tropical trees appear; they cluster and climb the hills to white and brown-walled terraces. There comes a narrow pass with towers mighty and crenelated. The strait opens its beautiful arms and in the evening sun burst the domes and minerets of the city, Constantinople.

The city glooms and shines with six immense vast domes and sixteen minerets; house on house piled like fortress walls rise on the right; and on the left Asia. I have never seen a city like Constantinople. It is magnificent and terrible. It is a microcosm of human life writing all its startling beauty and repulsive cruelty. The great sweep of its domes bulging toward Heaven, its hills, its rivers and seas, its crowded harbor and more crowded streets all give to its 2500 years of history a vividness and measuring which gatherings of men in millions possess.

I walkedthe walls of Constantinople; I have seen the walls of Moscow and Nuremburg, of Carscasonne and Grenada, but never such gigantic walls of defense as the Wall of Theodosius; great wall and under-wall, deep moat and massive square and hexagonal towers. They defended African and Asiatic culture against German and Slav barbarisms for a thousand

49-2-61

CHAPTER III

years. Vast and grim was the long, long lonesome sweep of stone interlaid with blues and browns, in part now cracked and falling, but enough by another thousand years. Yonder lies Thrace and Hungary and Europe and Kiev and Norgorod, long lonesome worlds of men.

I quailed before the city. I could get no idea of it. Its infinite winding streets were baffling. It was a great and unknown giant. Then I went down to the Golden Horne and the teeming streets of Stamboul and putting my shoes from my feet stood beneath the dome of Holy Wisdom. One great curve sweeps above the immensity of the church and looms 170 feet above the soft carpeted floor. It is a singular and mighty thing; 40 windows light it and the dome itself rests on four tremendous archs. There are four vast pillars and arcades froming perhaps the most wonderful single building in the world. For 15 centuries this thing has risen, trembled, swayed and groaned in the golden light of its old and holy beauty. It is right for men in bared feet with out-stretched hands and moving mouths to touch their foreheads in its dust.

I had one wide look over all the burning beauty of Stamboul and Persia and Galatea to Scutari and the wild rocks of the Principa of Wilson and Trotsky; the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, the Propontis and away in the distance the shadow of the Hellespont. But all day the great golden aisle of Sant Wisdom screamed in my soul. I saw the Scarcophagous of Alexander the Great, and beyond Scutari where skilled slaves of European capital toil cheaply in quiet. Beyond them a city of the sleeping dead, high above the Golden Horn, beneath ancient cypresses. Yonder the 10,000 Greeks came to barter.

We passed through the Hellespont in starlight, the water dark silver, the sky a deepened blue, tha land black and heavy; high Europe and wide

49-2-62

CHAPTER III

Asia and across the cortege flew Hero and Leander, Xerxes and Mohammed, Lord Byron, the Turkish host and armies of Russia, England and France. Above us hung the ruins of Abydus.

Then came the night. The Bear, the Pleiades and the Milky Way shone joyously and lingeringly the day arose again on the Isles of Greece. Achilles and Patroclus lie in long last sleep. How well I remember stumbling through the mighty lines of Homer:

Menin aeide thea
Peleiado Achillaos!

Yonder hidden to the left sleeps ~~Troy~~ Troy. Beyond is Olympus, garlanded with snow. Lemnos comes on the right hiding Samothrace and on the right we leave Gallipoli where 10,000 British boys were murdered in 1915 for nothing; murdered and died ~~and stank~~ by the blunder of Winston Churchill.

49-2-63

All this by faith I see beyond the old Aegean; but real in soft morning light looms golden Euboea and Andros. We are amid the Cyclades--but empty, empty, barren and dead to all the sweet song, the myriad tongues, the plying boats, the teeming tarde to the past--dead and why?

No land that lived and breathed like Greece and Lesser Asia needed to die; but any nation that sins against the Holy Ghost must die if truth lives. We thread the Cyclades, pass Chios and before us lies Greece. Bare but beautiful rise the blighted hills and mountains of Attica in the morning sun. We swept toward Salamus and the Periieus to see the pale and deathless Parthenon peering through; to see the rose colored columns of the Temple of Jupiter and the Acropolis. It was all pitiful and forlorn in its torn and raped beauty; baked and burned and yet eternal in the perfection of the dream that built it. The theme was simple, and quiet in its restraint, yet bold in the grandeur which conceived it, on a hill amid mountains, with backdrop of seas and all about memories of Thebes and

CHAPTER III

Thermopylea, Eleusis and Hymettus. The market place where Demosthenes talked stands rough like Paul; the Dynoysian theatre crouched low to listen to Aeschylus, Euripedes and Sophocles.

Athens was a dead wraith of white dust, hot and sweltering; and through it poured refugees from war and Turkey. Tall black mountains grimly escorted us through the canal and into the Gulf of Corinth; by the heaped mass of the Peloponessus, with Platea and Mycene and other mighty names all about us. The night bell tolled for Ithaca and with morning, came Italy.

It had been 33 years since I had seen this land; again I glimpsed beautiful faces and white towns as we sped by Brindisi; saw sea and Appenines and came to the Bay of Naples. Vesuvius wore the wreath of smoke; but gone was the gayety and lazy laughter of Santa Lucia. I was whisked to a fashionable suburb and tucked into a "Grand" hotel at fabulous rates. The trains were "running on time" and the beefsteak was English; but in the little day I stayed I searched in vain for the old, care-free, dirty, jolly Naples; in its place the world was marching in uniform: officers strutting, soldiers quick-stepping, even boys parading. The Farnese Hercules was still there and the room of Titians. I saw Capri hiding beneath a broken-backed rock; in the rock is a hole; in the hole the sea blazes blue; writhes and seethes and blazes blue.

And now it is done. The blue sun set is dropping toward a sea of moltan lead. Capri rises black and cloudy sharply limbed against the Sorento green and gold shines with the soft sheen of evening. A sullen rock with a cross which was not meant. Castles old and high, perch on its edge of heaven; ships with silver sails go reverently home.

49-2-64

CHAPTER III

"O I have sighed to rest me," sings the orchestra. The breath of Vesuvius spreads rose colored above the purple bulk of the long low mountain and then it slips up into grey, pink and golden clouds and wraps the skies in veils and scarfs and mists. And the sun changing is orange burnt and sudden in the sky. Vesuvius is solemn and its waving veil sinister until it strikes high Heaven and the sun. Now Capri fades and Sorento is hard and sharp against the sky. The bay of Naples fades and dies then lives in a long string of topaz lights which run in a great circle from Pazzule to where Pompei was.

What was wrong with Greece and Rome that they died and fell? Here modern science on which we stand today was born; here beauty found rare expression which still sets ideals today; yet Greece is bare, eroded, ruined and poverty-stricken and diseased; Italy is crime cursed, sick and wretchedly poor.

We got science and Art from these beginnings; some unsurpassable heights of culture were reached, which built upon and not wasted, might still guide and enrich us. Here Faith in man and his destiny hurled great monuments to heaven and bore honest, keen, self-sacrificing servants of the common good? What happened? I see Faith which is pragmatic hypothesis going blindly and bravely and all unselfishly ahead and Science which is knowledge reaching the rough and guiding hand, until impatient Faith breaks away and lurches forward to doom, war and hate.

I wonder if Aristotle in his logical building of his city on a substratum of slaves and barbarians did not make the intial mistake which formed the morass into which the world floundered, and which made Rome a slave empire, and forced the Renaissance to give birth to slavery in the new world?

49-2-65

8

CHAPTER III

So that the Victory of Samothrace and the Moses of Michelangelo gave birth logically to black slavery in America and the Industrial Revolution in Northern Europe? Out of this conception of a slave-supported society, we must emerge. The United States had opportunity but refused it in the Reconstruction after bloody Civil War. Perhaps Russia is groping for the way out; for a civilization that will not die of its own contradictions. It must and perhaps at least try to place beneath a new conception of culture, a foundation of mass participation in civilization, which Greece never conceived, Rome thought impossible and Europe and America dreamed of but seldom tried to realize.

As I range froward in space and backward in history, through the mad ruin of this grandeur and bleak desolation of breath-taking beauty; as I foresee in France and England, New England and California this same awful metamorphosis, my mind struggles to unravel the reason beneath and the cure above.

How could I best pause to see this, and now to write it, hurrying as I was through a world staggering blindly between two wars that in ferocity and sheer human depravity spelled one of the Ends of Time? But precisely for all these reasons I must see the world, as I turn home between the daring experiment of Russia and the Western World where modern freedom was born. Through the fading fires of Greece and Rome I came back to re-interpret to myself my native land.

At Naples I boarded the magnificent liner of the Italian Line, built for the luxury trade of rich America. Although I had ordered a second cabin passage, the polite management had reserved a single first class cabin on the theory that no American was too poor to afford that, even though black. It left me practically bankrupt with the baffling problem

49-2-66

CHAPTER III

of sufficient dress shirts. But one martydom I was spared. Indeed I supposed that in half the cases where all my life I have expected discrimination, I have been disappointed; it has not happened. This made it however not sweeter in the other half, where it dropped relentlessly with silent and bitter insult and cruelty. In this case a Harvard man (of all folk!) and his family made my trip most enjoyable; and the boat was a dream of luxury and taste, here on the eve of world disaster.

I returned to America late in 1926. Normalcy and Harding, the President in whose Negro descent I firmly believed, was dead. In his place reigned the colorless Coolidge, a man of my own thrifty New England, who knew as much about the world as any narrow, untravelled and unread provincial. He and his powerful industrial backers had beaten La Follette, honest but hesitant hope of the Liberals, in 1924; and now Coolidge was set to collect foreign debts and raise the tariff to unheard of heights so as to make payment of the debts impossible; to beat down the prices of farm produce, steal government oil at Tea-Pot Dome and chase the murderous liquor gangs to jail for failure to pay income taxes. War was merrily "outlawed" by the Pact of Paris in 1927.

The country was litterally seething with prosperity. Wall Street gambling was reaching new heights of audacity and all the old stick-in-the-mud rules of investment were being broken. Stocks yielding six per cent were selling on a ten per cent basis because of the golden age was a-coming with America in the saddle. But my little business, the CRISIS Magazine, which was paid for by low-wage black workers was losing ground. Its subscribers were out of work. Perversely I assumed that the fault lay in me and that I was not satisfying my readers.

49-2-67

10

CHAPTER III

What was happening in the world? The United States was blissfully unaware that anything was wrong that could not be cured by quick return to 19th century methods of government and industry. What could happen to a great, rich unconquerable land like ours? Coolidge did not "choose" to run and no one chose to have him. We proceeded to elect a new President on the incidental question of whether a Catholic could sit in the White House and also as to whether Negroes had any political rights. The Negro vote was completely ignored that the leaders of the race complained bitterly to deaf ears.

Herbert Hoover was elected president and Hoover looked like just the type of business man to restore and re-build industry, after what all Americans believed to be the last war, which modern civilization would permit to interupt trade. Herbert Hoover had made money as an engineer out of the cheap labor of China, Mexico, Australia , India, and South Africa. Early in the new cantury he had invested heavily in eleven Russian oil concessions and in companies to exploit timber and minerals in the Urals. He shrewdly sold out however before 1917, when these various concessions were confiscated by the Bolsheviks. Naturally he became a bitter enemy of Bolshevism, which he said was "worse than war." When he became United States Food Administrator in 1917 to 1919 he distributed nearly all of the hundred millions which he handled among the armies and peoples who were fighting the Russian revolution. Later as Secretary of Commerce 1921-28, he was a well-known enemy of Russia.

With Hoover as President there was no hope of the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States. But no sooner was he seated in the White House, than suddenly in 1929, the industrial organization of the United States crashed in unprecedented ruin.

89-2-64

11

CHAPTER III

I had by this time decided that my work as editor of the Crisis was no longer demanded. Quite unconsciously I had absorbed from my day the fashion of guaging usefulness and need by profit. If an enterprise was profitable, or an undertaking was paid for by the consuming public, that proved its worth automatically. If and when it did not pay, it was not needed. Such reasoning was idiotic as I soon came to realize; but also I realized that when my own effort could not longer make this peridocial pay then those who thereafter helped support it, had the right to determine its policies. This latter fact hastened my change of work.

I was sure that the propaganda era of my life was at an end and that now at the end of my life--that was 21 years ago~~,~~; I was 61,- I was justified in retiring from public agitation and devoting myself again to social investigation and pure literature. The urge to do this was all the stronger because opportunity offered to work with a friend; ~~work~~ at the center of the Negro Problems in the state of Georgia; and to be paid a modest salary of $4500 which was sufficient for my needs. I prepared to leave New York and the NAACP, and the deepening gravity of the CRISIS hastened my going; so that in 1934, I was at Atlanta University.

49-2-69

Naturally my interest in Russia kept up however and I was increasingly disturbed by the news. I did not, however, place reliance on the American Press, as I had formerly. For instance the reports of famine and trouble with the peasants did not alarm me. I expected no miracles in Russia. I knew that she had but embarked upon a momentous and revolutionary social program and that from its inherent difficulties and those deliberately placed in its path by the Western world, she was bound to have a difficult path. Moreover from our custom of glorifying war; stopping with "victory"

and then utterly ignoring the frightful recovery from murder and destruction and maiming in limb and morals--I knew that few persons criticising Russia had any idea of her utter prostration from ten awful years of foreign and civil strife.

What happened in Russia during the 20th century? The Phantasmagoria which engulfed the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1936, is almost impossible to picture clearly or concisely. I was long grasping this intricate story and I essay its outlines now with a certain trepidation. This vast land, one-sixth of the globe stood at the threshhold of the new century, a miserable travesty of government and culture. Long revolutionary reaction, open and underground had shaken the land during the 18th century and the 19th. It was jolted to new life by the industrialization of Russia late in the 19th century with French, Belgian and British capital. On the right stood the nobility and high clergy; in the middle were the business men and at the left were the Social Democrats. Left of the Left came the Marxists.

Three men, all under 50, led the Russian Revolution of 1917. Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, known as Nikolay Lenin, planned it. He was the son of a school inspector and of the daughter of a small landowner, and was born in East Central Russia. Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili, known as Joseph Stalin, carried Lenin's plans into execution. He was the son of a shoemaker and grandson of a Georgian serf; he knew the workers of the Russian Caucasus and their problems.

Lev Davidovich Bronstein, known as Leon Trotsky, was the brilliant idealist of the Revolution who both inspired and betrayed Russia. He was born of well-to-do Jews, not far from Odessa.

There were many other figures leaders, but these were outstanding.

CHAPTER III

Lenin was the man of wide reading and sound learning, who took the Marxian theory of socialism and by long scientific experimentation of trial and error adapted it to living and working Russia. Stalin wasthe slow, cautious but keen executive, who knew the common laboring masses of many races and religions. He took the theory of Lenin, and translated it into reality with grim steadfastness, self-effacing sacrifice and unswerving determination.

Trotsky was the brilliant propagandist and dreamer of dreams; in the stress of battle and trial of endurance he could not distinguish between his own ambition and the sacrifice demanded by principle. He helped organize the Red Army and then sold his fatherland to Germany, nearly betraying his fellow workers to the rulers of world industry.

Lenin, one of the greatest men of this century, was a social scientist; that is a man who believed that the ~~actions~~ deeds of human beings were subject to natural law and that this law could be discovered and its action measured. Others like Comte had forecast a Sociology to develop along with Physics and Biology, but practical reformers and religion balked at the concept. A real science of human action would deny Freedom of the Will; it would contradict moral responsibility and acts of God; it was "materialistic."

But Lenin was not the sort of modern Sociologist, who boasted of his science, and did nothing to discover its laws. What laws govern human action, Lenin did not know nor pretend to know. But following Karl Marx, he saw the rhythm of history and determined to plan human life in accord with known knowledge and on such scientific hypothesis as he found would work. He stood ready and eager to revise and restate in the light of experience any hypothesis or theory he might hold. He therefore studied not only the written word of history and economics, but the actual

49-2-71

curent deeds of living men. He knew the lives of the masses; he admitted that much which men did seemed spontaneous and unconditioned and a matter of chance. But he was determined at least to measure the limits of this chance and beyond those limits, if limits there were, to plan the actual lives of man. It was this pragmatic approach to human action, either in government or revolution, that set Lenin apart from and above his followers and contemporaries and explained his life.

While yet a student, Lenin spent five years in exile in Siberia. Then he went to Western Europe to study and organize an effective Socialist Party, planned by Lenin in the All-Russian Congress of Social Democrats. His attempt at Brussels and London in 1903, resulted in division into Mensheviki and Bolsheviki, the right and left of the revolution. Lenin was overborne and after two years in Switzerland, returned to Russia late in 1905.

Meantime, far in the East, Stalin was working among the laborers of Baku. The British trade unionists described how those workers lived:

"During the investigation of the oil fields of Baku we were amazed and disgusted with the conditions of housing the workers which had formerly existed under private control. The living places were not huts; to attempt to dignify them with the mane of houses would be wrong, and the nearest description we can give is the out-houses one finds in the worst slum areas at home... Long rows of dimly lighted buildings, one story high, with small windoes and low-built doorways, and in some cases no flooring but the hearth. In these hovels hordes of people of various nationalities had been housed under such conditions that would subject the owner of cattle in our own country to prosecution for cruelty...We have no hesitation in saying that these conditions of housing the people were the

47-2-74

CHAPTER VIII

vilest and worst we have seen in Russia or in any parts of the world known to any of the Delegation. When we remembered that the output of oil from this district can be counted in hundreds of millions of pools and that millionaires have been created in abundance from these oilfields, our indignation and disgust at the treatment of the workers was unlimited."

Stalin was inconspicuous, cautious and taciturn. He was expelled from the Theological Seminary which he had entered, and found work as a clerk. He became a socialist leader among the oil laborers, inspired demonstrations and strikes, wrote leaflets and contributed to socialist papers. He was neither quick nor brilliant; he was morethan that--slow and tireless and loyal. He saw the oppression of Poles, Finns, Jews, Georgians, and religious sects. He followed the plans of Lenin as technical executive not mere propagandist, working in the gathering of hard facts. He sought methods of action to implement revolution. By 1901, at the age of 22, he was organizing the workers in the oil works owned by the Rothschild interests, and was arrested and spent three years in prison.

Stalin escaped from Siberia in the turmoil marking the opening of the Russo-Japanese war and went back to the Caucasus, where he helped in the oil workers strike which anticipated the Petersburg Revolt of 1905, and which resulted in the first collective agreement between workers and employers ever signed in Russia. The Czarists let the Black Hundred loose on Socialists and Jews and soon had the Caucasus writhing in interracial feuds. Here Stalin learned his great and never to be forgotten lesson of the dangers of race hate, which stood him in good stead during the years when he was Commissar of Nationalities. He wrote vigorously against the Czar and took the side of the Bolsheviks until his work came to the attention of Lenin. The two met in Finland in 1905, and Stalin was surprised

49-2-73

to see his great leader so small of stature and so modest.

The third membdr of the revolutionary triumvirate, Leon Trotsky, arose with the abortive Revolution of 1905, after exile in Siberia. The crazy governmnet of the Czar was riding to its doom. In 1904, it went to war with Japan and was on the way to defeat before the end of the year. Distress spread among the workers of Russia, and in 1905 the workers of St. Petersburg, unarmed, led by a priest and carrying ikons, marched to the Winter Palace of the Czar with an humble petition. They were shot down in cold blood. Revolt flamed; it was not planned revolution, but sudden angry reaction: strikes spread from Petersburg and Moscow to the whole country; a Grand Duke was assassinated; the crew of a battle ship mutinied, and workers organizations called Soviets, began to spread.

The Petersburg Soviet became the spectacular center of this revolution and elected Leon Trotsky as its president. Trotsky had attended the London Conference in 1903 where he sided with the opponents of Lenin. When the Japanese defeated Russia he hurried back to Petersburg and led the Petersburg revolt. He was in his element; brilliant, fiery and daring, he roused the workers to wild enthusiasm, and the revolt reached its climax in an armed uprising in Moscow in June 1905.

Meantime the Czar wavered, granted civil labirties and a duma in 1905, arrested Trotsky in the same year; called and dissolved a second duma in 1907 and then put down the Moscow revolt in a flood of blood. Lenin hurried back to this "general rehearsal."

The attempted revolution failed and Lenin returned to Geneva, prepared to wait, if necesary, 20 years, "unless Czardom is shaken by a major war." Meantime reaction in Russia triumphed; all four of the Dumas were dismissed by the Czar and most of the Socialist deputies sent to Siberia.

49-2-74

CHAPTER III

The following years Lenin described as the years of education for the working group. They learned not only to attack but to retreat. By 1912 the revolutionary forces began to revive.

Czarist Russia entered the First World War as a method of stopping revolution, but succeeded only in revealing the utter incompetency of the government. By 1916, the nation was prostrate and the Czar abdicated in 1917. After a vain attempt of a provisional government to rule, the Revolution of October 1917, put the power in the hands of Lenin.

What happened? The Bolsheviks, now become the Communist Party seized power and established order and made peace with Germany at the cost of much territory, but at the insistence of Lenin who saw no alternative. The Germans demanded Finland, the Ukraine, Poland and the Caucasus, together with an indemnity. Lenin frantically appealed to Britain and the United States, but got no answer. Finally he accepted the treaty, while we Americans called the Russians "butchers, assassins, madmen, scum, beasts!" In 1918, banks insurance, mines and railways were nationalized; foreign debts repudiated and foreign trade made a state monopoly.

Western Europe had transferred to Russia as investment before 1905, certainly 10 billions, perhaps 20 billions of dollars worth of machinery, goods and technical services. It had in turn received back in processed goods, food and materials and labor of all sorts, probably far more than the orginal investment. It is unfortunately impossible to know these facts accurately and with confidence, because the matter of investment and ownership of property is legally and by custom so largely secret.

When the czarist regime was overthrown, the foereign investors feared to lose all of their rights of property and they backed reation to put down the Revolution. But the Bolsheviks in various ways offered compromise.

49-2-75

CHAPTER III

They were willing to repay invested capital and loans at least in part, but unwilling to continue the system or to guarantee future ownership and rate of profit.

Thereupon the West from 1917 to 1922 spent $1000 billions in war to suppress the Revolution. They financed armies, munitions, spies and brigands, besides actually invading Russia with 25,000 of their own troops and 70,000 Japanese; they and their Russian allies killed seven million Russian people and inflicted on them damage amounting to sixty billions of dollars. Whatever plans the Russians h ad to rebuild a new economic world were retarded for ten years. The story does not make sense. Indeed it is guage of our modern inability or unwillingness to reason.

Consider what happened in those fatal years, from 1917 to 1926. The Petrograd garrison revolted, the Kornilov putsch backed by Britain failed and Kerensky fled. France and Britain made treaty to dismember Russia and during the next two years, 14 nations invaded Russia.

In 1918, rebellious Czech soldiers enlisted by the Allies against Russia and raided along the Trans-Siberian railroad. Kolchak proclaims himself "Supreme ruler of Russia," supported by the United States, France and Britain. He rages with murder and cruelty, even as the Armistice is signed ending war in the West. But the Russian Bear at bay, raped and bloody, turns and sinks in its claws. In a year Kolchak, loaded with a billion rubles of loot is in full flight; but Denikin and Wrangel attack from the East and rush to a point only a hundred miles of Moscow. The world sees the Bolsheviks wiped out. So Yudenich attacks Petrograd. Three months later Denikin driven back, deserts his army to flee on a French warship, protected by the shells of the British fleet. In the extreme North, 18,000 British troops, 5000 Americans, 1800 French, 1200

49-2-76

CHAPTER III

Italians, 1000 Serbs and 20,000 white Russians quarrel, parade and mutiny. When the Americans hesitated, the British parodied: "The Yanks are running, the Yanks are running everywhere!"

The Russians conquered Wrangel, shot Kolchak and drove Yudinech to Paris. The Poles with $50 million loaned by the United States, and war supplies from the French and British, join the attack, but are driven back to Warsaw. With new help from the Allies they rallied and took Western White Russia and the Ukraine from the Russians by the Peace of Riga. The allies were encouraged, and the Japanese come to the rescue with invasion in the Far East. A fantastic medieval despot leads there a war of rape, murder and robbery; nevertheless by September, his army has fled to China and he has been shot. The Japanese withdraw.

All this was made possible by the new Red Army, which the fiery Trotsky inspired and led, although he was not the actual creator of the invincible force which saved Russia. At any rate, by 1920, Russia was saved and her power consolidated. Within she was federalized into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; without the white armies were throughly beaten.

The World Revolution for which the Communists hoped ~~for~~ did not materialize. Even Lenin had doubted if a single Socialist agricultural state could stand alone in a capitalistic industrial world: and Trotsky had insisted that the Russian Revolution could only succeed if it was prelude to a European uprising. Only Stalin, slowly but with ear to ground, came to believe that Russia not only could but must prepare to stand alone in the world as a socialist state.[1] By 1920, there were settled in the west over two million persons, representing largely the former wealth and culture of Czarist Russia with entree to the best and most powerful social, political and financial circles of Poland

49-2-74

CHAPTER III

Germany, France, and England

They crystilized a world-wide opposition to the Revolution; an opposition all the more powerful and pursuasive, because it was based on real suffering and sincere conviction that this blasphemous revolt against divine right, was something so inherently hideous as to merit any kind of suppression. Now too, came a new enemy, famine , due to disorganization, drought and peasant revolt. In 1891 the famine affected seventeen million persons; in 1906 twenty-one millions; in 1911 twenty-seven millions; but 1921, no less than forty-three millions. In the previous famines the number of peasants who could not get enough grain for seed never was more than three millions; but in 1921, thirteen millions were without seed; that is nearly half Russia was destitute.

Uprisings took place in many places, and the garrison at Cronstadt broke into open mutiny which was suppressed in bloody retaliation. Lenin saw that socialism had gone too fast and with his far-seeing and scientific adaptability to fact, in the face of theory, he startled the 10th Congress of the Communist Party in March 1921, by proposing a "New Economic Policy." This was a retreat from socialism far enough and long enough to secure necessary consumers goods, by allowing small private business enterprises, and by relaxing government controls especially over the peasants. It was as Lenin explained a step backward in order later to take two steps forward. But Trotsky called it surrender to capitalism; while the world regarded it as the confessed failure of socialism.

The New Economic Policy partly denationalized the conduct of industry but not its control. The nationalisation of industry had been, in fact, much less complete than is generally assumed. "Workers' control" established November 14, 1917, was followed by confiscation of certain

CHAPTER III

enterprises; but it was not until June 1918, that the large industries were nationalized. Small industries were still only dealt with specifically and sporadically.

What the New Economic Policy showed, was that the time was not ripe for socializing agriculture, and without that step, no balanced economy could be built in the Soviets. The city industries must for a space depend on private business enterprise and foreign imports for necessary consumers goods. But the new policy meant temporary confusion. If in famine years the brute instincts of the starving had been loosed, now gradually the excesses of the new rich began to be manifest.

Persons who but yesterday had been penniless, now enjoyed prosperity never before known in Soviet Russia. The demand for women increased; cafes and taverns spread and wine was again sold. There was little to bridle the instincts which had been repressed in the days of war by stern military regulation. Divorces increased and 'free love' began to degenerate into excess. Retail and wholesale dealers who had been almost driven out by the Revolution now quickly ~~invested~~ increased to half the previous number.

But socialism and its aims were not surrendered as the West expected. The state controlled still most of the wholesale trade, and gradually began to build Trusts, Syndicates and Banks, analogous to similar enterprises in capitalist countries, but operated and controlled by the state as self-governing and self-supporting enterprises. The reversal of the New Economic Policy was a gradual process and was not completed until 1928, when the first Five Year Plan was launched.

Meantime, Western Europe, convinced that the collapse of Russian Communism was only a matter of time, ~~persisted~~ sought to hasten its downfall ~~in~~

49-2-79

CHAPTER III

from 1920 by a campaign of secret conspiracy, with spying, bribery and incitement to inner revolt which seethed for 20 years and was finally curbed, but even then not stopped, by the Great Depression and the Second World War.

The real and powerful anti-Russian opposition center was the Paris Torgprom, an organization of Russian nobles and European millionaires, including the founder of the Nobel prizes and rich exploiters from all the world, which met in 1920, to stem the tide and systematically finance and guide the re-conquest of Russia. It commanded unlimited funds, military advice from the military chiefs of staffs of Europe and cooperation of statesmen and conspirators of the first order. Centers for training Czarist officers and soldiers were established in five or more European countries. An International Anti-Soviet Conference met in Bavaria in June 1921, with delegates from all over Europe. By 1923, a plan for European military attack on Russia was matured and approved in principle by the General Staffs of Europe.

49-2-80

Meantime carefully organized spying on the Russian conditions with covert encouragement and organizing of internal revolt had begun. A brilliant British subject of Russian birth, Sidney Reilly, began work in 1918 and continued until 1925. He had helped organize the Torgprom and had not only become rich but counted men like Winston Churchill among his friends. He hated the Russian Revolution with perfect hatred and worshiped the memory of Napoleon. He had tried unsuccessfully to organize internal revolt in Russia in 1918, and then returned to London and Paris.

Within Russia from 1921 when Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy, Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev led an opposition group designed to remove Lenin from leadership. The Party in 1921, repudiated this

CHAPTER III

movement and warned Trotsky. In 1922, Stalin was elected as General Secretary. Immediately the Trotsky group went underground and adopted a secret organizing method devised earlier by the British spy, Reilly. It soon had codes and passwords and began to penetrate various governmental departments including the army.

A friend of Trotsky became Soviet Ambassador to Germany and approached the then powerful Reichswher for support. As a result, between 1923 and 1930, 250,000 gold marks annually was furnished by the Germans to replace Lenin by Trotsky as head of the Soviet State. The bribe amounted in the end to a half million dollars. Thus supported by funds, Trotsky at the death of Lenin in 1924 made his bid for power. At the Party Congress in May, he forced the question to a vote, and was unanimously defeated by the vote of the 748 delegates. Trotsky redoubled his efforts and after the freest and widest debate on future leadership and policy in the Soviets he was overwhelmed in a party referendum by a vote of 740,000to 4000. He turned then to revolution.

Through Winston Churchill and the spy Reilly, he invited Savinkov, a professional assassin to come to Russia, and settled a close friend as ambassador to Great Britain. Reilly, the British spy, encouraged by the death of Lenin went again into action. He and Winston Chruchill tried to induce Lloyd-George, prime Minister of England to join them in forcing Savinkov, a former Menshevik, on Russia as dictator. But Lloyd-George thought Russia already on its last legs; "the worst is over", he said. But Reilly was not so sure and enlisted the cooperation of Detering, the oil king, who had been buying up oil claims in Russia. Mussolini was induced to invite Savinkov to Italy; the French government and British oil

18-2-81

CHAPTER III

interests cooperated. Soon the new dictator entered the Soviet Union to head an uprising in the Caucasus; the revolt did not take place and Savinkov committed sucide in prison.

Reilly fled to the United States where he was widely welcomed. He lobbied successfully against a proposed government loan to Russia and met Henry Ford, whom a Russian reactionary had just furnished with the spurious "Protocals of the Wise Men of Zion." Then Reilly was summoned to a meeting with Trotsky in Finland and left hurriedly. He crossed into Soviet terrritory and was shot dead.

Trotsky set September 27, 1927, the 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution for a revolt. It failed; Trotsky was exiled to Alma Ata a city of 200,000 persons in Southern Kazak in a climate not extreme and where he was furnished a house for his family and personal freedom for writing and correspondance. He himself said that in seven months of 1928 he received 1000 pieces of political mail and 700 telegrams and sent 800 letters and 500 telegrams. He was visited by a government official and warned. He refused to heed and in January 1929, was ordered out of the Soviet Union, to the Turkish Island of Prinkipo in the Sea of Marmora, where once Woodrow Wilson planned a Peace Congress. He arrived in Turkey in state with an armed bodyguard and was greeted by the press of the world. He immediately began in Turkey, France, Norway and Mexico during the next eleven years, a world war against the Soviets which nearly deprived Russia of all liberal sympathy and convinced the reaction that communism was doomed. Meantime the Torgprom in Paris prepared to stop Stalin's proposed Five Year Plan of Russian industrialization. Poincare and Briand were sympathetic and an attack on Russia was planned for 1929 or 30.

49-2-23

A French staff was ready with soldiers from Poland, Rumania and Finland; Wrangel's White Russian Army of 100,000 and Krasnov's Cossacks were to be prepared; British munitions makers were conferred with and money was raised to sabotage Russian industries. But before these plans came to fruition, the whole world of colonial imperialism reeled in threatened ruin. In October 1929, came the stock market crash in New York; in May 1931, came the collapse of the Austrian Credit Anstalt in Vienna and in September, of that year, the Bank of England went off the Gold Standard. The Japanese army occupied Manchuria to "save China from Bolshevism" in 1931, and Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, wrote to M. Moret, Governor of the Bank of France: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the Capitalistic system through the civilized world will be wrecked within a year."

49-2-83

/

CHAPTER IV

I GIRD THE GLOBE

In the period 1928-1933, when industry crashed headlong in the United States and Western Europe, the Soviet Union began its Second Revolution under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. The first revolution of 1917 was the well known pattern of revolt against tyranny, feudalism, and exploiting capital which first called to power the liberal republican regime of Kerensky after the yielding and reaction of the Czar. Automatically revolt of workers and peasants followed, and then Lenin took hold. War Communism followed not by careful plan but in the absence of plan. ~~In 1921, Lenin explained.~~

11-9-7

Fortunately for the Bolsheviks, just when the people, as it now seems, were at their last gasp, the open foreign intervention came to an end. The year 1920 was the year in which War Communism reached its culmination. "That year," it has been said, "will live long in the memory of all Russians who lived through it as the coldest, hungriest and most dreadful year of the revolution." Then in the spring of 1921, came the worst famine in Russian history, and peasant revolt was followed by military mutiny. Immediately, Lenin took his one step backwards in order to make two steps forward.

Lenin ~~but~~ began his planning for a real socialist state in Russia, when he died. Then there ensued for three years, the widest argument and most democratic decisions as to the future plans and aims of the new state. "This took various forms. There were repeated debates in the principal legislative organs, such as the Central Executive Committee of the All Union Congress of Soviets and the Central Committee of the Communist Party. There were hot

arguments in many of the local Soviets, as well as in the local Party organs. There was a vast Oppositionist literature of books and pamphlets, not stopped by the censorship, and published, indeed, by the state publishing house, extending, as it stated by one who has gone through it, to literally thousands of printed pages."

Stalin realized even better than Lenin that the objects and ideals of the city worker and the rural peasant did not agree. He climbed no new heights of theory and dug no subtle cellars of logic. He himself was a son of a Russian slave of the soil and he saw that distribution of land among the peasants, even the State held title, would not socialize farming. On the contrary, there began forming a new agrarian capitalism with its claws on hoarded food, and without a steady and growing food supply, Russia was doomed and her industrialization and socialization would be impossible.

The Soviet Union attempted its realization by a series of Plans, beginning in 1928. It was a time of troubles; neither Britain nor the United States recognized the Soviets; France, Poland and China were unfriendly; Trotsky was at the height of his opposition and betrayal; both capital and skilled labor were lacking. Above all, a new concerted attack on Russia from the West was scheduled for 1930.

Not only were foreign affairs critical at this time but domestic affairs were in turmoil. Trotsky was at the top of his apostacy, ~~but~~ Nepmen were refusing to surrender and intellectuals inclining toward reaction and even sabotage. There was a dearth of the skilled labor needed, few engineers and managers. World and civil wars had reduced industrial and agricultural output far below prewar normal. It took courage to start a Five-Year Plan at this time, but Stalin had courage, determination and faith.

At first, the Bolsheviks placed hopes on voluntary farm collectives wither consisting of joint labor, or labor and joint capital, communes

with joint living, with housing and other enterprises. Some 80,000 such cooperatives with 10,000,000 members arose. To these were added state farms run with hired labor. But none of these efforts sufficed and many urged that progress could only be helped by encouraging the energetic kulaks and thus building a rural capitalism.

Stalin and the Party refused this compromise. The First Five Year Plan was considered and debated from 1925 to 1927 and adopted in 1928. It proposed to make Russia industrially independent of Europe by development of new mines and oil fields, building iron and steel works, constructing railways and in general expanding heavy industry. For this the Soviets asked larger expenditures for education, scientific research, health and housing.

41-9-9

In industrial production, it succeeded. The gross output increased from 15.7 billion rubles in 1928 to 34.3 billion rubles in 1932 (calculated at prices prevailing in 1926-1927), which represents 218.5 per cent of 1928. The volume of industrial production in 1932 exceeded the prewar level more than threefold, and exceeded the level of 1928 more than twofold. The First Five Year Plan as a whole was fulfilled in four and a quarter years to the extent of 93.7 per cent, so far as the gross output of industry is concerned.

While this plan was being carried through, there occurred a general strike of the peasantry against the government which meant either surrender of planning or what amounted to a Second Revolution in Russia. The background of this tragic impasse involved the whole history of the Russian peasant and is parelleled by the history of agriculture the world over.

While the peasant and city worker had been coupled from the beginning of the Revolution as the foundation of the new state, the plight of the peasant made his participation difficult. The mujik was picturesque, but he

was the worst farmer in Europe. He was ignorant, the victim of age long slavery, misled by a religion which taught superstition instead of morals, and ordinarily he did not produce enough to support himself. In the half century from 1800 to 1854, there were thirty-five years of crop failure; from 1891 to 1911, there were three famines and thirteen poor harvests. From 1918 to 1927, there were two famines and five poor harvests. The reasons were clear: the peasant landholdings were small and getting smaller. They were divided into small strips often miles apart; one-third had no iron ploughs and one-fourth no horses. Fertilizers were scarce, there was no rotation of crops. In short, Russian agriculture was in the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the number of peasants increased from 15,000,000 in 1916 to 25,000,000 in 1926, who produced less food than the former number.

41-9-10

Not only that, but their land hunger increased. They had begun burning estates even before the Revolution, and driving off and murdering owners; after the Revolution, as men swarmed back from the front, they not only wanted more land, but changed from their traditional servility to sullen rebels. They supported the Revolution to get land and fought the Whites to prevent land from being taken away. They yielded more to their age-old vices of laziness, drunkenness, and greed.

It was soon clear to the leaders of revolution that the cooperation of the peasants could not be relied upon; to be sure they were sorely oppressed and wretched, but their one remedy was land. Once the state distributed the land they regarded it as their personal property to be used as they pleased. They resented taxation or advice or direction as to the sale of their crops or the prices asked. Moreover, the peasants were in three classes whose interests did not coincide: the poor, the rich kulaks, and the middle class farmers. Of these, the kulaks were dangerous and hated by all peasants. Stepniak said in 1895, "The distinctive characteristic of his class is the hard, unflinchingly cruelty of a thoroughly uneducated man who

has made his way fro poverty to wealth, and has come to consider money-making, by whatever means, as the only pursuit to which a rational being should devote himself."

Dillon declared in 1918, "Of all the human monsters I have ever met in my travels, I cannot recall any so malignant and odious as the Russian kulak."

Thus the future of planning was in grave danger. The peasants tried fraud by exaggerating the demand for seed and fodder and underestimating crops. When compelled to sell their crops at established prices, they reduced the crops and slaughtered their cattle so that 270,000,000 head in 1929 were reduced to 118,000,000 in 1933. Secret agents of the Ukraine independent movement living in Prague and Paris encouraged this opposition to collectivization. Partial crop failures in 1931 and 1932 aggravated this situation. The grain storing plan of 1932 failed; whole areas were left unsown and often half of the crop unharvested; a good crop in 1933 helped but there was hunger in many parts of the land.

The kulaks had the mentality of capitalists, enforced by ignorance and custom. The opportunity to cheat and coerce the poor peasant was broad and continuous. Stalin knew the kulak; his fathers had been their slaves for generations. He did not hesitate. He broke their power by savage attack. This revolution was more radical than in 1917, and Stalin knew it. "He walked the Giant's Causeway almost without halt or rest. Behind him were tramping the myriads of weary, and bleeding Russian feet."

In January, 1933, Stalin announced his plan of counter-resistance. The Party had expected the poor peasants to assent to collectivization without trouble, as they had all to gain. Some of the middle class peasants would consent. But others and the kulaks, who also carried on trade and money lending, had to be dealt with summarily. Something like a million families out of 25 million peasant families were removed. The ones thus treated were usually chosen by their fellow farmers

among the poor peasants and farm hands. There was much opportunity for envy and jealousy to work and government agents were later reprimanded for harsh action. But either this revolt against farm sabotage must be broken up, or Soviet planning would fail. Those who refused to cooperate were removed to distant places and put to work at road building, cutting timber or mining. It was hard, poorly paid work, and caused much suffering. But the result was that the number of collective farms arose from 20,000 in 1927 to 211,000 in 1933.

In such a village life differs widely from that of the old fashioned mujik. He is not confined to a small world in which cultivating his various strips of land with the aid of single horse was the practice. He has become a partner on a large estate and must adapt himself to large-scale methods of agriculture and the uses of all types of mahcines, many of which he had never heard of before. He goes through social and political, as well as economic changes, and he is involved in new experiences with his neighbors especially. The organization of work is naturally the most important.

There were a million ~~of such~~ kulak families in Russia in 1928, but of 25,000,000 peasant famili s, and the State proceeded to break their power. The proceedings involved force and cruelty. The kulaks reduced agricultural output, stirred up revolt and slaughtered animals, so as to bring a crisis in 1928 to 1932. But the state persisted. Large numbers were banished to Siberia and the struggle was won by 1934.

"Strong must have been the faith and resolute the will of the men who, in the interests of what seemed to them the public good,could take so momentous a decision." We may ask whether or not the Russian Revolution might not have been carried through with less blood and cruelty, with less appeal to brute force. We may believe that with all the gain from the efforts of Lenin and Stalin, most of it might not have been accomplished at lower cost to the decent instincts of mankind. But Russia answers and has right to answer, that

this revolution cost less in life and decency than the French Revolution, than the Protestant Reformation, and than the English Civil War; that the chief guilt for the high cost of communism was not the fault of Russia but of Europe and America which silently condoned the slavery of Russians for centuries and then at fabulous cost tried for ten years to reinslave them to the degenerate Czars and filthy priesthood. If the cost of revolution was excessive and revolting, the fault is certainly not to rest on Russia alone. For a people who have murdered, raped and crippled so many billions over the whole world for so many centuries suddenly to get sympathetic with thieves, liars, and criminals, does much more credit to their hearts than their heads.

41-9-13

We must remember that this problem of the farmer in modern life has been neglected to our cost. Here are folk who in every land have been physically by-passed by science, education and technique; they have in all lands been natural victims of exploitation and propaganda and in the automatic world market have been deprived of a decent income. In defense of their leaders, climbing ruthlessly to the top, enslaved workers and made common cause with urban industry. This has stopped democracy in France, Germany, Britain, and the United States.

In the Soviet Union, following the liquidation of the kulaks, began a Five Year Plan which proceeded with its industrialization and included collective farms and the development of heavy industry in coal, oil, electricity, blast furnaces, automobiles and machines. Coincident with this came a gigantic effort to send the millions of Russian illiterates to school. On a scale never before seen in this world, Russia in a generation turned millions of illiterates into a nation with ninety per cent literacy. It was a gesture which proved to the world that whatever mistakes Russia might make in the future, they would not be due to ignorance. The success of this effort hurried the Torgprom, into planned attack on Russia in 1929 or 1930. But the financial crisis spreading over the world, stopped these preparations while

the Russians proceeded into a second Five Years Plan from 1933 to 1938 devoted to the making of consumers goods and calculated to meet the sacrifice and unrest of carrying out the development of heavy industry.

Thus between 1917 and 1935, Russia carried through the three revolutions which took the attention of Western Europe from 1500 to 1900; the Reformation of religion; the control of industry and agriculture; and the authority of the mass of the people in government of the State. No one can compute the sum of human suffering caused by this triple revolution over so vast an area, in so brief a time, amid the most embittered civil war, supported by half a dozen foreign armies actually invading soviet territory. Yet the total cost was less than Western Europe paid. Whether the result was better or not, Time must tell.

It is not until after the event -- often long after -- that wise men can evaluate the contemporary scene. I realized this in the Desperate Decade from 1926 to 1936. We were passing through one of the periods of Boom and Bust which Marxian philosophy claimed was the inescapable destiny of the Capitalist system. I had lived through some seven depressions; that of 1873 I remembered, because of the huge silver dollar which my uncle gave me as a child and which was my first sight of real money. During the depression of 1893 I was abroad, and that of 1907 found me teaching and served to keep my salary at $1,200 a year or less. I now realize how differently business expansion and depression affect social classes; the rich and well-to-do, already comfortable, get unneeded income, resulting in luxuries and power; but the lowest class of laborers living below decent standards begin to get necessities when suddenly at the first sign of depression they are plunged into utter poverty.

Especially at this time, 1926 to 1936, I was eager to know much better than I did, just what "drastic measures" were being taken in high places to save the system of culture into which I had been born. Especially, I wanted to

learn, not only what was being done, but how these plans would affect the Negro peoples, not simply in the United States but in Africa; and I wanted to know what part Russia and Communism would play in the coming change. Like all Americans of that day, I was tremendously influenced by Leon Trotsky and the propaganda he was loosing on the world. I did not realize clearly just what w as happening in the Soviet Union and the press was not helping me or the public. The most extraordinary tales of the Soviets were current. The series of trials of saboteurs and traitors, from 1930 to 1937, were pictured in the press as false persecutions with savage punishments. The Soviets had sought to open the doors of the nation by an Intourist plan with new hotels and guided travel. But incensed by the lurid reports of our press, the Soviet Union began to lower the "Iron Curtain" and go its own way in grim silence. But that left the world with almost unanswered propaganda,and many like myself were sorely puzzled. Several leading American liberals,formerly sympathetic with the Soviets,withdrew into silence or active opposition. I was puzzled but not convinced. I knew only too well what the American and the European press could do with facts, when they related to black folk or to brown and yellow; or to any unpopular or threatening minority.

41-9-15

But with most folk, I had been caught with Trostky's brilliant qualities and thought of him as embodying the revolution next to Lenin himself. I looked on Trotsky as typifying the Revolution. But his full career was partially hidden. Of it, I learned only long afterwards.

No complete study of the extraordinary personality of Leon Trotsky has yet been undertaken. He was convinced of his mission to lead the world to c ommunism. To his egocentric mind, he was not betraying Russia but leading it to head world revolution; he was not selling himself to the Germans but deceiving the dull Teutons into delivering themselves into his power; he was not surrendering to capitalism but inducing capitalism to establish communism. It all worked back to his fanatical belief in his own wisdom and cunning

and it all made him one of the great traitors of history.

He began with "My Life," a fictionalized account of his career as the real leader of the Russian Revolution. This was followed by four other books and a stream of articles, which found world circulation, as grist in the mill of reaction and threw confusion into the ranks of the friends of Russia. The campaign raged through the Great Depression, confusing the thinking of liberals and running consecutively with Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. Trotsky's son, settled in Germany, got into connection with the Germanetechnicians and engineers working in Russia and with the German spy service. Sabotage on the new Russian industry was organized. Secret terrorist calls, composed of all the varieties of enemies of the revolution, spread.

In 1933, when Hitler came to power in Germany, Trotsky moved to France, with the blessing of Daladier, and got in touch with the Nazis through Hess and Rosenberg, and with soldiers like Tukhachevsky of Russia. Back of Trotsky began to gather an extraordinary aggregation of czarists, reactionaries, Fascists, liberals and dissident radicals.

Dangerous evidences of this world plot began to appear, strengthened by the success of the Russian Five Year Plan and the increasing prosperity of the Soviets in the midst of the industrial crisis elsewhere. The next year Japan was drawn in, and things began to happen. In the coal mines of Siberia accidents became common and an engineer who reported this was found dead. Molotov, then chairman of Commissars, was nearly killed. Trotsky gave orders for the assassination of Stalin, Voroshilov, the Commissar for War and Kirov; most of the ~~several~~ attempts miscarried, but Kirov, one of Stalin's closest co-workers was murdered in December, 1934. Several arrests were made but the real conspiracy was not then unearthed.

A series of fiendishly clever murders by physicians' collaboration culminated in the death of Gorki in June, 1936. In October, 1935, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia; sabotage efforts, directed by Germans and Japanese, in

cooperation with Trotskyites, spread in many parts of Russia, in mines, railroads, power plants and construction jobs. In June, 1935, Leon Blum's Popular Front government forced Trotsky to flee to Norway where he settled near Oslo, and near Major Vidun Quisling, who also was attacking Russia.

Trotsky became impatient. He ordered Radek to cooperate with the Japanese and Germans, proposed territorial concessions to Germany and the entrance of capital from Germany and Japan for exploitation. In return, he reported "an absolutely definite" agreement with Hitler to establish the Trotskyites in power in Russia. He said war would come in 1937.

The Soviet Government was aware of the conspiracy but it had long and carefully gathered its case. In 1930, eight members of the industrial party were arrested for conspiracy and sent to prison. Next year, fourteen former Menscheviks were accused of sabotage and of receiving 500,000 rubles from the Torgprom and other sources. They were all found guilty and imprisoned. Then in 1933, six British and ten Russian engineers were arrested and charged with sabotage for the British Intelligence Service. The Russians, with one exception, were all found guilty and sentenced to prison terms. One British subject was acquitted and the other five found guilty.

41-9-17

In the summer of 1936, the Soviets began to strike hard. In August by retrying Zinoviev and Kamenev with new evidence, they started the first of the celebrated Moscow trials and sentenced 16 to be shot. They then arrested Radek and three others and removed Yagoda. In January, 1937, they sentenced Radek and three others to be imprisoned and thirteen to be shot. Later they tried Tukhachevsky and sentenced him and seven generals to be shot. Finally, in the last of the Moscow trials, they shot Yagoda and eighteen others and imprisoned three.

The trials were fair and the testimony overwhelming. The American Ambassador wrote to the Secretary of State: "I talked to many, if not all, of the members of the Diplomatic Corps here and, with possibly one exception, they are all of the opinion that the proceedings established clearly the

12

existence of a political plot and conspiracy to overthrow the government. But America and the Western world were given the idea that all this was simply Communistic brutality."

This judgment was bolstered by the final efforts of Trotsky. Forced to leave Norway in 1936, he fled to Mexico, and from there spread world-wide propaganda. He enlisted wide American sympathy and cooperation, and was welcomed to the best magazines and periodicals. A Committee of Defense, with prominent names was formed but the hearings produced nothing beyond Trotsky's own testimony. He tried to enter the United States and testify before the Dies Un-American Activities Committee, but did not succeed. He was killed by a colleague in 1939 in a dispute over a woman. The Soviet Union was accused of responsibility for this crime.

81-6-14

This story I knew, only in part in the early thirties. All the liberal magazines told the facts as Trotsky gave them. Even radicals, like Max Eastman, spread tales which history fails to substantiate. I found myself at the time wavering in mists of knowledge, and I was upset by Trotsky's exile; by the treason trials and by the repeated assurance that the whole Soviet system was on the verge of collapse. But my former visit to the Soviets did not let me believe all I heard. I was the more eager to see the Soviet Union again, and, also, to see the world -- this side and beyond it.

While I was writing my interpretation of the Reconstruction period in American history, I was seeking also a chance to spend some time in Europe to see first-hand what was happening. I had no funds of my own to spend for such an investigation. No institution seemed prepared to finance me, especially as I could not guarantee to what conclusions I might come. I did, however, center on Germany as the key area for study, because I knew its language, people, and culture best; and because I was convinced that Germany was a critical point where the fate of modern culture would be settled.

From Germany my observations could extend to Russia and I had a dream that by some legerdemain I might even view Asia.

I started by getting in touch with the Karl Schurz Foundation which was furthering German-American Friendship. I asked in 1931 for the opportunity to go to Germany and make contact with those organizations which in the past and at present were interested in German colonies, particularly in Africa, and which represented the liberal and progressive spirit. The Board declined, saying in 1932: "We realize that you are in a position to make such a study as you propose making...However, our most effective contribution to the welfare of the American people seems to lie in other directions." But they had under their administration the Oberlaender Trust which offered fellowships for study in Germany and the Secretary wrote me in 1934 suggesting that I might make a study of Black Troops in Germany. I eagerly assented, but nothing more was said, until I called on the Secretary in Philadelphia. On his advice in 1935, I asked to "investigate Germany and Austria and the relation of education to industry."

41-9-19

As a result of this request, I was granted $1,600 for six months study in Germany during the year 1936. By teaching in summer school in Atlanta, I arranged a semester's leave of absence with pay in the Fall, and I planned to stay four or five month's in Germany and spend the balance of the leave in Russia and, if possible, to return by Japan and China.

I knew as I left America in June, 1936, something of what had happened to the world. European culture in the nineteenth century had rested on four institutions:

1. Peace between the Great Powers
2. A world market regulated by the international demands of trade
3. A gold standard for prices regulated by international High Finance
4. Wide freedom of initiative in industry for the white world

Peace among the great powers did not spell peace in the world. Between 1815 and 1915 there were over a hundred wars for acquiring colonies, expanding

spheres of influence, crushing revolt in colonies and intercolonial strife; but the relations between the Great Powers was at least stable enough not to interfere seriously with the world market, the gold standard, and industrial free enterprise for those who controlled world industry. Through this arrangement, the white people of Europe and North America gained control over the darker peoples of the earth. This economic imperialism was not democratically controlled nor did it involve i ndividual freedom. On the contrary, the industrial organization was increasingly an oligarchy, the darker peoples were serfs without land control, and even in white nations democracy was limited to certain political areas and was excluded from the vital areas of industry. Freedom of individual action was decreased by the rise of Big Business, monopoly and industrial combination, and international colonial imperialism.

41-9-20

The break in this system in the twentieth century did not come from revolt of the darker races, so much as from jealousy among the leading white nations over the division of profits, especially from the world market and the control of colonies. Germany, Italy, and Japan were insisting on a larger share of colonial empire and equal voice with Britain, France, and the United States in the world market and high finance.

The result was the First World War, with Germany and Italy fighting for colonies against the great colonial powers and the United States and these allies securing the cooperation of Japan, whose price was recognition as copartner and equal of the dominant white European powers. This war disrupted the industrial organization on which the nineteenth century rested. The world market and the gold standard ceased to function and Russia came forward to challenge industry by planned economy and the raising of workers' share of income.

After the war, desperate effort was made from 1918 to 1929 to restore

the world market and the gold standard; and to resist Communism in Russia. It was the irony of fate that just as Western Europe was practically united to overthrow Russia by force of arms, the system of culture which had lifted these nations to world dominance during the nineteenth century, built originally on Negro slavery in America, the cotton kingdom, and the Industrial Revolution, and then on the factory system, world commerce, and colonial imperialism, crashed in unprecedented ruin.

None in Europe, however, doubted but what the collapse was temporary, caused by war and destruction and capable of restoration within a reasonable time. From 1929 to 1939, every effort was made to accomplish such restoration. But in Italy and Germany the methods adduced were disconcerting to Britain, the United States, and France; since they were frankly socialistic in method and propaganda.

Socialism is state control of industry through a planned economy. Usually social theorists have assumed that the chief if not sole beneficiary of socialism, would be the mass of the working class of the socialized nation. But German state socialism under Bismark and his successors had shown that a state economy might be partially socialized for the benefit of landlords and a hereditary nobility and only in part for the benefit of labor. And now came Mussolini and Hitler with a socialized state, in which again, labor was only a partial beneficiary, while the bulk of the benefits went to a ruling oligarchy with a dictator. This was a step toward a socialism under complete control of labor, with the workers as the only beneficiaries. Neither Britain nor France; nor indeed Italy or Germany believed such a state could succeed; but if two dictators, who were themselves little more than ordinary artisans, could seize and successfully conduct a planned state for the benefit of any group, the next step would certainly be the overthrow of the dictators and the attempted rule of the mob. Temporarily it

was reassuring that in both Italy and Germany, the power behind the dictators were the owners and managers of industry. This organized industry recognized and applauded the dictatorship; capital was protected; profits were maintained and factories and railroads efficiently run. But what of the future? Who would succeed Hitler and Mussolini and their gangs? Would industry always be able to control such men, especially when these rulers were paying such prices for labor support in full employment, good if not yet high wages and endless and increasing outlay for housing, roads, public entertainment social security and the like? Where was all this to end and how was "democratic" control of the state, i.e. control by industry under current forms of indirect rule by wealth--how could this be restored before this dictatorship got into the wrong hands?

41-9-22

Those who believed a limited and controlled democracy consistent with free capitalist industry were aghast at the dictatorship of the Fascists, but attracted by their growing concentration on the conquest of Russia. While the Fascists were torn by greed for the resources of Russia and hatred of the colonial monopoly of France and England.

In the midst of this persisted the doctrines of Communism. The Soviet Union was saying that industry under free individual initiative was slavery and anarchy; that it reduced the worker to slavery; took over his contribution

to wealth as private profit and led directly to industrial crises and war. To remedy this a planned economy was needed based on scientific study and measurement of human action and aimed at distributing the results of work among men justly and not by chance or force.

There is, of course, strange contradiction between the concept of human life as ruled by natural law and subject to the same law of evolution and development as the material world; and the concept of human life as ruled not only by law but by that interruption of law which allows life to be guided in certain directions and thus places responsibility for the outcome of life upon those who can exercise this power of choice. But singularly enough, those like Karl Marx, who insist on the rule of natural law in human action also stress the duty of man to change conditions of life; and who stress the freedom of human action, rely on natural law always to bring good and order out of the unregulated actions of men.

41-9-23

The understanding of this paradox lies in the fact that there is as yet no reality back of the ideas of Cause and Freedom to which we can appeal: to assert the universality of Cause does not explain its mystery; and to stress freedom of action, does not explain its inner contradiction. We are thinking beyond experience and our only appeal is not to logic but to experiment: if increasingly exact and long continued observation and measurement of human action, reveals an inexplicable and irreducible element of the Unpredictable, or as exact science would put it ~~must say~~, Change; then scientific hypothesis must say, here lies evidence of that miraculous freedom of action which is the Uncaused Cause of a certain human deed and of development of human life and, perhaps, of other manifestations of Life.

The science upon which Karl Marx relied for knowledge of human action, was exact planning and measurement, guided by the hypothesis of the possibility of deliberate change but always checked by the meticulously observed fact; leaving to a more instructed age and much fuller knowledge the possible explana-

tion of what is today the inexplicable paradox. Here lies the task of Sociology, which the Western World shirks and which only the Soviet Union and its followers have assumed on a scale adequate to real scientific advance in the paradox of human deed.

In the midst of this embittered calm which was prelude to another and even more horrible world war, I returned to Germany in 1936, after a lapse of forty tragic years since I first saw the Rhine and walked the Unter den Linden. I had strong affection for Germany, because in the days of my Sturm and Drang, this was the land where I first met white folk who treated me as a human being. At the time it bolstered my faith in the world and gave me strength to face and fight its wrongdoing.

41-9-34

The plan for restoration of European economy after the war was based largely on the restoration and development of colonial imperialism. But this could not apply to Germany. Even if Germany recovered her lost colonies -- and this she proposed to do -- she would still not have space and resources to support her economy and enable her to rival Britain, and France. Only larger colonies torn from England and France could do this and such a plan was costly even if any way possible. But there was another possibility and that was occupation and exploitation of the Russian Heartland. This was doubly attractive, because by such a venture the demands of German capital and labor could both be met and the menace of Communism destroyed forever. The lure of the program was all the greater because of the economic history of Germany since the First World War. Wealth and power in western Europe had been shaken but not overthrown. In Germany it had been shattered.

There were three points of view in Europe: the British, which was to restore the industrial system of the nineteenth century by keeping her colonial empire, and increasing the profits made there on cheap labor and raw materials but yielding larger share of this profit to home labor, so as to temper their rising demands. The sale of British manufactures to the rest of the world would

return to normal if Britain could continue to undersell competitors.

In the case of Italy, Britain had egged the Italians on when the Black Mahdi drove the Egnlish out of the Sudan and Italy attempted to annex Ethiopia. She was soundly thrashed at Adua, but was offered by England in 1906 a free hand in 1906, to try again, as price of her entrance on the side of the Allies in the First World War. The Congress of Versailles refused to honor this promise and when Mussolini saw his opportunity, he invaded Ethiopia as the one way to restore Italian economy by making her a colonial power. I was in London when Anthony Eden stood before the House of Commons and announced England's decision not to oppose Italy. This defied the League of Natinns, but it increased the imperial power of colonialism and might help save the economy of the British Empire.

11-9-35

Belgium is a third case illustrating the plight of Europe in 1936. I stopped in Belgium to see Tervourien again. I had seen it in 1921, at the Second Pan-African Congress. It was perhaps the greatest single collection of Africana in the world. Berlin and London have valuable collections, and even the one in Dresden, which I saw is better than anything we have in America. But this whole museum, with its beautiful building and magnificent park, sets its own false note when it begins, in its first room with an exhibit of the exploitable riches of Africa. The Congo, fourteen times the size of Belgium, has from the first been and still is regarded primarily as a profitable investment for Belgian and European capital. The worst outrages of capitalism have been curbed at the demand of humanity the world over. Missions are at work and restraining laws have been enacted. But the chief end of the Belgian Congo is today as it was under Leopold I: to increase the private fortunes of Belgian capitalists. And if Belgian labor is today in a sorry plight, it is because in the day when Socialists ruled Belgium, they could not see that the cause of the black slave in the Congo was one with that of his white fellow in Belgium. I talked of this to Emil Vandervelde before the World War I and after,

in America and Europe. His reply was to cite the new laws to curb capital in Africa. But what are such laws when they are dictated by investors in the interest of their own incomes?

And consider the human beings whose well-being Belgium is thus neglecting: magnificent physical specimens, as the great museum at Tervourien attests. Men of taste and skill. Men with a history, capable of all human advancement. Yet in 1936 few black men of the Congo were attending any Belgian University; not a single Congolese had a legal right to an acre of his own soil which the State had seized; not a single one had any political power to dispose of the immense annual wealth created by his labor.

41-9-33

Out of the Congo was coming increasing tons of copper and tin, together with oils, ivory, cotton and all fibres. The wealth of Belgium is primarily the wealth of black Congo, and that wealth is being used to curb the labor movement in Belgium and everywhere else it can.

Before 1914, Germany was planning a gigantic industrial machine. With a carefully planned economy, led by the best engineers of a new technical age, she was planning to become the greatest manufacturing nation of the world. In 1913, she was making nearly a third of all the world's machines and her methods and organization were the wonder of the world. The clouds in her sky were the industrial rivalry and monopolies of England, France, and America, and the growing demand of the working classes for a larger share of the product of labor, which in the teaching of some amounted actually to the abolition of all private profit and the ownership of capital by the state.

The German State before World War I had apparently yielded to this by becoming partner in gr at industries like steel, chemicals, shipbuilding, transportation, and communications; and Germany spent more for research in industry than any other country. Over this state, however, ruled the landed aristocracy, through the managers and engineers who formed perhaps the most powerful trade union in the world. Such industrial combinations, backed by

~~Moon 1936 Cult~~
1936 Truth - MS

MS. Rec'd Aug

the state, were necessary, if Germany was to enter modern industry in competition with England and France. She, therefore, entered international commercial combinations, cartels, export unions and finance consortiums. The First World War was fought to extend these industrial forays into the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world, dominated by Britain and France. Defeat was revolution.

42-2A-63

When a group or a nation acts incomprehensively, the answer lies in a background of fact, unknown or imperfectly comprehended by the onlooker. So it is in this case. Germany reeled under five blows, 1914 to 1933, which no people can experience and remain entirely normal. These were: War, the Treaty of Versailles; Inflation, Depression, and Revolution. There is a war monument in Hamburg which is ~~the~~ a most eloquent and ghastly memorial ~~I have ever seen.~~ It is a square straight shaft of gray granite, and it says simply: "40,000 sons of this city gave their lives for you in 1914-1918." Forty thousand dead youths from a single German city!

Then came a treaty of peace which was no less than devilish in its concealed ingenuity. One might agree in blaming the expanding industry of Germany for the war, although this is by no means ~~as~~ so clear today as it once seemed; but who of the laymen knew or dreamed that what the Peace Treaty did was so to hamstring German industry as to make the earning of a living in Germany so difficult that bankruptcy followed on a scale that was revolutionary? The treaty deprived Germany not simply of one-eighth of her territory, population and arable land, but what was far more important, of a fifth of her coke; three-fourths of her iron, one-fourth of her blast furnaces, two-thirds of her zinc foundries, one-fifth of her livestock, all of her merchant marine, and most of her railway equipment. And then saddled her with a debt based on unheard of principles, which no land could or did pay. In other words, in order to establish peace, the industrial masters of England, France, and the United States made the orderly return of Germany to work and self-support

impossible without internal revolution.

This revolution meant a redistribution of wealth and income in Germany comparable only to the French and Russian revolutions. The people in Germany who paid were the thrifty, the workers, the civil employees, the very classes who had opposed war in the first place. And the persons who bore the brunt of criticism in Germany for the treaty were the labor unions, the teachers, the middle-class who hated war and wanted to build a new state, above the power of capital and the army. Adolf Hitler rode into power eventually by calling the government of Germany, which negotiated the Treaty of Versailles, traitors who stabbed Germany in the back when she was down.

Germany not only had the flower of her youth murdered in a senseless war, but she had her bread and butter taken away in an equally senseless peace. The accumulated savings of the nation disappeared; pensions, in a land of pensioned civil servants, were stopped; loans were paid in worthless money; property values dropped to nothing; industry was in bankruptcy and labor out of work. She struggled up and partially out of the morass, but when depression settled upon the world, Germany was worse off than others, because she was hopelessly in debt, and by the unanimous decision of the world not allowed to pay her in the only possible way -- by the export of her manufactures.

Moreover, back of all this, the role of Big Business must be remembered. Organized Industry remained powerful in Germany because of planning or as it was called "rationalization." This planning was for the owners of industry and not for the worker; it first rationed production in the heavy industries; then it reorganized plants and businesse, specialized the plants, closed down badly located and poorly equipped plants and scrapped old buildings and old equipment. This industry could do because inflation wiped out their debts and allowed a small number of wealthy organizations to accumulate huge properties. Next industry began positive plans for scientific technique and equipment in every avenue of production, distribution, and consumption.

All this seemed in line with the plans of the Socialists who as modified Marxists were ruling the state under the Weimar Constitution. They helped industrial trusts, cartels and combinations under government control, and a national economic council. But they could agree on no plans for control of private industry, which had raised a few industrial leaders to great power. The workers demanded higher wages and increased taxation for social service. By 1928 the taxes took 27 per cent of the national income and reparation payments absorbed much of this. Tariff walls and colonial ownership by others kept Germany from selling her goods abroad. The depression turned Germany into a socialistic state, with the problem for what class this state was to be run.

Had the German workers had a different training and leadership, Germany would have become Communist. But her labor leaders quarreled and some of the best of them were deliberately murdered. Thereupon industry made desperate effort to save German capital investment. They yielded to socialism -- they had to, for the German state was already a large owner of capital. But they sought to build a national German socialism, to avoid international working class movements, and to save capital and private profit by yielding enough to the German worker to keep him quiet and satisfied.

Here came Adolf Hitler, a psychopath and a dreamer, with delusions of grandeur, frustrated by poverty and war; ruthless in his idealism, bold, cunning with a voice of brass and a knowledge of the human soul; this was the instrument which the captains of German industry picked out at the time of his defeat and despair to become master, not only of Germany but of Europe, and at one time near-master of the modern world.

Hitler was an artisan. He came from a part of Austria where the anti-Jewish feeling was strong, and his own economic rivalry with Jews as a worker had strengthened this. Here was an asset which would appeal to artisans, small shopkeepers, and racial fanatics. He was a popular orator just at the time that the radio and loudspeaker made speaking a possible state monopoly. In

1931, the financial collapes engulfed central Europe, and,in 1932, there were 7,000,000 unemployed in Germany.

Then came hope, although desperate hope, in the rising National Socialists, led by Hitler. The country was near anarchy. The next years although still a minority, the Nazis attacked Jews, burned the Reichstag building and took power. Germany was revolutionized from a federation of largely independent units to a centralized dictatorship of a singularly constituted group of adventurers. They did away with political parties; they changed legal procedure and courts; they attacked the churches; they opened labor camps and eliminated unemployment; they built an army by restoring universal military service and allayed unrest by an ambitious youth movement.

In June, 1934, Hitler killed seventy-three of his followers so as to eliminate radicals who were set to attack property and capital,and his followers killed Dollfus in Austria, who represented reaction toward the right. Now Hitler was prepared to rebuild the army and navy, he made naval agreement with England and seized the industries of the Saar. I arrived in Berlin just before the last act of this drama occurred: the Berlin-Rome axis and the recognition of Franco's Spain.

Revolution was staring Germany in the face, and a Marxian revolution which would make a dictatorship of the proletariat in a socialistic state. Industry was frightened, the Junkers (landed nobility) were frightened, the manager, engineers and small shopkeepers were frightened; they all submitted to a man who had been at first a joke, then a pest, and now who suddenly loomed as a dictator. Union labor, with its 8,000,000 members, holding the wide balance of power in the state, proceeded to squabble as to whether to usher in the millenium immediately or gradually, and through this squabble Adolf Hitler and Big Industry drove a carriage and four.

Hitler set up a tyranny; a state with a mighty police force, a growing army, a host of psies and informers, secret espionage, backed by swift and

cruel punishment, which might vary from loss of job to imprisonment, incommunicado and without trial, to cold murder.

But this was not all that Hitler did. Had it been, he and his state would soon have disappeared. He showed Germany a way out where most Germans saw nothing and he made the vast majority of Germans believe that his way was the only way and that it was actually leading to the promised land. Nine out of every ten Germans believed this in 1936, and as long as they were convinced, they were going to uphold Hitler.

The philosophy of Hitlerism is not logical nor complete. Based on the old German idea of the state, it declares that the state and not the working class is the real unit to be developed. All opposition to the state must disappear. The interests of capitalist and worker are one. They must, by superior authority be forced into unity, and then the resultant state must be conducted in the interest of all. Moreover, this new state which Germany was building was something holy and superior. It is composed of pure Nordics, with no contamination of Jews nor of inferior races. Its in-born superiority was proven by history and experience. Germany was not beaten in the World War. She fought fourteen nations to a standstill, and only succumbed when her own people betrayed her. This must never happen again. The new Germany must be one. This unity means national health, a living wage, public works, a planned economy with workers trained to fit into the plan, and capital subservient to the great end of building a united and happy people. The success of this plan depended on a strong government, obeyed without discussion or argument or hesitation, with the power in the hands of a supreme Leader, who ~~today is~~ was Adolf Hitler.

To secure such a government, and keep it in power, it is only necessary for the mass of the people firmly to believe that the thing works; that the Nazi state is doing what it promised and nearing its goal. Part of the work of a community or government is too subtle to be easily seen or measured. It is

here that Propaganda comes in. The greatest single invention of World War I was propaganda: the systematic distortion of the truth, for the purpose of making large numbers of people believe anything authority wishes them to believe, grew into an art, if not a science.

Nowhere was it used to such tremendous advantage as in Germany. Newspapers, public speakers, the radio, expositions, celebrations, books and periodicals, every possible vehicle of information and training, including schools, were used on German people to teach them that they are the most remarkable people on earth; that the national socialist government is the best government for Germany, if not for the world; that other countries, especially Russia, are in the depths of misery, and that Jews are responsible for all criticism heaped on Germany and for most of the other ills of modern countries.

Adolf Hitler hardly ever made a speech -- and his speeches reached every corner of Germany by radio, newspaper, placard, films, and public announcement -- without belittling, blaming or cursing Jews. From my window as I write I see a great red poster, seven feet high, asking the German people to contribute to winter relief of the poor, so that Germany will not sink to the level of the "Jewish-Bolshevist countries of the rest of the world."

At Nuremberg he accused the "foreign Jewish element" as causing the rotting of the Aryan world. His propaganda minister was more insulting, and said that the whole oppression of Germany by the world was caused by Jewish emigrants. Every misfortune of the world is in whole or in part blamed on Jews: the Spanish rebellion, the obstruction to world trade, and so on. One finds cases in the papers of Jews jailed for sex relations with German women, a marriage disallowed because a Jewish Justice of the Peace witnessed it, Masons excluded from office in the National Socialistic Party, because Jews are Masons; advertisements excluding Jews, the total disfranchisement of all Jews; deprivation of civil rights and the inability to remain or become German citizens,

42-29-67

limited rights of education, and narrowly limited right to work in trades, professions and the civil service, the threat of boycott, loss of work and even mob violence for any German who trades with a Jews; and, above all, the continued circulation of Julius Streicher's Steuermer, the most shameless, lying advocate of race hate in the world.

Germany in overwhelming majority stood back of Adolf Hitler in 1936. Germany had food and housing, and was on the whole contented and prosperous. Unemployment in four years had been reduced from seven to two millions or less. The whole nation was dotted with new homes for the common people, new roads, new public buildings and new public works of all kinds. Food was good, pure, and cheap. Public order was perfect, and there was almost no visible crime. And yet, in direct and contradictory paradox to all of this, Germany was silent, nervous, suppressed, it spoke in whispers, there was no public opinion, no opposition, no discussion of anything; there were waves of enthusiasm, but never any protest of the slightest degree.

41-9-32

I came to Germany to learn, among other things, something of industrial education as carried on in a country where the industrial and technical development has been greater in the last fifty years than in any other land on earth. What Germany has is not Industrial Education, but Education for Industry. Or, in other words, Germany in general was not seeking to use industry and industrial processes as a means of education, but,on the contrary, was using education as a means of carrying on and perfecting industry.

The electrical industry of Germany, and of a considerable part of Europe was divided in 1936 between two great German corporations, of which Siemens is one,and the oldest and largest. It represented a capital of a billion,000,000 and employed over 60,000 of the most highly skilled workers of Europe.

Werner Siemens was the German Ford, and his great concern made telephone and telegraph apparatus, railway and police signals, electric motors, locomotives, refrigerators, radios, electric light bulbs, and what not. It had

sixty-three branch offices in Germany and branches in practically every European country, including England, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, all of Scandinavia, Austria and the Balkans, and it had close working agreements and exchanges of patents with the electric industry in the United States.

In other words, I walked this morning into one of the most powerful centers, not only of world industry, but of social and political power. Few states in the United States exercise the power of Siemens-Stadt, and the United States government itself feels its power. I came here to ask how are the citizens and workers of this Industrial state trained, and by whom, and what role does the State play in this education?

41-9-28

Among the buildings of the industrial plant of Siemens City, standing cheek-by-jowl with its factories was a large seven-story building. It is built in the same style as the other factory houses, and indeed does some of the actual productive work of the factory. But the chief aim of this building is to produce a human product of the most careful and precise nature which can be used in the productive processes of this mighty industry. Here, then, at the very forefront stands out the meaning and method of industrial training in Germany: what one sees here is not Industrial Education but Educational Industry. That is Industry taking up Education as an industrial process. Nor does this imply something entirely mechanical. When Industry uses cotton, it studies cotton, experiments with it; it does not try forcibly or ignorantly to treat it like wool. So with men. Knowing exactly what it wants men for, Industry proceeds with painstaking care, endless experiment and expert training and delivers a finished product, which is unsurpassed in the world for efficient, delicate, precise, and regular workmanship.

I went to the schoolroom -- a long, light hall, with work benches and machinery and a part of the 150 apprentices which Siemens takes each year. They are selected from grammar school graduates of first year high pupils

and must have done well in school in all of their studies. Other things equal, the children of employees get the preference, and the supply enables the school to select only the very best material. Those I saw averaged from twelve to fifteen years of age. Th course is four years. An entrance test is given -- written, mechanical, and psychological. Then comes a general year of seeking the ability of the student and his fitness for the various branches of work. Then three years of work, hard and exacting. The spirit is remarkable, and no wonder; these students do not pay, they are paid to study -- not much, to be sure, but an increasing part of their living expenses as they progress. They are entering on a life work and will live and be pensioned and die at this job.

41-9-29

Having now a skilled working class, educated for specific life work, how far could democratic control of the state be entrusted to their hands? Not far, if industry in Europe was to be conducted by a closely knit oligarchy for the support of a wealthy class to whom the bulk of the income and consequent power was to be concentrated. Such democratic power as the working class possessed in Britain and France was confined in various ways to choice of officials and local matters. In the great matters of the distribution of finance capital, industrial aim and organization, colonial administration, neither of these nations were really democracies. However, any insistent demand from the workers, particularly through their increasing trade unions, must be heeded; and since these unions' demands were mainly wages, which must be taken from profits, wages and conditions of work had to be improved. The most spectacular development in this direction had been in the United States where the standard of living of labor had reached the highest level in the world, but still American industry was not democratic, and high income was due to natural resources and free trade. In Britain and France, the comparatively wage had been made possible without lowering profit by ownership of colonies with their serf labor and land monopoly.

If postwar Germany was to equal Britain and France in industry, with equally high profits, it must have colonies; and not merely the lost colonies which were small,but larger colonial territory. This might be secured by concessions from Britain or France in the face of a new German army and navy. Or colonial territory might be taken from conquest of Bolshevik Russia. This was a growing aim with the Hitler regime and with the Reichswehr power which preceded him. It was for this that they bribed Trotsky.

When the Trotsky conspiracy failed and the Soviet Union moved successfully into the Five Year Plans, Germany began furious propaganda against the Soviets. In 1936, Hitler and his followers denounced Communism, recounted its crimes, and foretold its inevitable failure, and,at the same time, imitated nearly every method and adopted theoretically nearly every goal that Russia had followed or announced.

41-9-30

The longer I looked at Hitler's Germany, the more I realized that it was a socialistic state. It was copying the Soviet Union in innumerable ways: its ownership and control of industry; its control of money and banking; its steps toward land ownership and control by government; its ordering of work and wages; its building of roads and homes; its youth movement; its one-party slate at elections. In certain respects it differed from the Soviets: while the State controlled industry, the state itself was controlled by a clique. That clique was financed by industry but industry did not control it; it controlled industry through the state. There was no suggestion of democratic control of the state; rather, that was openly repudiated; the system of education was curtailed, rather than enlarged, and aimed increasingly at service to industry.

At first, Europe and America applauded Mussolini and Hitler on their states. Industry saw in them an answer to Communism. Then doubt obtruded. If these dictators continued to control industry, how would industry emerge and with how much autonomy? Was socialism under a dictator, the answer to

Communism under mass dictatorship as in the Soviet Union? Were either preferable to the anarchy of individual initiative, even when that initiative was being centralized under group control?

Indeed, was not fascism simply another form of socialism, rather than an answer? Meantime, Hitler's own answer was to attack the Soviet Union and revile and decry its every effort.

I saw Hitler in 1936, at the zenith of his power, and his one final word then was, "Conquer Russia; overthrow Communism." I was astonished to find Russia so in the center of European thought. In my own mind, Russia was significant, important. But I thought of its problem as local and national, of tremendous importance to the world if it succeeded, but no threat, rather an experiment, a dream yet to be realized or to die with noble memories. But in Germany in 1936, Russia was a fact; an accomplished experiment, so successful as to pose the immediate question of acceptance by modern culture or violent uprooting by every means. Britain was an enemy, but an enemy to be copied in success and method. France was an ideal which needed only German science. Italy was an ally. But Russia was something threatening which must be put under German control.

42-2A-68

X

And now from Germany, where I ~~have~~ had been made repeatedly aware of the pervading and growing influence of the Union of Soviet Republics, I turned with renewed interest and curiosity toward the East. Around me were ominous occurrences. Indeed, the whole world situation was so confused that I could not grasp all of its ramifications and meaning; Japan was secure in Manchuria, and to my mind then, Japan was the hope of the colored world. The New Deal of distinctly socialist legislation had begun in the United States. In 1934, the European unrest had increased. The King of Yugoslavia and the French Cabinet Minister, Barthou, had been assassinated. Italy was in Albania, and Hitler had visited Rome. In December, Stalin's friend, Kirov, was murdered, and Italy, in Africa, had begun aggression on Ethiopia.

There was sabotage and murder in Russia to halt the Soviet program in 1935; the war in Africa continued, despite the insincere efforts of the League of Nations; and the Soviets sought alliance with France and Czechoslovakia. Britain consented to German rearming; a German-Japanese attack on Russia was planned, and Trotsky in Norway plotted to yield territory and capitalistic concessions in Russia to Germany.

In 1936, the year I was in Germany, Ethiopia was conquered, civil war broke out in Spain, and Metaxis made his coup in Greece; another treason trial took place in Russia, and Hitler furiously denounced Bolshevism at the Nurernburg meeting of the Nazis. I heard its echoes all over Germany with reproductions of charts showing alleged wretched conditions of the Soviet workers. A great colonial exhibition was planned for Breslau and I saw the exhibits; but news of it was suppressed outside of Germany.

41-9-31

I wrote to the Soviet Union for permission to visit the country, especially to see and study the interracial situation, and,also, to pass through the land on my way to China and Japan. Also, I wrote Radek, telling him of my plans. This was not wise, since Radek at the time was deep in the Trotsky conspiracy and early in 1937 was convicted. At any rate, my request to stop for study in Russia was not granted, but passage through to Manchuria was permitted. I then wrote my friend, Mrs. Williana Burroughs, an American colored woman long connected with the Moscow Daily News, but she replied, "I made inquiry right away as to what could be done about the visa. I was informed that it would be quite impossible to change this decision. It is not as easy as formerly to get permission to come here." She added, "I really believe,as I told you in my last letter, that with the short time at your disposal, and with the people who could help you so occupied, it would be quite useless to try to cover so large a subject as the position of the minority groups in the Soviet Union. On the national policy of Soviet Russia, which has international meaning, such a structure of well-being and

new life has grown up, that six months could well be devoted to it.".

Afterward, I understood better why the Soveit Union was not welcoming visitors, especially from the United States and enroute to Japan. This was for Russia a time of trouble and her experience in seeking to attract visitors through the "Intourist" organization had been disappointing.

So I started ast, with promise of but short glance at Moscow, but a long ride on the Trans-Siberian railroad -- 4,000 miles in ten leisurely days, with frequent stops. Moreover, on this trip I had the advantage of many reports and studies on Russia made during the last decade; the monumental study by Sidney and Beatrice Webb; the British Trade Union report; the Brailsord pamphlet and numbers of essays and articles. I determined to examine these for background, adding to them conversations and all that I could see.

41-9-57

I glimpsed Poland but dimly, passing through on the express from Berlin. Warsaw rose mistily in the early morning, a fleeting glimmer of broad greys and yellows of a considerable city. The whole land beyond lay low and beautifully rolling. Villages crouched dark and old, sometimes poor, never new. The land is rich, black, and empty -- great, broad stretches, which are the beginning of that vast plain, sweeping from the Alps to Manchuria, on which so fateful dramas of human history have been played. Here and there a church points up, lonely on the horizon. I haar Polish music on the earphone, which a coy newsmaid comes and smiling adjusts. It is sad and gray. There are more clustered villages, with little homes hugging each other for warmth. There are a few cities after Warsaw, such as Bialystok, Wolkowysk, and Stonim. There are pine forests and a far-off shadow of mountains. Here I pass a rich estate, with great brick barns and a white twoestory villa, hidden in trees. Beyond are broad fields, heaving with winter wheat, and bee-hives. I think I see here and there a roadside shrine. Haystacks are black and close-girded. Roofs are often thatched, cows are black and white, the land is not poor but

undeveloped. Domes of the East, white, bulging and curving, are appearing on the Churches. There are soldiers with guns -- not many, but always a few. At one station were drawn up a dozen or more ancient one-horse droschkes.

It has been ten years since I had seen Moscow. The changes in that time have not been striking, but subtle and significant. There is no brave show of square and smart shop, of residential suburb and other insignia of wealth and growth of private fortunes. There are a few changes that indicate less expenditure and display than in 1926: the golden domes, so characteristic of old Moscow, are disappearing. The vast Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer, which must have cost Czarist Russia 100 million loaves of bread, is gone and in its place only a vast hole and foundations. Foundations! That is the word that characterizes Russia of today. Foundations are not beautiful, nor even interesting, unless one has far-reaching imagination.

It is October, 1936, I am in Russia. I am here where the world's greatest experiment in organized life is making, whether it fails or not. Nothing since the discovery of America and the French Revolution is of equal importance. And yet, this experiment is being made in the midst of unexampled hostility; amid deep-seated bitterness and recrimination, such as men reserve usually for crime, degeneracy, blasphemy. I listened to the frenzy of hate and loathing when the Nazis at Nuernberg frothed and spit on Russia; I have just read the prayer of that old and dying priest whom millions call the successor of Jesus Christ, as he brackets War and Communism in one curse.

Yet can one doubt the sincerity of Russia? Can one question for a moment the gain to civilization if it were proven possible to make human welfare rather than profit the chief end of industry? Even if Russia fails to accomplish this, or accomplishes it only in part, what a stupendous adventure, what a search magnificent, and at a cost so far less than that of any similar revolution in world History, if perchance there ever was such an effort on such a scale.

What is the sober truth? This is no Utopia, no fairy land of joy and plenty. Moscow looks much like other cities. ~~Even its distinctive features like the golden dome are disappearing.~~ There are people in crowds -- well clothed and ill. There are various insignia of poverty and crowding. There are poor homes, crowded streetcars, tired workers. But with all that one conventionally expects in a modern city, there are some things astonishing. First of all, one misses the stores. Conceive a great modern city without street upon street of shops -- stores and again more stores; duplicate stores; stores for necessities, for luxuries, for frivolities, for food and clothing. There are stores in Moscow, but few, widely spaced and run by the state. Think first of the space and rent saved; think of the saving in advertising alone. On the other hand, the comparative paucity of stores must entail trouble and loss of time. One sees long queues at the shops waiting to be served. Yet here is an attempt at system in the most anarchic part of capitalistic enterprise -- the distribution of goods to the consumer.

41-9-39

The private shops of the N.E.P. have disappeared from opposite the Kremlin. The state directs retail trade. There are compact, well-stocked stores, here and there throughout the city; to all appearance efficiently manned and run, with goods aplenty. But not all goods: there are a few luxuries -- perfume, face powder, and other bits that my friend says were either unpurchaseable in 1926, or imported at high prices. These are "Made in Russia." Most goods for sale are necessities, made not because they bring the greatest profit to someone who has the power to say what shall be manufactured, but because the mass of the people need them and because the state alone has the power to say what goods shall be made. This is tryanny; this is interference with the liberty of action which some few folk have had for ages. But this liberty was bought at the price of poverty for most people who had no such liberty.

Differences and considerable differences in income are visible in Russia, more so my friends say today than in 1926. There are no idle rich; no

leisure class. One sees furs, silks, and good woolen cloth among some folk, and rags on others. It is hard, however, to say how far this difference goes and how symptomatic it is. One has a feeling that the back of extreme poverty is broken and that the mass of Russians have enough to eat and clothing enough to keep warm, and shelter of a sort. There are new buildings in Moscow -- mostly great office buildings for the officials of administ ation. They take the place -- with less duplication -- of the endless office buildings of New York and London. In them the socialistic state, guides and regulates production of goods, manufacture of goods, distribution of goods, application and training of human services. Here, then, is a civil service, which adds to what we are used to regard as the functions of government, all those matters which we thought must by order of nature be done by unregulated private initiative. In the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics an effort is making on a tremendous scale to prove that government must and can regulate the economic as well as the political functions of men and substitute public welfare for private profit. Is this possible?

41-9-68

Russia is a world. From San Francisco to New York one gains four hours of time. From Moscow to Vladisvostok one gains six hours! Wide, wild, and wonderful is Russia: monotonous for hundreds of miles with its broad, level empty acres, yet varying infinitely in succession of village and town, swamp and forest, noble rivers. At Perm, the Northern branch of the Volga flowed black and mighty, by the low-lying electric-lighted city. Then came the rolling hills of the Urals, and finally, the ice and snow of Siberia. We passed forests, swamp, and lake; we went over the Yenessei on a succession of new steel arches. The soil is of every variety. South of us in the Ukraine the black loam is a foot deep, but here, in mid-Russia, it is a yard deep, with an unplumbed fertility. What will the wheat fields of Iowa and Canada do when Russian agriculture really extends itself?

One sees little dun-colored crouching villages; usually with homes stretched

along one muddy street. It is the same sort of drab village life that exists in the West and South of the United States. Yet there is a difference. There are few stores, no saloons. Always there is a new school house, often of brick and usually the best building in town, next to the Center. The Center of the Communist Party is a common meeting place, a means of adult education and propaganda, a place where the radio brings news and entertainment.

We came to Irkutsk in the black mist of early morning. I struggled reluctantly up from the drug of dream and saw the sunrise on Lake Baikal. Baikal is a jewel hung in space at that fateful spot where Europe becomes Asia and where the waters part to make Pacific and Atlantic. Behind is Russia and Europe; before is Russia and China. Here meet the Past, the Present, and What Will Be. Our steam in the cold blast falls and lies low like lace across the waters. The sun casts aside her morning mantle of mist and shines white and clear. More and more recklessly we bore into the mountains, and the mountains ahead rise in ranks, black in front from iron, silver and snow behind. Slowly, persistently was the rush, hour after hour, mile after mile; the Lake reveals some warning of its vast size and grandeur; it is a sea, a rift in a continent, born of some ancient rift in Heaven. Six long hours we fly along its shores and yet, when we leave it and plunge toward Manchuria, we have only skirted the small curve of its lower border. It is four hundred miles long and twenty miles wide.

Consider the enormous tasks to which Russia had set herself. She proposed to make a nation where the masses rule. Many wise men earnestly and honestly believe the task is impossible; that for all forseeable time, the mass of men will serve some form of aristocracy, while civilization will always mean the culture of the few. Consider though the grandeur of the vision which makes this possible best , consist of all men. First of all, we must face the inevitable difficulties of all beginnings. One found in Russia in 1936, dirt and bad manners. Eating

and bathing habits were unpleasant. Equality of status, where there is as yet no real equality of culture and habit, has been endlessly inveighed against, from the French Revolution to the Emancipation of American Negroes. This, in 1936, greatly bothered observers of Russia. They were obsessed by the glamour of culture and wealth in a few, despite the degradation of the mass on which this culture was built. Wealthy East Indians, Rich Chinese, Russian Grand Dukes, bring to such people only the deepest admiration and envy. They mention them with hushed voices and accept their notice with reverence. What American, who rails at the rule of Russian peasants, would not have accepted a summons to the Winter Palace with tears of gratitude?

In 1923, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics proclaimed, "to all the Governments and to all the Peoples of the Earth" that they had started the "enormous task of restoring the national economy on the basis of the new economic structure of society, after it has passed through unprecedented calamities."

Russia of the Czars was a colony ruled by the aristocracy of a superior race and inhabited by more than a hundred different nationalities. "We are," declared Lenin in 1921, "a beggarly, uncultured people We should speak of that semi-Asiatic cultural backwardness, which we have not yet thrown off... We are a people, to put it mildly, on the level, as it were, of semi-barbarism." The Russian peasants often lived in hovels filthier than pigsties, without meat, eggs, butter or milk. In 1921, industry had sunk to one-fifth of its prewar production, and agriculture to one-half; disease and starvation were making a fearful mortality. The land was "medieval" in its institutions, Asiatic in its strivings, and prehistoric in its conceptions of life.

It was this land, far behind Western Europe in cultural or economic standards that the Bolsheviks proposed to transform. They proposed a nation based on the suppression of the landlord and capitalist and of all forms of private profit-making. In a declaration of Rights, July, 1918, they

abolished private property in land; which was to be national property and given the peasants without rent; likewise, all forests, mines, and water rights and livestock were nationalized; workers were to control industry as a step to ward transferring all means of production and transport to the Soviet Republic.

Never before had a government tried entirely to recast its economic and social life, including habits, health, occupations and ideals; and to make a n ew civilization. Many said the proposal was impossible, even Russian Bolsheviks like Trotsky insisted that trying to build socialism in a single country with the opposition of a capitalistic world,and particularly in a backward land like Russia with little industry, was impracticable; that first a world revolution must prepare the way.

But Lenin and his followers insisted on trying their program, in Russia alone. They knew the risk but they took it, even after world attack. They agreed on their fundamental law in 1918, and then changed and amended this until it emerged as a constitution in 1922-1923.

In visiting Russia in 1936, my object was to see how the experiment,which I had seen briefly and broadly in 1926, had succeeded in practical effort. Then I had in a sense examined a dream; now in cold survey I wanted to see the facts of the situation. I had,naturally, neither time nor permission to make a personal study, even had I been equal to it in a land so large and complicated. But from 1926 to 1936 there had been numerous students of Russia whose published conclusions were now available; there had been a succession of Soviet studies and government reports, which seemed to me quite as reliable as government reports anywhere; requiring, to be sure, evaluation in the light of national susceptibilities, which in the case of the Soviet Union naturally weighed heavily. To this I wanted to add whatever personal observation and human contact could in a brief glimpse of Moscow and a ten-day journey from

41-9-58

Moscow to Manchuria.

The problem of Democracy in Russia, in 1917, was appalling. Here were over a 100,000,000 people in a land extending from the Arctic to the Black Sea and the Pacific to the Baltic; over two-thirds illiterate, belonging to many different races, cultures, and languages and religions. No constitution based on universal suffrage according to the theoretical Western model would have worked. Lenin and his followers evolved the plan of basing nation-wide democratic control on a large number of small meetings of neighbors, to discuss matters of intimate knowledge and interest. Here would be chosen persons whom they knew to represent them at district meetings and so on up to the All-Union Congress. Thus the masses would learn the technique of representative government, and yet be held together as a state. With education and leadership such a state would eventually become a democracy. The leadership consisted in control from above, administered by the Communist Party.

The 70,000 village and shop Soviets were allowed the utmost freedom of discussion. There was practically nothing they were not allowed and even encouraged to discuss and deal with, so far as it touched their interests; but neither village nor district nor province had any rights which the higher body could not curtail or veto; in other words, the Russian primary unit or intermediate governmental body was not given legal rights which belonged exclusively to them and with which "States' Rights", the higher authority could not interfere. Thus the Russian Federated Government avoided the tyranny of local rule but laid itself open to imposed authority. Here, however, authority could never act in ignorance, because the criticism on local and national matters was literally boundless and continuous.

As a writer in the Moscow News wrote: "Herein lies the essence of our democracy. Our Soviet democracy is not expressed in our official edicts. Our Soviet Democracy is expressed in broad activity, when every decision is worked out by the masses, criticized hundreds of times by the collective

41-9-59

farmers, by the individual peasants from every possible angle. Herein lies the difference and the intricacy of the work of leaders of village Soviets."

What does the mass of people think of this democracy? Testimony as to this lies in their voting. The Russians vote more widely and frequently than the people of any land. In 1934, 77,000,000 persons voted, or 85 per cent of those eligible. The voting age is eighteen, and there are no limits of sex, race, or religion, illiteracy or pauperism, so long as the person is engaged in "socially useful work of hand or brain." About 2.5 per cent are disfranchised. The voters take part in a million or more meetings during the year, where in town or factory meetings they elect delegates to local governing bodies, who in turn elect to district bodies, and they to provinial bodies; and thus up to the All-Union Congress of Soviets, a body of 3,000 delegates. There were in 1936 600,000 villages electing 2,000,000 delegates to 70,000 local governing bodies.

The Soviet citizen votes not only as a political citizen, but as an individual producer, as a social consumer, and (if he belongs to the Communist Party) as a member of the leadership group. For each of these functions there arises a governmental pyramid similar to that of the political soviets. The government in Moscow thus is the apex of a half dozen pyramidal social structures, covering the Union, each based on a vast number of small meetings for almost continuous discussion and for periodical direct election of primary representative councils.

The very multiformity of the Soviet administration gives a vitality. It pledges a common single aim and a richer common experience.

The single party slate of the Soviets is not necessarily a denial of democracy. When democracy first came to England, the constituency naturally was divided between Liberals and Conservatives. We had in most democracies two parties standing for differing fundamental policies, or, if not, two parties in agreement, differing only on methods. Sometimes this led to splinter parties

41-9-60

which represented particular groups and personalities. This goes to the ultimate in the Soviet Union. There is but one party and its aim at present was settled in 1928. Now the Soviets emphasize mainly means and personalities in elections, sifting and arguing in primary assemblies on what persons shall represent them in higher bodies and recalling them at any time. They insist that in main party matters there is and can be but one party, based on science and experience. This argument may be wrong, but it is not a deception. In future and within the framework of Communism there might conceivably arise broad differences of policy which would give rise to parties; but the absence of parties today is not necessarily a denial of democarcy, any more than the presence of parties ensures democracy.

How far is this voting and local activity a proof of real power, or how far is it but the semblance of power, while the reality rests above? Certainly the local bodies believe they have wide democratic control and are extraordinarily interested and busy. The village Soviet or town meeting rules the town and keeps order. There is, "practically nothing that the Soviet may not organize, regulate or provide at public expense, from roads and water supplies, through club houses and dance floors, up to schools, theatres, and hospitals." It also inspects the state manufacturing and trading departments in its borders and the consumers' cooperatives. It raises taxes and spends them on education and health, roads and bridges; but the budget must be approved by higher bodies to which they elect delegates. The villages keep practically all the taxes they collect, and, in addition, usually receive grants or remissions from the higher units of government to pay for and expand their budgets.

41-9-61

If anyone doubts this, the planning for democracy in this nation, the system of Soviet education would seem a sufficient answer. If a mass of people are to be misled and used by others for selfish and anti-social interests, they must not be educated save in limited ways. This explains why

black slaves in the United States were denied by law the right to learn to read and write; it explains the determined limitation of native education in all colonies. But in Soviet Russia from the beginning, the Revolution stressed education. From 1914 to 1921, education sank to its lowest depths. Then came an effort to educate a nation unparalleled in modern times. "There is no other fragment of earth's surface at all comparable in extent, in which anything like this conception of an educational service prevails." It is a universal compulsory education free of expense, not only for literacy but for life; with no restrictions of race, sex, color, or creed. School attendance increased from 14,000,000 in 1929 to 26,000,000 in 1933. Illiteracy was reduced to ten per cent in 1933. College enrolment increased from 207,000 to 491,000 and most of the students were workers' and peasants' children. As a result, reading habits increased and newspaper circulation rose from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,000,000 in 1933.

No matter how much of false propaganda and deception may have crept into the Soviet government, it has taken the one sure path eventually to base Russian life on intelligence and right. Everywhere in Russia in 1936, one saw the school house.

The center of this vast interlocking government, the All-Union Congress of Soviets, a body of 2,200 delegates in 1936 with 800 alternates, meets every three or four years. It is too large to transact business, but it expresses opinions and is representative of every part of the land. The effective powers of government lie in the hands of its Executive Committee and the Council which it appoints. This central government makes the budget for the nation. Because the state controls industry, its revenue comes from industries like railroads, mines, oil wells, and from manufacturing and trading establishments. These sources of income amount to several times the total monies received from taxation, by localities and the central government. Half of this income goes back to local governments as subventions to local authorities.

The expenditures fall into three main parts:

1. Capital investment
2. Social welfare, including health, insurance and education, espenses of government, justice and defense
3. The remainder is the wages fund for consumer expenditure.

From 1927 to 1934, the Soviet Union saved over twenty per cent of its income for new capital as compared to ten per cent in Great Britain. The Union also saved the expense of advertising which costs the United States at least a half billion dollars a year. Planning for all of this, did away with unemployment, preserved natural resources, and even encouraged voluntary labor by the laborers and not confined to the well-to-do.

41-9-40

The peculiarity of the Union of Soviet Republics as a government, lies in the fact that it includes both politics and industry in its control. The criticism leveled at this unusual undertaking is that it supplants the vital impulse of private profit and that no state can conduct industry successfully because of the nature of the task. The Soviet answer is first, that if the state can conduct industry then industry will be aimed at the objects for which the state exists; and if those objects are the well-being of the mass of inhabitants, the nation will be better off; secondly, the Soviets say that as a matter of fact, they are successfully conducting industry. On the basis of prices prevailing in 1926-1927, Russian production increased from sixteen to thirty-four billion rubles, for the period 1928 to 1932. It exceeded the prewar level more than threefold and the 1928 level more than twofold.

R Sidney and Beatrice Webb say:

"Viewed in comparison with other nations that suffered from the Great War, and measured either by capacity to produce, or by the aggregate of commodities and services distributed, there seems no doubt that the material progress of the USSR, from the exceptionally low level to which it had been reduced in 1921, has not only been enormous, but has even been proportionately greater

than that of any other country. In fact, the Soviet Union has quite obviously grown richer in the very years in which most, if not all, other countries have grown poorer."

But, asks the Western world, if this is true, what has been the Social cost? Germany under Hitler raised production but it was at the cost of eliminating the trade unions as effective instruments of industrial democracy. What has happened to Soviet unions?

The Soviet trade union is both a government agency and the voice of labor in industry. Its primary unit is the factory, mine, or industrial establishment where men work, and all who work in a single establishment producing the same commodity or service belong to that union, no matter in what capacity they labor. The members in each shop of factory elect councils; these councils elect delegates to district councils and they, ~~in turn~~, to republic councils up to the All-Union Congress of the 154 trade unions of the Soviet Union.

41-9-41

The Russian union is not, therefore, like the American union, a group designed to fight an employer or an industry for higher wages or pensions or better conditions. These things they want and fight for, but the path to achieving this is through the trade union hierarchy, which means that all industry is taken into account and not a single plant or one branch of industry. But into this account the interest of the worker is considered by his representatives elected by the voice of each little group of shop employees. They vote in union meetings and elect delegates to district meetings; the district organization elects provincial bodies and so on up to the All-Union Congress of Trade Unions, which is an organ of government, considered by Lenin as first in importance. No government policy is decided without consulting this body.

For all local disputes as to ages, hours and conditions of work, immediate hearing is given and arbitration instituted; the board, consisting of

three representatives -- one for the management, one the leading union official in the plant, and third, a member of the local Communist cell. Such arbitration is usually successful; if it is not, it can be appealed to a higher body with similar representation; or to the National Commissariat of Labor.

The 18,000,000 workers in the Soviet Union in 1936 were grouped in 154 unions, in tens of thousands of establishments. They elect 186,640 factory and local committees, who conduct more collective bargaining than any other labor union system in the world. The object of that bargaining is not confined to local conditions, but extends to the problem of increasing national production so that all wages can be increased and better conditions of work for all workers be realized. Wage rates depend on this general level of production and not simply on the conditions in one factory. They can study facts and figures concerning the level of industry over the nation, and consider the part which can be allocated to their industry and yet leave enough for others.

24-6-14

The Soviet trade union is interested in protection against industrial accidents; healthfulness and pleasantness of working places; plans for the factory conduct; correcting and punishing delinquincies of their members; food and prices for it in their cooperative; insurance for sickness, accidents and old age; housing; club houses for recreation; travel and holidays; tickets for theaters. For these matters the unions handle five billion rubles annually for insurance, pensions, rest homes, and hospitals. Naturally, this attitude of mind toward industry has been a slow growth. It took a decade for unions not to conceive of the union as primarily an organ of revolt against capitalist employers.

The inauguration of the first planning of industry brought conflicts as to the role of the unions; should each union be free to press for its own advantages in wages, hours, and so forth, or act as a unit to increase production for the whole nation and not for their industry along? The latter

attitude eventually prevailed. As a result, there is no effort to curtain output; there is general approval of pay based on piece workand there are no craft jurisdictional disputes. Every facility is afforded for upgrading of workers who apply, even to opportunity for study, with pay.

One notices about the Russian worker's not only preoccupation with his job and the local conditions, but also reliance on his future security in accident or old age; the certainty that his children' education will be provided for and that he will have vacations with pay. My conductor on the Trans-Siberian trip was planning on a vacation in that part of the Soviet Union which corresponds to our Florida; and rejoiced in the fact that his two children were in school and in line to learn a skill or profession which would furnish a livelihood and promotion.

41-9-43

The government of the Soviets make what we regard as private business a part of government. Practically all the heavy industry, and most of the light industries, together with nearly all transport and all foreign commerce, are conducted by public departments, which are established and directed by the federal government. To an American this seems utterly unworkable. But a moment's reflection proves that this vast oversight and planning must proceed in every great, modern industrial nation; in the United States and Britain it is done by private business organizations instead of by the government. Often such industrial trusts are larger than many actual governments in smaller lands and even rival in income and power many divisions of their own governments. Russia in this respect is like the combination of a hundred or more of our great industrial combines: like the Steel Trust or General Electric or the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company into a super organization or state. The difference lies in the fact that the object of the Soviet industries is general welfare, while that of the private firms is, at least in theory, no more than private profit. Even this calls for careful planning of industry, trained technical management and efficient and loyal workers.

The first criticism of this governmental excursion into industry which occurs to an American, is that it lacks that incentive to effort which the profit motive provides. In Western countries the greater part of the production and distribution of commodities and services is conducted by private persons, with the object of making profit for themselves; and not aiming directly at service to the community. Indeed, if profitable and a disservice, it may be still allowed to continue.

Nevertheless, incentives to work have bothered all employers of labor. Higher wage, shorter hours, and better conditions of labor are the usual incentives in Western lands. But in the Soviet Union the workers had to be asked to adjust their demand for wages to the level of production, which meant sacrifice for the poor who had never had much. To induce competition and extra effort among workers was a difficult task in a world where most laborers tried to reduce output, discouraged piece-work pay, and malingered on the job as a matter of policy. The Soviets try to combat this by encouraging competition in work; emulation, voluntary effort, like that which helped build in Moscow the most beautiful subway in the world. A series of public awards and orders have been instituted for manual labor as well as scientific research or art creation; and suggestions have been encouraged and rewarded in every line of work. In 1930, over a half-million rationalization suggestions from workers were received the state, which resulted in savings of 20,000,000 rubles. Stalin said in 1933:

"The most remarkable feature of competition is the radical revolution it has wrought in men's views of labor, because it transforms labor from a disgraceful and painful burden, as it was reckoned before, into a matter of honor, a matter of glory, a matter of valor and heroism. There is not and cannot be anything similar to it in capitalist countries. There, under the capitalists, the most desirable end which earns social approval is to have an income from investments, to live on interest and to be freed from toil,

which is regarded as a contemptible occupation."

This program calls for planning of human action and control of the material world on a scale never before attempted and to an extent which modern civilization has hitherto regarded as impracticable. To the astonishment of the Western World, the first Five Year Plan, even enlarged in scope, was substantially fulfilled in four and a quarter years. A second Five Year Plan, for 1933-1937, was immediately put into operation. The significance of this was increased by the financial collapse of the western European world in 1929, which made the projected invasion of Russia impossible. This confirmed the Russians in their firm belief that Western capitalism was on the edge of complete collapse because of inherent contradictions and paradoxes.

J1-9-45

The Soviets argue that this planning is the only alternative to the anarchy of individual free initiative with its recurrent booms and slumps and with its perpetual mass of unemployed. They say that demand for goods and services is fairly stable and can be calculated. That production to meet this demand can be arranged without letting speculation over-produce in particular lines for possible individual profit, or make artificial scarcities for higher prices. Thus financial storms and panics can be avoided. Only long experience over a span of years can prove this. But the experience of the Soviet Republics up to 1936, cannot be ignored.

The Western world answers that planning involves the slavery of the working class. But does it involve more slavery than other methods of doing the world's work? If a man lives, he must work himself or live off the work of others; labor on the part of somebody is compulsory. The choice of labor is wide in Russia, by educational opportunity, by promotion according to ability, by desert. But for the total amount of labor and its efficiency and distribution there is compulsion. But such compulsion exists everywhere and always has. It is greater in Russia than elsewhere, if we remember that the Soviets allow no idle rich.

It is, however, clear that for such a planned state there must be leadership. The conventional industrial state of the western world, depended on the self-appointed leadership of Captains of Industry with profit as the chief motive. This had to be supplemented by philanthropy and the ideals of human progress as expressed by popular leaders in literature and art; in religion and in social progress. The occurrence and efficiency of such social leadership was left mostly to chance. There was little effort to substitute Science for chance in human social progress.

41-9-46

This was because such scientific leadership in human conduct was regarded as impossible. In Soviet Russia, the Communist Party in 1936 appeared not as a conventional political party, but as an organization designed to train leaders for the state. The function of its membership was extra-legal and thus certainly liable to abuse. But on the other hand, its objects were clear and its ideals high. It based action on the Communism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, as modified by Lenin and Stalin and by decisions of the Party Congress after long discussion and broad experience.

The party requires in it membership, the same regularity and obedience to decision and discipline ~~the~~ which political parties usually ask. Like members of a religious order, the Communist must obey orders as to work and place of work; and he takes what is in reality a vow of poverty or at least low income. The chief fact is that an attempt is seriously made to keep membership on a high level of intelligence and character, and periodical dismissals from membership are made when the members fall below the standard. Of course, the members have certain privileges and this tempts many to join who are in fact below the ideals.

They attempt to base leadership first on Science; and secondly, on special training and actual experience. Their scientific foundation is Marxism, as modified by Lenin and Stalin and others, and their course of study and action is membership in the Communist Party, with its discipline, study and

(pp 120-121 MISSING)

1917, said: "Mohammedans of Russia, Tartars of the Volga and Crimea; Kirghiz and Sartes of Siberia and Turkestan; Turks and Tartars of Transcaucasia, your beliefs and customs, your national institutions and culture are hereafter free and inviolable. You have the right to them; know your rights, as well as those of all the peoples of Russia, are under the powerful protection of the Revolution, and of the organs of the Soviets for workers, soldiers, and peasants." This did not remain mere declamation. The pogrom against Jews, which long played in Russia the role of lynching in the United States, disappeared forthwith; and in 1936, over the whole area between the Arctic Ocean and the Black Sea and the Asian mountains, with vastly differing races and nationalities, men and women, irrespective of physical traits or color of skin, even including occasional African Negroes; may associate freely; travel in the same public vehicles and go to the same restaurants and hotels; sit next to each other in the same colleges and places of amusement; marry wherever there is mutual liking; engage in any craft or profession for which they are qualified; join the same societies; pay the same taxes and be elected to any office without exception. No other nation on earth can boast of such a situation.

Nor did the Soviets forget the oppressed peoples of the earth -- the colored races, the colonial peoples, the exploited nations. They declared in 1923:

"As the natural ally of oppressed peoples, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics seeks to live in peace and friendly relations with all peoples and to establish economic cooperation with them. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics places before itself the aim of furthering the interests of the laboring masses of the whole world. Over the enormous territory stretching from the Baltic to the Black and White Seas and to the Pacific Ocean, the Union is already realizing the fraternity of nations and the triumph of labor, but it is striving at the same time to bring about friendly cooperation between

the peoples of the whole world."

No modern nation has equalled the Soviets in the emancipation of women. They were not content with removing legal disabilities and enfranchising them, but gave women, also, economic and household freedom. "A victory for socialism," Lenin had said, "is impossible until a whole half of toiling mankind, the working women, enjoys equal rights with men; and until she no longer is kept a slave by her household and family."

Sex equality from the first was the object of all legislation. Women, married or single, could vote and hold office; could work at any task at the same wage as men, with the same chance of promotion; they shared all rights of property, and the same rights as men in divorce and care of children. By 1920, Lenin could say that no country in the world was so free from sex disabilities in law or custom as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

84-6-14

In the matter of religion, Russia has come in for endless criticism. This is partly because of the status of the church in modern lands, and partly because of conditions peculiar to Russia. An organization which claims knowledge above science and the right to dictate the distinction between right and wrong conduct for individuals, must, of necessity, be reactionary and slow in every reform. Why in England was the Church opposed to universal suffrage and trade unions? Why in the United States did the main body of churchgoers fight the abolition of slavery, Negro suffrage, and Negro equality? Why did the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have the greatest difficulty in inducing the churches to oppose lynching?

Because the Church stands and must stand for things as they are, for reaction, for dogma. The Church may conserve, after the battle for righteousness has been fought, but it never has fought and never can fight as a body for unpopular ideals. Thus every cause, be it right or wrong, must begin by an attack on established religion, or it will never begin. Even after the rise of modern science, and the rejection of religious dogma by educated men,

there remains a disposition to refrain from disturbing the faith of the ignorant masses of men, because this might encourage despair and revolt.

Most modern lands have, therefore, been content with a strange dichotomy between its professed creeds and the real beliefs of its leading minds. If, however, the masses of people could and would be raised to intelligent action, this dichotomy must disappear. With the rise of democracy and broader political action in the western world, there came what used to be called the battle between Faith and Science, which after the Industrial Revolution tended toward a synthesis of modified church dogma and religious double-talk on the part of scientists and educated folk in general. Church dogma was sustained by belief that after all the masses of folk could not in our time, at least, be raised so as not to need the opium of religion.

41-9-14

This, Russian Communism challenged for the first time in actual political life and not merely in the classroom. This meant inevitably a fight with dogmatic religion and with all forces and people interested in sustaining and prolonging the power of the Church. Whatever chance there was to postpone or evade this battle was made impossible by the very character of the Russian established Church. With an establishment like this church in almost total control of the minds, beliefs, hopes, hates and fears of the masses, Communist government, if it hoped even to begin its reforms, must start with a duel to the death.

The Russian Orthodox Church in the early twentieth century represented the worst tendencies of religion. The Czar as head of the Church had in 1916, as one of his chief advisors, a drunken, thieving, dissolute monk, who disgusted the world. The village priests were for the most part ignorant and superstitious. The wealthy monasteries thrived on "miracles." An English professor of moral philosophy, John MacMurray, said in 1934:

"Nearly all that religion has been, and has meant, in Russia ought to perish forever from the face of the earth and from the memory of men." If

then, the Soviet government was to survive it had to begin with a fight on the established church.

The Soviets early took a stand against supernaturalism and closed miracle-selling shrines. They encouraged the formation of Anti-Religious societies which had in 1929 a half million members. Energetic campaigns against religion was made part of the first Five Year Plan. The atheistic movement grew rapidly and had, in 1936, many million followers.

However, the Soviets did not ban churches entirely, nor did they attempt to abolish religion. They limited religious activity and stripped the Orthodox Church of its immense wealth. But neither Christians, Jews, Moslems, nor Buddhists were persecuted and there was no law against the private practice of any creed.

This was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as I saw it and read about it in 1936. I was convinced that it has earned its right to exist and carry on its work. I believed that the success which it had made already, despite mistakes and in the midst of unexampled difficulties, proved that many, if not most, of its beliefs and methods would influence the world and spread to its lands and peoples. Especially was I convinced that fear of Communism was groundless and attempts to suppress it doomed to failure. Indeed, it has been said that in the history of human government there "has been no such colossal and exciting an experiment" as centers here. So I continued my long journey from Moscow to Manchuria, in November, 1936.

We were nearing Mongolia, and already in the Province of the Buriats. The slim firs stood sturdily, with straight heads and shoulders sagging with snow. The lonely silence of a Siberian night was about us. We climbed down a pass in the Black Mountains, following a river half hidden in ice. Suddenly, the tempo of the scene changed. A large new factory blazed up in the night. Great piles of lumber lined the river bank. An electric road showed a beginning of modern road making. Tracks of rails stretched wide on either

side, until a modern railway yard was evident. Then we swept into Vereudinsk, now newly named, and the world was soldiers. They filled the depot, covered the platform, crowded a standing train and marched about in overcoats to their heels, buttoned closely; some with guns, some with bundles. All was now clear. This was a frontier point of concentration against the threat of Japan.

I

42-2A-71

It brought me back to this horrible waste of war in 1936. All Europe, all of Asia was in arms. As if Russia did not have a task big enough and well worth at least the respectful waiting of the world, without having to arm herself against mankind. The only hope of human unity today lies in the common cause, the common interests of the working classes in Europe, Africa, and in Asia. This is why in the custom house of Otpor, the last outpost of Russia, stood the motto in all languages. "Workers of the World Unite!" Yet in the face of world militarism and new nationalism, Russia, intent on her internal tasks, must put down Trotskyism with ruthless hand, lest the armed world smash in blood the hopeful beginnings of a state seeking to replace private profit with public welfare.

All this was true. Yet, as I looked out of the window at soldiers, arms, factories, all for war preparation, I felt the earth beneath my feet smoldering and quaking with the flames of coming war. I could not believe it. I would not. But I felt the hidden flame.

The problem of Orientals in the United States had interested me from my youth because they were colored people and, therefore, a part of the question of the color line. In high school and college I had followed the restrictions on the Chinese in California and the federal exclusion acts. The Sino-Japanese War perplexed me. Our remission of the Boxer indemnity pleased me, but as I contrasted this with the humiliation which Germany imposed on China, I was really uplifted by the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1904, and saw in this event the beginning of the overthrow of white supremacy.

Then came the consequent increase of Japanese migration to the United

States and the anti-Japanese movement in the West. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 followed, and Theodore Roosevelt's fight for Japanese right to hold land and attend unsegregated schools. In 1913, California forbade Japanese landownership. Later, I realized in visiting the West, how Japanese hard work and competition in market gardening and their clannish organization for distributing their vegetables direct to customers, had aroused the economic rivalry of business interests and determined them to stop competition by law.

I began to look upon the Japanese as leaders of the world fight against white imperialism. Especially was I encouraged in this idea by her unsuccessful attempt to force a declaration of racial equality through the League of Nations in 1919; the effort of Europe to limit her navy in 1922 confirmed my thought, and I even interpreted her pressure on China as an indirect attack on European imperialism in Asia.

About 1930, I made the acquaintance of a young Japanese student, who may have had official connections with his government, although this I never knew. We did talk much about Japan and he urged me to visit his country. When I went to Russia and Germany in 1936, I arranged through him to come home by way of Japan. He gave me advice and letters of introduction, which proved of great value.

Thus after my visit to the Soviet Union in 1936, I returned home through Manchuria, with brief visits to China and Japan. For, next to Russia, Japan intrigued me as holding the destiny of the darker work int its hands. And who has not dreamed of China?

Ten thousand miles east of our East lies a land, lonely and dust-swept, pregnant with history in the dim past. Hence, came the Mongol hordes that swept from Asia to France and Italy, and changed the history of the modern world. Brown men they were and yellow, with broad faces and flat noses, and wild, straight, black hair. They are here about me today, November, 1936 -- perhaps 25,000,000 of them -- in Inner and Outer Mongolia, and in Manchuria.

42-69-24

Inner Mongolia is Chinese; Outer Mongolia is under Russian influence; Manchuris is Japanese. This makes a border filled with signs of war, watched eagerly by the rest of the world. We could see the thicker concentration of troops on the Russian side as we approached Japan. The Soviets have stretched their military power thin in the vast sweep of land between the Volga and Baikal, and concentrated it here in the East.

The approaching of this fatal border in the night was eerie. Between three and four o'clock in the morning of November 12, the porter knocked on my door and said, "Otpor, Chass." I piled out as the train crept on slowly in the darkness. We stopped at a dark little station, in the bitter morning cold, and all of our luggage was taken by porters. Here it was examined minutely by Russian customs officers. They were courteous but thorough, handling each piece of paper and inquiring ~~after~~ about money. Then again the porters took our bags and put them back on the same train. All of the Russian porters, waiters, and officials silently disappeared. We were like a ghost train moving quietly and slowly into another land.

41-9-63

We were in Manchuria. "Passports!" came the rather peremptory call in the dim light. Again we climbed down at six-thirty in the morning, still before breakfast. Again porters shouldered our bags, and we were before another set of inspectors. I was rather wearily waiting, watching the struggle of an English lady with a rather rough inspector, who mussed up her bags and fingered the negatives of some films, when suddenly I heard a voice beside me, "Is this Mr. DuBois?" I looked around a bit suspiciously and admitted the accusation. A dapper gold-faced young man in uniform stood beside me bowing. "I have," he said politely, "a first-class pass for you over the State Railways of Manchuria, and some letters of introduction. Will you please meet the station master?" I nearly passed out. Remember, this was before breakfast, on a bitter cold morning, and after two custom inspections and almost no sleep. The only courtesy I ever received from a railroad was the privilege

of buying, at top prices, something that nobody else wanted. And here I was 10,000 miles from home, being offered a free pass in a first-class carriage; and lest I have to rest in a common waiting room, I was ushered into the station-master's private parlor, where I reposed on plush. The English lady came near being sent back to Siberia for resenting the gruffness of the custom's inspector. "For heaven's sake don't leave me," she pleaded, turning to me.

I walked in Manchouli, after breakfast, waiting for the afternoon train. It was a straggling town on a dusty plain, with Russian and Chinese signs. A Chinese lady drove past in a Russian droschke, in brilliant kimono and black and high-piled hair. Another passed on the street, in a coat of many colors. A dark old Mongol, with his two wives, bargained for a ride. School children, looking like Christmas dolls, straggled by.

It was a new world. My color was nothing unusual. All the world was sallow, yellor, or brown, except the often blonde white Russian girls who waited table in the restaurants and on the dining car. The train swung out toward the East. I was in a Pullman car made in America. The porter was not of my own expert race, and I felt like giving him a few pointers. The roadbed was better than in Siberia. Always war hovered near us. They pulled down the curtains early. I wanted to look out, but fortunately I first read the posted notices: "Passengers between Hake and Agounor must not look out of the windows, on penalty of severe punishment." I did not look out.

We swept along a great, wide plain, and the cold wind poured straight down from the North pole. I t was a desolate barren land, and the seldom folk crept wearily along the lonely way. "What would one do," asked the Norwegian on his way to China, "if set out on that plain?" Someone suggested the radio. But could you get a station whose language you understood? Then the scene began to change and here was the Sungari river, flowing north to Amur and the Artic Ocean. It was filled with shipping, driven south by the

ice and about to tie up for the winter. Then came Harbin, the first city of Manchoukuo, a big and busy place, the only remaining center of Czarist Russia on earth.

The whole scene changed as if by magic. We rode out of the desert and desolation of the northern desert. We flew easily on a perfect roadbed, ballasted with rock, and in Japanese cars better than Pullmans. The service was perfect. We were leaving the old border and haunts of the bandits, the modern successors of Ghenghis Khan. We came to Hsinksing, capital of the new Manchurian state, set up by Japan in 1932. The Hotel Yamato was a joy. I had a room with a bath and did I bathe! There all of those little Japanese touches -- white runners over the stair carpets, spotless and clean; a clean blue kimono for each guest; slippers in each room; cool drinking water in thermos jugs; a cloth damp with hot water, passed to each guest in the grill, to wipe his hands and face before eating; and exact, quick and, oh, so courteous service.

The hotel had once been a Russian club, and sits amid ancient acacias. To the right, as one emerges in the stining wind, lies the characteristic Chinese city, huddled and crouching, with its strange signs and ancient insignia; its push of folk, its little mysterious shops, its air at once sordid and romantic. Then to the left of the hotel rises the beginnings of the new Japanese city, or the city of the new Manchoukuo, planned by the Japanese. It is cast with broad streets, beautiful and large public buildings, some finished, some yet building, some only projected. Clearly this colonial effort of a colored nation is something to watch.

I am in the ancient capital of the Manchu emperors. Here, in 1936, live 424,000 persons. Here started that Manchu dynasty which for 267 years ruled China. In 1625, the Tsing dynasty, conquering the celebrated Chines Mings, made this town their capital, until in 1644 they moved to Peking, and Mukden became Pei-tu, or Home capital. Here, in 1905, was fought that awful battle

between the Russians and the Japanese, when 160,000 human beings were killed and wounded, a nd Japan took her place among the Powers. It is a singular city; an ancient walled town, three hundred years old, with palaces, tombs, walls within walls; a new Japanese city, broad and square, busy and beautiful. This is surely the place to pause and ask what is this Manchurian venture of Japan, and what does it mean?

Today, November, 1936, I am standing where in 1905, Japan blockaded the Russian fleet in yonder shining harbor of the Yellow Sea; and creeping up the greath harsh peeks of these wild mountains, made Europe surrender to Asia. It was historic ground. Manchuria is the natural mainland of the isles of Japan. She wrested it from China in the war of 1895, but Europe made her surrender it. Then the Russians calmly walked in and took it. They extended the Siberian railroad through it and seizing the harbor of Port Arthur, fortified it, and built the city of Dalny. Along came Germany and seized the Peninsula of Shantung, just south, and fortified that. Already England had seized Hong Kong, while France was in Indo-China. Japan was surrounded with guns pointed at her heart. Then came the Russian- Japanese war and Japan secured the extreme point of the cape as a lease, but Russia was still behind her and Germany at her side.

41-9-24

After the first World War, the situation changed. Japan said to England, who held India, Hong Kong, half of Africa and all of the continent of Australia; to France, who had North Africa and Syria; to America, who held half of Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the Canal Zone, "I need Manchuria more than you need any of these territories. Manchuria today has no government, but is in the hands of roving bandits. Its land and materials are absolutely necessary to my development and expansion as a nation." Moreover, there was one thing more which Japan did not say aloud, but which was even more true: "Unless I take Manchuria now, when you cannot stop me, you will seize it at the very first moment you can." England, France, and America, gorged with the loot of the world, suddenly became highly moral on the subject of annexing

other people's land. No! they said, and Japan walked out of the League of Nations and kept Manchuria.

What is Japan doing for the people of Manchuria and how is she doing it? Is she building up a caste of superiors and inferiors? Is she reducing the mass of the people to slavery and poverty? Is she stealing the land and monopolizing the natural resources? Are the people of Manchuria happier or more miserable for the presence of this foreign power on their soil?

Doubtless there was much to complain of in Manchukuo in 1936, but given the colonial nexus, Japan seemed to me to be doing better work than Great Britain or France were doing. I sensed that Japan was a fourth partner among the dictators of world organization, in which Great Britain and Western Europe, Italy and Eastern Europe, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were the other three. Japan was determined to be recognized as a world power and her ultimate aim was domination of Asia. I was curious to know just how far this dominatiou would follow the western model, or how far it would follow some form of socialism. For historic and other reasons, it would not follow Russia; but there was at least equal reason for refusing the lead of Great Britain or France or the United States.

41-9-25

On this matter I took occasion to talk a half hour with Yosuka Matsuoka, the man who led the Japanese delegates when they walked out of the League of Nations in 1935. He is a quiet man, slow and low of speech, who as president of the state railways of Manchuria, ranks as a viceroy and premier, with the destinies of 30,000,000 in his hands. And moreover, with the responsibility of proving to the world, that colonial enterprise by a colored nation, need not imply the caste, exploitation, and subjection which it has always implied in the case of white Europe. He took time to talk with me while automobiles with visitors and officials waited, not because I represented power, influence or publicity, but because I, too, was a colored man and interested in the development and independence of the colored peoples of the world.

We talked of industry, capitalism and communism. He said that in some ways Japan was the most communistic of modern states. In Japan there had never been that strong sense of individual ownership of property that characterizes so many people. There was, on the contrary, through the family and clan a strong sense of common ownership of all wealth, of willingness to give to others and sacrifice for the common good. I ventured boldly to add, "You Japanese, by your marvelous national discipline, were able without revolution to transform Japan from Feudalism to Industrialism. May it not be possible, again without revolution, and with that same discipline and sacrifice, for Japan to make that further inevitable change from private profit to public welfare?" Matsuoka expressed agreement with me and I think he was sincere. But Japan was under curious double control at the time, which later I was to realize.

42-29-75

ADM

Meantime, I hurried to China which was end and aim of all imperial planning, from America to Japan, and from the tenth century to the twentieth. In the morning I went down to the great harbor of Dairen. My friends handed me three colored streamers of farewell, and following the beautiful Japanese custom, I and a dozen others held one end while the friends ashore unwound the other ends, until a rainbow of colored strips of paper streamed from ship to shore and I bade Manchoukuo goodbye.

X

We sailed into the Yellow Sea on a perfect day. Rough brown mountains lined the left, with oil refineries and factories, boats and trains. Then, further out, the hills became barren, except where the Japanese with infinite patience are covering them with tiny pine trees, whose sturdy roots will in some fifty years break up the barren waste which Russia left and clothe the hills again in greed. Further and further the mountains retreated on our left. A precipitous isle came and went and we were on the open water, sailing to China. I went out to watch the death of day. The sun was a ball of beaten gold, with pink and purple cloud streamers floating east. Quickly

it became a flattened burning egg resting on the horizon. Then it fell into the green waters of the Yellow Sea, hissing with silent light, and sending glory cries to high heaven.

China is inconceivable. Here first, a man out of the empty West, realizes where the population of the world really centers. Never before has a land so affected me. For Africa I had more emotion -- a greater wave of understanding and recognition. But China to the wayfarer of a little week, and I suspect of a little year, is incomprehensible. I have, of course, a theory and explanation which brings some vague meaning to the mass of things I have seen and heard. But I understand now as never before how I have mistrusted human history and missed the whole meaning of a people. And this I know: any attempt to explain the world, without giving China a place of extraordinary prominence is futile. Perhaps the riddle of the universe will be settled in China; and if not, in no part of the world which ignores China.

Pekin, or Peiping as it was then, stands on that ~~great~~ wide north plain, sweeping up to Siberia and down to the Yangtze Kiang. It is bathed in cold sunshine. It lies in two great rectangles, with a square within. The square to the north, with vast, grey, massive walls, is the Tartar city. This was a thousand years old when Christ was born, and two thousand years old when Ghengis Khan made it his capitol. Here the Manchu emperors ruled China for three hundred years, building their power on the magnificence of the Sungs and Mings.

Within this Tartar city, surrounded by pink walls, twenty feet high and occupying two square miles, is the Imperial city; and within the Imperial city is the red-walled Forbidden city, which no foreigner entered until 1900. Outside and to the south of the Tartar city, lies the oblong Chinese city, with walls thirty feet high. With these walls and walls within walls, dwell a million and a half of people on twenty square miles of land, packed with monuments, buildings, towers, arches, tile, porcelain, jewels, inscriptions,

manuscripts, and customs, habits, songs and a strange language, that goes back and illustrate and explain the history of 500,000,000 people for five thousand years.

Nearly everyone has seen some echo or imitation of a Chinese city. There is one in New York; one in Chicago; and a real one in San Francisco. The casual observer might think these imitations, caricatures. But one sees Chien Men Street in Peiping, and one knows that this human organism is a typical Chinese invention, age-old, rooted in the soul of a people, and expressing as well as any one thing can express, their life and work and play. First of all, it is full of people; it reeks with humanity, it crowds, pushes, swarms. The first day I was in Peiping I must have walked ten miles on this street and its cross allies. It is a continuous succession of little shops, stores, artisans, workshops, restaurants, amusement centers, sidewalk markets, personal services. It is commercialism, ingrained, concentrated, complete. It caters to every want of the streaming humanity that eddies through it like an endless flood.

41-9-51

In some Negro sections of New Orleans or Charleston, there is a faint approach to this situation, but only faint, for this is infinitely older, with a tradition and autonomy which the newer Negro city lacks. Perhaps in the Africa of the Middle Ages there was something like it. Crowded as are the merchants and purveyors to human want, humanity, the buyers, the seekers, are more numerous. Someone has said, that if the population of Europe were swept away tomorrow, it could be repeopled from China, and yet leave behind a population as dense as that of the United States. It is in the sheer weight of numbers that China must be hearkened to, if for nothing else. Babies, babies, everywhere, and women nowhere, save as mothers, housekeepers and followers of the world's oldest profession.

I have seen the Temple of Heaven -- one of the world's most beautiful monuments; the Forbidden City, with its Peacock Throne, its palaces and store

of treasure, despite the loot which drunken Europe stole after the Boxer War, and carried away in the name of Christianity. There was the Temple of Confucius and the stone classic writings of old China; there was the Lhama Monastery of Buddha, and of the statues of the eighteen disciples, ~~two~~ six black and ~~two~~ six brown, who brought Buddhism to China.

At last, two things whose memory lingers: that Summer Palace, which the intrepid Empress Dowager set upon a hill in unearthly spendor. That stone faced woman, who laughed at fate and took $20,000,000 set aside for a navy and built a fairy land with lake, and marble bridge, and glory-roofed palaces, rising one above the other until they stood above the earth and just beneath the sky, looking down on imperial Pekin. She lost an empire, but gained immortality. Then and now, Europe prefers navies.

41-9-26

Amid this amorphous mass of men, with its age-old monuments of human power, beauty, and glory; with its helpless, undefended welter of misery and toil, there is an organization of life and impenetrable will to survive that neither imperial tyranny, nor industrial exploitation, nor famine, starvation, nor pestilence can kill -- it is Eternal Life, facing disaster and triumphing imperturbably.

There passed a glory from the earth when Imperial China fell. Built as it ~~were~~ was on skulls, it was bravely built and its remains are magnificent. In all essential respects they surpass the Stones of Europe. Where Europe counts its years in hundreds, Asia counts its thousands. There is absent that all too apparent European effort to dramatize and exaggerate and misrepresent the past; to emphasize war and personal glory; China shows a finer effort to let the Past stand silent, frank, and unadorned; to tell the truth simply about men and fully; and to record the triumphs of education, family life, and literature far more than murder.

All that Europe has done China did before, save in the rapid, breathless material capitalistic technique of the nineteenth century. With that transitory

flash of power and that alone, Europe raped and enslaved the world from 1600 to 1900. She used China exactly as she did Africa, South and Central America, and her own working classes. It is essential to grasp that this profit-making by monopoly of capital and purchase of labor as a commodity is the universal European technique applied to all peoples -- European workers, African transported slaves, American imported slaves and immigrant workers, and Asiatic coolies.

I write this standing on the Great Wall of China, with twenty-three centuries beneath my feet. The purple crags of Manchuria lie beyond the valley, while behind are the yellow and brown mountains of China. For seventy cents I have been carried upon the shoulders of four men and down again. And here I stand on what has been called the only work of man, visible from Mars. It is no mud fence or pile of cobbles. It surpasses that mighty bastion of Constantinople, which so many centuries saved Mediterranean civilization from German barbarism. This is a wall of carefully cut stone, fitted and laid with perfect matching and eternal mortar, from twenty to fifty feet high and 2,500 miles long; built by a million men, castellated with perfect brick, and standing mute and immutable for more than two thousand years. Such is China.

Shanghai is an epitome of the racial strife, the economic struggle, the human paradox of modern life. Here is the greatest city of the most populous nation on earth, with the larger part of it owned, governed and policed by foreign ~~white~~ nations. With Europe largely controlling its capital, commerce, mines, rivers and manufactures; with a vast welter of the hardest working-class in the world, paid less than an average of twenty-five cents a day; with a glittering modern life of skyscrapers, majestic hotels, theatres and night clubs. In this city of nations are 19,000 Japanese, 11,000 British, 10,000 Russians, 4,000 Americans, and 10,000 foreigners of other nationality living in the midst of 3,000,000 Chinese. The ~~city~~ city is divided openly by nations;

foreign troops parade its streets, foreign warships sit calmly in her gates; foreigners tell this city what it may and may not do. Even at that, matters are not as bad as they once were. In 1936, foreigners acknowledge that Chinese have some rights in China. Chinese who afford it may can even visit the city race track from which they were long excluded. It is not common now to kick a coolie or throw a rickshaw's fare on the ground. Yet, yesterday afternoon I saw a little English boy of perhaps four years, order three Chinese children out of his imperial way on the sidwalk of the Bund; and they meekly obeyed and stepped into the gutter. It looked quite like Mississippi. And, too, I met a "missionary" from Mississippi, teaching in the Baptist University of Shanghai!

The explanation is simple: Capital. Into a land, rich in fertility, natural resources and great water highways, white Europe has poured machinery, tools, and materials so as to put the hardest working people on earth to making goods and rendering services for Europe. The profit has been enormous. But not only Europe, but Asia has joined in exploitation -- Japanese and Chinese have invested in Chinese cheap labor and called it Progress. The result is baffling. Always there is this mass of labor. Labor that has never learned to revolt, to demand, and is only beginning to strike in a few mass industries -- ideal labor for profits.

41-9-64

The wage is low and only balanced by low cost of living. The rickshaw man drags you, running five miles or more in a half hour, for a cent-and-one-half to three cents. A gardener gets five dollar a month with room and board, which is rice and a bit else; a factory hand, I have been told, may get twelve cents a day; a miner's wage of twenty-five cents a day was cited as high, since he could live on less than ten cents.

I went by invitation to the American-supported University of Shanghai and I said to the President that I would like to talk to a group of Chinese and discuss frankly racial and social matters. He arranged a luncheon at the

Chinese Bankers' Club. There were present one of the editors of the China Press, the Secretary-General of the Bank of China, the General Manager of the China Publishing Company, the Director of the Chinese Schools for Shanghai, and the Executive Secretary of the China Institute of International Relations.

We talked nearly three hours. I plunged in recklessly. I told them of my slave ancestors, of my education and travels. Of the Negro problem. Then I turned on them and said, "How far do you think Europe can continue to dominate the world, or how far do you envisage a new world whose spiritual center is Asia and the colored races ? You have escaped from the domination of Europe politically since the World War — at least in part; but how do you propose to escape from the domination of European capital? How are your working classes progressing? Why is it that you hate Japan more than Europe when you have suffered more from England, France, and Germany than from Japan?"

There ensued a considerable silence, in which I joined. Then we talked, and it was a most illuminating conversation, which I may paraphrase as follows: Asia is still under the spell of Europe, although not as completely as a while back. It is not our ideal simply to ape Europe. We know little of India or Africa, or Africa in America. We see the danger of European capital and are slowly extricating ourselves, by seeking to establish control of capital by the political power of taxation and regulation. We have stabilized our currency -- no longer do English Hong Kong notes form our chief circulating medium. Our wages are too low but slowly rising; labor legislation is appearing; we have 16,000,000 children in school with short terms and inadequate equipment, but a beginning of the fight against our 90 per cent illiteracy.

The whole emancipation of China was primarily an emancipation from European capitalistic control. They knew it. They told me some of the plans and work toward freedom. I even went down and visited that new ghost capital between Shanghai and the sea, which was planned to cut Shanghai's supremacy in trade and transfer it to a Chinese city ruled by the Chinese. But it was a thing half-begun and half-done. A beautiful and empty library stood there;

a marble city hall. Streets were there and some houses; everything but people. And they explained that it took capital to do this. They did not have the capital.

And therein lay the secret. They proposed to out-capital capital. They were going to build a new Chinese industry which should emancipate them from European industry; and they felt themselves able to do this. But they bitterly resented the intrusion of Japan, coming in as though she were a western power destined to dominate Orientals; as though she, the culture child of China, was going to show China the way of life; that China which had lived a thousand years before Japan was born and would live long after Japan's end.

The intrusion of Japan was resented because of its very success and because of its all too apt imitation of western technique. The Chinese had not been invited to hold hands with their yellow brother and march side by side toward freedom. They were ordered rather to put their manpower at the mercy of Japanese exploitation and let Japan finish what England, France, and Germany had begun, but would never now complete. There was more they might have said -- much more. But it was difficult for this mixed group to phrase it, and they were not sure how much I knew or just where my sympathies would be.

But I knew something of the tragedy of China, Japan and Europe in the nineteenth century. Here were kindred peoples in eastern Asia, stretching from Sakhalin to the Indies and mingling their blood with the whites of Siberia and the blacks of the South Seas. On a fringe of northern islands Japan developed a variation of Chinese culture; on the continent the Chinese built a magnificent pattern of life. To these in the nineteenth century came Britain and America to trade. America forced its way into Japan and Britain opened China, to the Indian opium which the British were determined to sell from their Indian colony.

Trade ensued, slowly and methodically in Japan; roughly and drunkenly in China, until by the time of the American Civil War China was all but a

British colony, while Japan was silently preparing to meet the whites on their own ground. Rebellion and hatred of the whites ebbed and flowed in China, while industry grew in Japan, and by 1894 Japan challenged China and disclosed her weakness to Europe, insisting only on being counted in among the harpies who gathered about the corpse. It was a curious flanking movement toward power. As partial master of China, Japan appeared as partner of Europe in the further exploitation of Asia. The very boldness of this move showed a deference to the power and methods of Europe, which was flattering. It made no bid for an Asia independent of Europe. It only asked partnership with Europe in Asiatic domination. Britain rose promptly to the bait. But China was not dead; the Boxers arose in rebellion, the intrepid Empress Dowager played politics, and a dreamer and reformer, Sun Yat-Sen, began to loosen the Manchus on their throne. Japan conquered Czarist Russia but Communist Russia gave advice and training to Sun Yat-Sen, when the Manchus were overthrown.

Europe and the United States were set on the control of Asia, but Japan was a problem. Could a colored nation be allowed to equal the white in exploitation of Asia? After the Russo-Japanese war, Britain thought Yes. After the first World War, Australia and the United States persuaded her to change her mind. So Japan, egged on by her military masters, took the bit into her teeth and resolved to conquer Asia in the face of the World. She discounted China as too weak and submissive to be a partner and gained the bitter enmity of those Chinese who were destined to rebuild China.

It was at this point, that I landed in China and had a glimpse of Japan. I had seen the Chinese University in Moscow in 1926 and I knew how Sun Yat-Sen, son of a peasant, had received sympathy and cooperation from Russia alone when he appealed to the West for help to establish the Chinese Republic after the overthrow of the Manchus. He saw the Russian Revolution in 1917, the year his Kuomingtang party attempted to take charge of China. The divisions in

China were irreconcilable and he appealed to the Soviets; he received trained leaders and Borodin was sent as adviser and ambassador. At the first party congress, held in 1924, Communists were admitted. A military academy was founded and a certain young man of thirty-eight years of age named Chiang Kai-shek, educated in Japan, was on Borodin's advice made head of it. Cancer and continual internal bickering among his followers killed the great Sun Yat-Sen in March, 1925, and in September Chiang Kai-shek became commander of the Kuomingtang army and proceeded to organize the party. The next year he had deserted the Communists, murdered thousands of students and workers, and with the help of rich bankers set up rule in Shanghai, while Borodin and the Communists ruled in Hankow five hundred miles west. But Chiang proved the stronger. His armies moved north and seized Peiping and his government gained recognition from all Europe.

41-9-52

Chiang pretended to keep Sun Yat-Sen's principles of nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood, but he married into the rich Soong family and ended in such dictatorship and reaction, that even while I was in China, in December, 1936, the northern Chinese, both warlord and Communist, resented his surrender to Japanese imperialism, kidnapped him, hiding on a rock in his nightshirt and without his false teeth; and held him until he promised to fight Japan.

Sun Yat-Sen's program was Communism; not the complete Russian line, but an extreme socialism which envisaged division of the land, control of industry, ownership of capital in heavy industry, and the welfare state. How interesting it would have been if Russia and China had been able to cooperate in 1936, as in 1926!

On the contrary, in 1936, an uncertain, distracted China, led by a greedy, crafty man of no ideals or integrity, was face to face with a great, new Asiatic imperialism, set to challenge the imperialism of Europe on its own grounds and with its own methods.

The most disconcerting thing about Asia in 1936 was the burning hatred of China and Japan. It was a vivid, real thing and a major threat to the peace of the world. I discounted it before I came to Asia -- ~~now~~ then I could scarcely exaggerate it. With China and Japan in understanding and in cooperation, the domination of Europe, the enslavement and insult and exploitation of the darker majority of mankind ~~is~~ would have been at an everlasting end. But with China and Japan in rivalry, war and hatred, Europe still continued in 1936 to rule the world for her own ends.

What is the basis of the trouble between China and Japan? China's submission to white aggression and Japanese resistance; Japanese determination to cooperate with Europe, even when that involved aggression in China; the disappearance of central control in China and the growth of perfect team work in Japan; finally, the open and veiled effort of Europe to increase in every way the break between these cousins. Thus Asia is the prize of the world; its materials, its millions of cheap, docile workers; its climate, rivers, and mountains -- all this means wealth, luxury and magnificence to those who own, control and exploit China.

42-2A-80

Across the narrow straights, is a people determined to wrest control of China from the white world. Japan proposes to accomplish this by using the white world's technique and organization which she has learned meticulously ever since Perry forced her gates and insulted her. Deftly and courteously she evaded western control. Thoroughly and continuously she studied western methods, until in 1936 the West feared Japanese industrial organiation more than any in the world.

I left the bustle and roar of Shanghai, December 1, 1936. We sailed the Sea of Japan and all night it rioted. Next noon, I was at Nagasaki -- busy, quiet, polite and disciplined; yes, disciplined, that is the word for Japan. Why do we always instinctively think of islands as flat and low? I suppose it is the influence of maps. Japan is mountain peak in every

guise, fashion and height. It gives a primary impression of soaring height and strength as I sail the Inland Sea, from Nagasaki to Kobe. There is quiet, efficiency and order, in the porters, in the hills, in the villages nestling low on the sides of mountains.

I have never been welcomed to a land, least of all my own, as I was welcomed to Japan. I was helped past the port officials, white Americans being politely but firmly elbowed aside, to their open-mouthed surprise. It was astonishing to be at last in a colored vountry, able and determined to run itself without white advice. And Japan considers itself colored and not white. I have already tested this in conversation and suggestion. I was passed deftly through customs. The young fellow, who examined my books and papers, seemed a bit suspicious at several volumes. He balked definitely at a translation of Karl Marx's Capital, and sent it to higher authority; but it came back uncensored. We climbed into a taxi and rode from Kobe to Osaka, the industrial capital of Japan. It was almost a continuous city from the great importing center to the chief manufacturing and exporting center of Japan. My hotel had been selected and the manager was there in front to welcome me with a host of bowing servants. Never before has any land indicated that it knew or cared whether I arrived or not; except, of course, Africa.

What is Japan? I am I admit prejudiced in its favor. But I am trying to judge it fairly. First of all, it is colored. The blonde-haired world of my summer and fall is gone. The hair of the Japanese is coal black, with once in a thousand a faint brown. The skins vary from white to sallow, and then to yellow and brown. Casually, if I woke up suddenly in Japan, I should imagine myself among New Orleans or Charleston mulattoes.

But the most extraordinary thing about the Japanese is not physical; it is spiritual. They are independent and self-reliant and self-sufficient colored folk in a white world. They have no fear of white folk or secret envy. Whatever white folk do or have done, the Japanese are sure they can do better. And they do. They are more prompt than New England. Even their ships start on the minute, and you can set your watch by their trains. They are cleaner

than the Dutch. And for politeness and courtesy in public and private, the French are not even in the running.

Their cities? Let me say a word of Osaka. It has 3,000,000 people and is the seventh city of the world. It has 10,600 factories producing $420,000,000 worth of goods a year; it receives 20,000,000 tons of goods a year and ships out 12,300,000 tons. It has 8,000 business firms and a harbor which accommodates 184,000 domestic vessels and 2,900 ocean-going steamers a year. It is a clean city, beautiful city, built low and broad, rather than high, with a fine subway, electric cars and buses, and an automobile traffic rivaling European cities. It has broad thoroughfares and narrow winding streets. I found no slums; tiny, crowded quarters there were, but always neat and quiet. The red-light district, with the geisha girls, was quietest most respectable looking of all. It is a busy hard-working city, but there are no such signs of poverty and grinding, bitter toil as I saw in Shanghai. The rickshaw has almost disappeared from the streets. Wages are undoubtedly low, but I saw little begging. A leading paper cites 90,000 on relief, mostly old people and children. The intelligence of the public is shown by the numerous bookshops and the fact that the leading paper, circulating in several other cities beside Osaka, has 5,000,000 readers.

41-6-14

The accomplishment of Japan has been to realize the meaning of European aggression on the darker peoples, to discover the secret of the white man's power, and then, without revolutionary violence, to change her whole civilization and attitude toward the world, so as to emerge in the twentieth century as the equal in education, technique, health, industry and art of any nation on earth. It was a collossal task. It called for sacrifice. It called for genius. It called for team work. All this involved cost. It cost freedom and meant severe discipline. It meant severe repression. It meant force. But it was accomplished, and Japan is proud.

But in her very pride and accomplishment lies danger. The Europe which

she copied was no perfect land. The technique of industry which Japan mastered; the capitalistic regime which she adopted so successfully, has, as all thinking men can see today, threatening, if not fatal tendencies. And now, with a herculean task just behind her, Japan is called again to lead world revolution, and lead it with the minimum of violence and upheaval. In the nineteenth century Japan saved the world from slavery to Europe. In the twentieth century she is called to save the world from the slavery to capital.

Japan ~~today~~ has one tremendous advantage. She owns and controls her own capital. She need beg neither Wall Street nor Lombard Street for capital. She has her own engineers and technicians. Above all, she has a labor force that can live in contentment and health on twenty-five cents a day. Consequently, she is beating the commercial world today, and underselling every nation in world markets. She is reaching out with her capital and technique and controlling industry in China, and some parts of the South Seas. World Commerce is beginning to depend on Japanese goods. Go into any Woolworth store and see. Japanese labor in Japan is displacing white labor in England, France, Germany, and America.

41-9-66

Japan today is thinking in terms of capitalistic advance and not primarily in terms of human culture. Her attitude toward China is the main case in point. In the nineteenth century, Japan had to protect China against herself, or otherwise Europe moving from the domination of the Chinese would have sunk little Japan into the sea. China patriots today may not forget that they owe their chance for independence ~~today~~ to the fight the Japanese made against European aggression. The great Wall made it impossible for Europe to dominate the East, and the World War was caused by unbridled capitalism.

Japan, after the war, determined to dominate China and other parts of Asia, so as to make a recurrence of European aggression impossible. This is the secret of her military policy. But Japan forgets the danger of capitalism. Unbridled production cannot continue indefinitely. Cheap labor is not

in the end cheap for the nation that seeks to build prosperity on it. If Japan, in 1936, avoiding temptation, had raised the standard of living among her laborers, she could still compete with the world and at the same time develop a mass of workers who would be the most intelligent and gifted the world has ever seen. Democracy would become possible in a great land based on a really intelligent people. Industry would exist, not for Production, but for the widest and most profitable Consumption, made possible by rational distribution of such goods as the people really need for their weal.

41-9-54

China resented the patronage and attempted leadership of Japan, just as blacks in the West Indies have often resented the leadership of mulattoes. What was this upstart Japan, but the child of ancient Chinese culture. The aggression of war in 1894-1895 came just as Sun Yat-Sen, a young man of twenty-eight, was organizing his first societies to overthrow the Manchus, and helped open the doors of China to western aggression, in which Japan joined; she was among those nations who put down the Boxers in 1900. During the first World War, Japan made demands on China which only a conqueror could expect to attain, and which were probably made in anticipation of the coming end of European domination of Asia. But the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 restored international accord on China and left China open to the Revolution under Sun Yat-Sen. Japan continued interference, since she feared loss of Chinese markets.

The Shanghai incident came in January, 1932, and was caused by an increasing agitation and boycott in South and Middle China, especially at Shanghai, damaging Japan's Chinese trade after the Manchurian crisis. There were mobs and murders. Troops of the various countries were called out ~~January 29~~, and hostilities between the Japanese and Chinese ensued. Japan seized Manchuria, and February 24, 1933, the Assembly of the League of Nations, by unanimous vote, condemned Japan for this action. Matsuoka announced with-

drawal from the League of Nations in 1935.

It was the fear of England that was pushing Japan. England dominated China and India, Australia and New Zealand. But for the grace of God and the vigilance of the Japanese, she would own Japan. At one time during and after the Russo-Japanese war, recognizing the power and ability of the Japanese, England made alliance with her as an equal. Then, with no reason, except the unstated one of color prejudice in America, South Africa, and Australia and even Britain, of unwillingness to link her fortunes with yellow people, the alliance lapsed in 1921. When after the World War, China was disintegrating, Japan knew that unless she seized Manchuria, Europe would -- just as England seized and holds Hong Kong; France, Annam; and Germany and Russia large and larger slices, before the war. When Japan seized that part of China which was nearest anarchy, England, America, and the white world howled. China braced herself and, protected by European weakness and Europe's fear of Japan, began a forward development. But she let her bitterness toward Japanese aggression become a leading motive in her quest for new unity and strength, forgetting all about the worse and longer aggressions of white Europe.

Japan found herself between the devil and the deep blue sea; rapprochement with China, based on blood kinship and cultural likeness, was estopped by war and boycott, that reached unbelievable depths of hatred. Europeans secretly and openly encouraged a split between colored people which played directly into their hands. English papers, in 1936, in Shanghai retailed with calm impartiality every scrap of news and gossip calculated to influence China against Japan. Then came rearmament in Europe, with Japan outside. There seemed nothing for her to do but seek alliance with Germany and Italy, despite the fact that Germany despises yellow races, and Italy's hands are red with the blood of black Africa.

Worst of all, this alliance of Japan with Fascism sets her down as the

enemy of Russia. It was, of course, logical for Japan to recoil from her first European antagonist, whose defeat placed her in the family of nations. Moreover, certain points of the Russian Revolution touch Japan on the raw -- the attack on clan rule and religious dogma. But the Japanese family group was widely different from what Russia rightly attacked; and the Russian orthodox Church had no remote resemblance to Shinto cultural traditions and customs, or even to tolerant Buddhism as it exists in Japan.

These things disposed Japan to oppose the Soviets. But, of course, the underlying motive was the fear among the capitalists. Japanese industry is controlled by five great groups of capitalists. They are generous and patriotic men. They have been helped and often financed and furnished technique by the government, at the expense of the taxpayer. They would not and could not deny any demand of tht government in the line of taxation or cooperation. Also Then clan affiliation ties them to the lowest peasant. But they are capitalists and allied with international capital. They fear Russian Communism with its broad class strata and prefer their own vertical family division. Yet their supremacy in government influence is not as great as in many European lands. Above them stands Imperial authority and the power of the Japanese family, and the deep belief of the Japanese people in their destiny.

42-2A-83

There is poverty in Japan; there is oppression; there is no democratic freedom. But nowhere in the modern world is there higher literacy, as newspaper circulations of one, three, and even five millions prove. The Japanese laborer is not happy but he is not hopelessly discontented, and this is not stupor, but rather age-long memory of simple wants and joys, and firm faith in ultimate good.

Where, then, in spite of cruel misunderstanding and frustration, in spite of the rule of wealth and industry for private profit; in spite of the dominant military spirit, no worse but just as bad as in America, where else in the modern world is there a people so intelligent, so disciplined, so clean

and punctual, so instinctively conscious of human good and ill, as the Japanese? And where could the world of 1936 better look for leadership eventually toward industry based on well-being and not on private profit, and to a democracy which includes the masses of people and is conducted for their benefit? Japan was far from this in 1936. Few voted and voters were limited in power. Wealth ruledin Tokyo, as well as in New York and London, and Paris.

The resistance of China to this program was great and growing. What next? Next could come a change in object on the part of Japan, and a change would mean that Japan and China together as equals would try to industrialize the East and produce goods which the East itself needs, as well as goods needed by the rest of the world. And these goods which the masses of China and Japan need, would by the pressure of the communistic trends in China be distributed upon a new basis, not according to the ideals of the West which Japan is now following so strictly; but according to a new ideal much nearer that of Russia and strangely enough corresponding also in part with that integration of Japanese family industry, which makes the nation one industrial whole instead of the class-divided industrial system which one expects.

41-4-55

It must, of course, be Marxian in its abolition of industrial profit, toward which family and state communism in Asia already tends, but which has been frustrated by European influence. It must be Marxian in its division of income according to need; but it may be distinctly Asiatic in its use of the vertical clan division and family tie, instead of reaction toward a new bourgeoisie along horizontal class layers which must be the temptation of Europe.

It would take a new way of thinking on Asiatic lines to work this out; but there would be a chance that out of India, out of Buddhism and Shintoism, out of the age-old virtues of Japan and China itself, to provide for this different kind of Communism, a thing which so far all attempts at a socialistic state in Europe have failed to produce; that is a communism with its

Asiatic stress on character, on goodness, on spirit, through family loyalty and affection might ward off Thermidor; might stop the tendency of the Western socialistic state to freeze into bureaucracy.

41-9-52

It might through the philosophy of Gandhi and Tagore, of Japan and China, really create a vast democracy into which the ruling dictatorship of the proletariat would fuse and deliquesce; and thus instead of socialism ^ becoming a stark negation of the freedom of thought and a tyranny of action and propaganda of science and art, it would expand to a great democracy of the spirit.

There is hope here, vast hope. But the horror of it all is to see the fear of Soviet Russia and the blandishments of Germany and, perhaps, even of Italy, seducing Japan away from China and Asia and seeking to create a Fascist bloc which the finer world eventually must kill, or itself perish.

To me, the tragedy of this epoch was that Japan learned Western ways too soon and too well, and turned from Asia to Europe. She had a fine culture (an exquisite art) and an industrial technique unsurpassed in workmanship and adaptability. The Japanese clan was an effective social organ and her art expression was unsurpassed. She might have led Asia and the world into a new era. But her headstrong leaders chose to apply Western imperialism to her domination of the East, and Western profit-making replaced Eastern idealism. If she had succeeded, it might have happened that she would have spread her culture and achieved a co-prosperity sphere with freedom of soul. Perhaps.

In the dying days of 1936, while great Fujiyama still veiled its silver face, I went down to Yokohama and set foot upon the sea. I sailed east into the sunset again to discover America, in my own thought and through the thinking and doing of other folk. Ten days I journeyed until I came, at Christmas, to an unbelievable land of raining sunshine and everlasting flowers, called Hawaii. New Years, 1937, I stood in California of fact and fable, with the city of St. Francis of poverty and the birds before me and lifted up mine eyes to the hills beyond the Golden Gate, which form the rock-bound spinal column of America. Lifted them and let drop two small years; two little years; suddenly I saw the whole world aflame.

CHAPTER V

THE REIGN OF ROOSEVELT

I am an American. My forefathers have been Americans for three hundred years, and most of them have served America honestly and unstintingly. All of us have lived our lives in this land, mostly in New England and New York, often in the West and South. We have not greatly prospered; none have been rich but few have been paupers; few have attained exceptional eminence.

Assembling the sixteen of my great grand-parents, so as to avoid recent race mixure, it would appear from what I can learn, that nine of them were black Africans; and seven European whites. Of these whites, two were French, two others of Latin American descent, one Dutch, and one may have been a New England Puritan, although I trust not. Of these white folk, I know little. Two were Huguenots, probably honest artisans fleeing from persecution and poverty; another was a stodgy farmer, of the new world Dutch; a third was possibly a commercial trader, of the others I know nothing.

The mulatto Du Boises' were eminently respectable folk; I remember my grave gray, unsmiling grandfather as one who rather overdid the respectability line and caused revolt in my handsome, gay and irresponsible father. My calm and even-tempered mother helped to balance the brood. She was of the black Burghardts, who were different--loud and lusty; drinkers of hard cider and whiskey, and never avoiding a good fight. All these forebears served, as farmers, laborers, servants and soldiers, their country and their Gods.

To describe my feelings toward the United States as Love would not be English. My love was always for folk of dark skin to whom I gave my complete loyalty. France formyears I have theoretically loved; not for her blamelessness, but because in a half century of visiting her soil, I have always met sympathy and courtesy without sueingfor it. Despite finer

48-3-84

souls, some of whom I have known, I have always disliked the English, for their intolerable assumptions of superiority to everybody, their snobbery and cold hypocrisy. I cannot forget their contribution to the slave trade and slavery of my folk.

With 19th century Germany, I felt a kinship second only to that which bound me to Negroes. In part this was the accident of being, in my critical young manhood, thrown in close ontact with the best of pre-war Germany and thus having revealed to me a white folk different to any I had ever before met.

On the other hand, America has always to my mind been associated with repression if not insult. Not that all or even most of my American contacts and experiences involved such treatment. I have had many close and dear white friends; once four little Congregational churches in Connecticut, for three years, furnished me a scholarship of one hundred dollars a year while I was in college. I have usually lived a normal Americanlife, without hunger, with adequate clothes and shelter and with unusual opportunities for education. Wtih this, however and inextricably and continuously intertwined with it, went inhibitions, pinpricks and open insults which grew and swelled in my soul to proportions far beyond their intrinsic worth: where could I eat? Where must I live? What could I do for self-support? Was I among the "public" invited? Was it worth while entering this competition? Was the Harvard Glee Club fair in judging my voice? Was the Pullman sleeper really sold out? In all these ways and a hundred more, all my life, I was trained to expect discrimination. Often, probably most tmes, there was no unfairness; but my fatherland conditioned me for a half century to expect this , and too often I met what I looked for, and despite reason and philosophy, I nurtured hate for a nation with this cast of mind.

49-2-85

3

CHAPTER V

Then beyond myself, I saw and knew what America did to less fortunate Negroes than myself. I searched for and read details of every lynching and died horribly with the victim. I vividly imagined what I did not see or even hear of. I was soon clothed with a spirital provincialism, and an inner withdrawal and antagonism, beyond reasonand experience.

Thus to me, my native land spelled not affection, but grim duty. This is my native land. I shall never live elsewhere. I could not if I would. I would not if I could. Probably nowhere else whould I have received more if as much, in inspiration and opportunity. Had I been born in Africa, in 1868, I would have grown up to be slave of European or of American investment. If I had been born in England, I would have had even less opportunity than in the United States. In France, I would have had more; but would have been cut off from the Negro people and never known them or their problems. That would have meant that the plight of the poor and ignorant and sick of the world, would hardly have touched me at all or certainly not as deeply and intimately as it had to penetrate the soul of an American Negro.

That is why I spurned the well-meant advice a great and liberal white Georgian gave me: "You're right in your fight and your demands," he said, "but you can never win equality in this land; your struggle is in vain. Why do you not go to France and live?" I answered in my breast: "All right then, I'll lose. I'd rather lose fighting here where I was born than win in Europe. And why? Because this nations belongs to me, even if I have never belonged to this nation. And no God-damned Southerner nor cowardly Northern Copperhead nor servile 'white folks' Nigger' was going to stop my fight for the absolute freedom and equality of Black Folk in America."

But I am not so narrow as to think of the United States solely from the interests of me and my people. I know what America has meant to the

98-2-84

world . Here for the first in modern days, Liberty and Equality blossomed to real flower; here Democracy received a trying-out like nothing Europe n or Asia ever saw. Here on vaster scale than elsewhere ever, myriads of men-aye and of women- of differing nationalities and capacity, have lived together in peace and happiness, and wroked widely as they chose, and thought as they would. America is triumph and accomplishment for more men than ever anywhere before.[1] It only happens that my fate has been, not to be regarded as a fellow human being by most Americans and not treated as such. I will not forget or understate what America has meant to white folk; and too I will not bear false witness as to me and mine, either by lauding my slavery or thanking Abraham Lincoln for emancipation. I have said and will always continue to say while I speak that the treatment of Negroes in this land, past and now, shames and besmirches the escutcheon of a great and mighty nation whose son despite this it is my privilege to be.

The experience has narrowed my vision and made me provincial. I have seen Irishmen crawling out of the filth of their bogs to step in my face and crow; hill-billies and crackers from Alabama and Arkansas could spit on me to the applause of thousands; German peasants newly free could insult me; and Italians and Slovaks and a thousand others, couldnot only depirve me of a living but depend on white American mobs and police to jail or even lynch me for protesting.

When in season and out I protest, it is pointed out with perfect truth that in America, I have received food and clothes, adequate shelter, education far beyond my fellows, black and white, and not little honor and appreciation. I still maintain that my treatment in America has been exceptional and not characteristic. That my fate was not due to my desert but to lucky chance more often than to philanthropy. Had I been born on a Mississippi

49-2-84

plantation instead of in a New England village; had not liberalism at Harvard in the last decade of the 19th century cracked its doors to a few students from beyond Back Bay; if Rutherford Hayes, perhaps with some qualms at his role in Reconstruction, had not given me a Slater Fund Fellowship against the advice of respectable America, I might now lie buried as deep as thousands of unknown black boys of quite equal gifts.

This land is at fault and grievously guilty for not doing for thousands of more worthy Negroes what she has inadvertently done for me; and for utterly discouraging black boys and girls less stubborn and lucky than I, to reach for stars instead of being content in the gutter. Only a few years ago a professor at Bowdoin protested against sending a brilliant black student to Harvard on fellowship, lest "he become bitter like Du Bois." And when Harvard gave him a doctorate and used his thesis as a classroom text, the head of his department said confidentially to a friend of mine: "We'd keep him here to teach if he wasn't a nigger!" Far more important than this, I contend that the United States in suppressing her millions of black folk has ruined the ideals of liberty, equality and democracy for the mass of her white citizens and for the world. No double standard of decency can bring the millenium.

H9-2-88

My reasoning may be strained; but whether the reader agrees or not, I am sure he can understand the impact which Russia had upon me in 1926. I was not naive enough to think I had visited Utopia. On the contrary I knew quite well that I had had but a brief glance at small part of a vast land and of a desperately complicated problem. I boasted to my intimates that I was at the time the one American who had been a month in Russia and had not written abook about it. If I may quote a sour-mouthed old virago, whom the New York Board of Education insists on keeping to teach "niggers" and Jews their places, I have gained most of my advantages in America by insisting

"on being where I was not wanted."

There have, to be sure, been times when pushing in, I have found courtesy and welcome, but not usually. Why then over long years and with bitten lips have I continued to push? Because I wanted the opportunities of Harvard; because I wanted to hear the Ring of the Nibelungs; because I was tired and hungry; otherwise, believe me, I would have been as absent always as I was sometimes.

I cannot avoid being surprised when a white American treats me with courtesy. This is unfair to many white folk, because usuallly they are reasonably polite. But because of memories of a long past and because at time, ~~s~~ somewhere, I can be sure of more or less direct insult,--it is this sort of thing that makes living in the United States no unalloyed joy for black folk.

I can thus at once look on the United States as an outsider and continuous visitor, unintegrated into its culture and yet knowing and sharing it. I can see as few others can, the way in which the presence of a depressed class of human beings has distorted and still distorts our social development. My emotional sympathy with this group will doubtless exaggerate its influence, and for this margin of error the reader must make allowance,. Nevertheless my total view is worth setting down.

Meantime my full and unstinting loyalty and service went to my fellows of Negro descent, not simply in the United States, but in the West Indies and in Africa, which I never saw until I was sixty. Thence by logic I gave my friendship to all colored folk, in Asia and in the South Seas, hoping that in some way the dark world would unite forces and thrust itself across the color bar. In earlier years I pictured this as conquest of the whites by revolt and war. After the First World War, I renounced force, convinced that by war alone no cause can win. Afterward I looked increasingly for mental and moral victories of black over white.

12-2-64

When the free land and resources of America were thrown open to Europe they became in part a gift to the landless poor of Europe and a gateway to freedom of speech, freedom of belief, and freedom from want and fear. But the presence of Indians and Negroes as low paid labor, depressed by slavery and caste, also made this continent a boon to producers of basic material in the world-wide demand, which were ~~were~~ exchanged into capital goods and became the foundation of a new capitalism out of which the swiftly growing technique developed an Industrial Revolution.

Thus both individual freedom and exploitation of labor developed side by side in America and were confused in world thought, as differing aspects of the same expanding culture. This was possible because Negroes came to be regarded as not human in the same sense as whites, and as thus presenting no challenge to humanity or religion. When modern capitalism, built on the slave trade and slavery, began to raise Europe to Wealth and Power, the white workers of both Europe and America, began also to feel the pinch of poverty in the midst of progress and struck back in an organized labor movement which gained them political power and elementary education; and in America developed into an attempt to limit the area of slave labor and especially to keep from the slave system the vast free land acreage of the West.

Economic power in the United States opposed this with an attempt to preserve slave labor and the cotton and sugar which it used, and extend its area not only in this country but also to the Southwest and the Caribbean area. This aroused an organized anti-slavery movement, helped by fugitive slaves; and by white laborers who sought to get rid of slave competition. Civil War ensued, which resulted in victory for the North, when the Southern slaves began to desert the plantation and even to enter the ranks of the Northern armies as soldiers.

49-2-90

8

There were in 1864, two hundred thousand armed black soldiers in the Union army used as shock troops and for garrison duty. Beside these there were at least 250,000 black laborers, scouts and servants. There was no reason that by 1866, these numbers might not be increased to a million. It was this clear fact, unmentioned by North or South, which brought surrender in 1865.

Dilemma thereupon faced the nation. It had not at first fought to free the slaves, but to prevent the spread of slave labor. It accepted slaves' help to win the war and emancipation as a war measure. Now it looked on 4,000,000 poor and ignorant freedmen. What was to be done? Both Philanthropy and decency demanded for these victims of 250 years of exploitation and degredation, a system of adequate employment with decent wages, civil rights, a minimum of land and tools, and education. An attempt was made toward this, first in education by the more democratic churches. Then a Freedmans' Bureau was proposed by Sumner and Stevens, in whose charge the freedmen and white refugees were to be placed and trained for full citizenship. This was a great start toward real democracy and incipient socialism in the United States, without color caste and with full economic opportunity. It was stopped and frustrated by Threat and Compromise: The threat of the beaten slave power to use their increased political power based on emancipation, to lower the tariff and repudiate the war debt. Swift retaliation on the part of that industry which had been built on the war tariff and by finance holding millions of gold bonds resulted in the enfranchisment of the freedmen. The white South was aghast; but still based hope on the certain failure of Negroes as voters. Negroes did not fail. They attempted a social dictatorship of labor black and white and succeeded in establishing free education, some division of the land and welfare legislation. Northerners helped them and poor white labor began to join the blacks.

49-2-91

If the South had regarded Negroes as human; if it had seen abolition as a benefit instead of as a threat; it would have consented to build a New South on equality, democracy and education. This effort / the whole nation should have helped generously, considering the losses and distress of war. But no substantial part of the South would consider this for a moment. The whole training of the South for centuries had been toward petty aristocracy and slave labor. The overwhelming majority wanted past conditions restored as nearly and completely as possible. They envied the rich North. They hated "Niggers."

The industrial leaders of the North were equally indifferent or even immune to democracy. They had come out of the war with wealth, monopoly and privilege. Protected by tariff legislation, federal subsidy for ships and railroads, new machinery and the latest technique, the North stood tip-toe on the vastest expansion of industry the world had ever known. The White South, both former masters and ambitious poor whites, were asked to promise not to touch the tariff, not to scale the national debt, and to give the nation control of industry, without state interference. In return for this, the South was tacitly assured that they could lynch, mob and kill Negroes and treat black labor as slave in almost everything but name. This bargain was consummated in 1876, after a hectic decade of struggle, when the temporarily enfranchised Negroes put up a tragic and hopeless struggle to enter modern democracy as free men, despite their handicap of ignorance and poverty. Their effort did not wholly fail. It succeeded in many ways. This success doomed it.

White American labor, war-weary and confused, accepted this compromise, convinced that Negroes were not their equals and failing to realize how this exploited minority would help to keep down their wage. To the disfranchised Negro was added, 1861-1900, 14 million white immigrants who flooded the labor

44-2-92

market, lowered wage and living standards and precipitated a new civil war of labor and capital. In 1877, the white world looked on complacently, drugged by the upsurge of capitalism the world over, now developing into colonial imperialism, and rationalizing its Progress on the theory of inferior races working for the comfort and luxury of white Europe. This was exactly what British and French aristocracy and plutocracy wanted before the Civil War, and were about to achieve when emancipation threatened to upset their plans. Now with new and triumphant industry in America all this was accomplished and the American Negroes were kept in slavery in all but name, so as to encourage no ambitions among the dark serfs of Africa and Asia.

By 1885, the United States had adopted its basic philosophy: Life was Business and Business was Life; Civilization was the product of Industry and Industry was seed and product of Human Culture. Without profitable Industry nothing worth while was possible and Science, Art and Religion were the gracious gifts of the Merchant and his Banker. The United States entered upon its fabulous modern career as the greatest industrial nation on earth. Business enterprise was free of practically all moral, conventional and religious restraints. Americans lied, stole, murdered, lynched and mobbed. Their untrammeled exploits became world legends. But wages rose, comforts multiplied and the national standard of living increased. The poor boy who rose from poverty to wealth beyond the dreams of averice by any sort of cheating and lying he could use; the errant boy who come to rule an empire of business assisted by violence and murder; the industry which extended over the nation and reached Europe and Asia by high-jacking and deception; the technique which performed miracles unheard of and undreamed of, for manufacturing millionaires; this was America. This was white supremacy.

Big Business consolidated its power in the last quarter of the 19th

49-2-93

century under reckless, able and unscrupulous leaders. ~~In opposition to them, arose the trade union movement.~~ By 1894, Industry became a fight of everybody for himself, with monopoly of the necessaries of life as the prizes. Millions of property were transferred from the possession of the many to that of the few, without the knowledge of the many, nor their consent; without compensation and by falsehood and in violation of law. "Every great fortune that rolled out of the 19th century was rooted in fraud." "In their absorbing passion for the accumulation of wealth, men were plundering the resources of the country like burglars looting a palace." The share of the national income received by the richest 1.6 o/o of the population rose nearly 100 o/o, From 10.8 o/o in 1896 to 19 o/o in 1909.

Meantime, in this same America, free individual enterprise was reaching its practical limits. Cutthroat competition, anarchy of method, aim and plan was throwing business into industrial chaos. Fortunes were mounting, millionaires multiplying, but the total economy was not safe. Here was a chance for the socialist theories of Europe to be applied and our own dreamers like Henry George and Bellamy began to point this out. But the United States turned to another direction. Through private planning and volunteer combinations, industrial effort began to be centralized and competition limited. This put curbs on individual initiative. The vaunted American freedom was disappearing and liberals complained. But Business answered that this was in the nature of modern industry and social laws. To which the logical reply was that the State, the legal expression of the Public Will, was the natural organ to take over such private industry as could not be conducted efficiently by spearate individuals.

49-2-44

To this answer, America would not listen. In 1894, there were already over 400 combinations to monopolize the necessaries of life. The census of 1900 showed that half of these combinations controlled one-third of the manufacturing resources of the nation; by 1908, there were 10,000 combinations with 31 billions of capital. In the 20th century while the farmers' income fell and wages stood still, incomes of $10,000 and up, rose in nine years 114%. The number of persons with incomes of $100,000 up increased from 6,633 in 1916 to 14,816 in 1929, ~~compared with those who received $5,000 million in 1929.~~ Huge corporations replaced individual enterprise and business increased to vast dimensions. But in such integration, there was not only no democratic control, but as one millionaire said, it was personal or oligarchic rule by divine right, in the hands of men "to whom God in his wisdom had entrusted this wealth."

49-2-95

But these corporations, to function properly and completely, had to have certain functions of government: police power, court injunctions, eminent domain in acquiring land and other property, control of money and credit and fixing of wages and profits. To attain such powers, the corporations went into politics: first to prevent democratic government from exercising these functions against monopoly business; next to control their exercise by the representatives of industry.

"The rise of the modern corporation has brought a concentration of economic power which can compete on equal terms with the modern state--economic power versus political power, each strong in its own field. The state seeks in some aspects to regulate the

corporation, while the corporation steadily becoming more powerful, makes every effort to avoid such regulation. Where its own interests are concerned, it even attempts to dominate the state. The future may see the economic organism, now typified by the corporation, not only on an equal plane with the state, but possible even superceding it as the dominant form of social organization." (Berle and Means, p 357)

It was not so much government taking over private enterprise, as private enterpirse taking over the functions of government. In Wilson's administration, automobile interests secured $240,000,000 of public funds to promote road-building. Soon the United States had the most elaborate system of roads in the world, ostensibly for the farmers, but really for an infant industry set on its feet at public expense. The airplane industry was financed by govenmment funds. The pioneer inventors like the Wrights got next to nothing, while financiers reaped fortunes. The same was true of shipping, railroads, radio and other industries. "Pioneering don't pay," said Andrew Carnegie.

In many industries which individuals cannot develop, corporations are brought in and become more powerful than the state. There are in the United States thirty corporations with assets of more than $1,000,000,000 each. Thus, United States Steel, United States Rubber and General Motors take over the name and many of the functions of government and yet make profit as private individuals. Thus, often the private corporation or even individuals can perform functions of a public nature which the state is unable to perform; as when a single millionaire provides a site for the United Nations; or when a corporation televises their proceedings. These may be public spirited acts, but they are public functions and it is a question if wealth should be allowedto accumulate under private control so as to perform

49-2-96

work which the government under democratic control should be able to do.

A society in which production is governed by general economic forces is being replaced by one in which production is carried on under the control of a handful of individuals. "The economic power in the hands of the few persons who control a giant corporation is a tremendous force which can harm or benefit a multitude of individuals, affect whole districts, shift the currents of trade, bring ruin to one community and prosperity to another. The organizations which they control have passed far beyond the realm of private enterprise--they have become more nearly social institutions."

Private wealth by bribing public officials got incalculable values for almost nothing, as at Tea-Pot Dome and in this and analogous cases, control of industry began to be effected not by persons investing their own resources, but by the power which banks as custodian exercise over these resources. As Justice Brandais said, such control of other peoples money made for recklessness, speculation and the reaping of enormous profits, which the real owners of capital did not share. Law makers were bribed and even elections of presidents controlled as in the Bryan-McKinley contest.

49-2-47

World War burst on this development. We tried at first to stand aside and use the war for profit. Then when we had to enter, we let business profit in the handling of army funds; in the purchase of lands and materials and in shipping; until the South especially became rich through international disaster.

Of the causes of the First World War, President Wilson said: "The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place,

was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her; and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred, was ~~not~~ successful commercial and industrial rivalry."

Following the war, came a hectic spurt of business with a pause in 1920 and then a wild rush of speculation from 1922 to 1929. The American world went money-mad. A new economic era was opening with profits incalculable. Banks and corporations poured surplus cash into the money market and contributed heavily to the campaigns, which put Harding, Coolidge and Hoover in the White House. Then came the day of reckoning. Black panic engulfed the nation on October 29, 1929; 16 million shares in corporations changed hands in five hours, dragging down millions of paper profits. Millionaires became paupers, captains of industry committed suicide and the world stared at the worst depression in modern days.

49-2-98

At the helm of state was the easy-going Harding, the colorless Coolidge and at the crash, Herbert Hoover. Hoover for 20 years had been a promoter and investor for Britain in Asia, Africa and Australia. He had heavy investments in Russian oil and lumber before the Revolution. In some years he drew salaries aggregating $100,000 a year. As food commissioner during and after the war he helped the war against Russia. As Secretary of Commerce he acted so as to nullify the laws against trusts, by furnishing government data to help corporations set prices. This gained him the Presidency; with the help of prejudice against Catholics. As President, he drove the veterans out of Washington, signed the highest tariff law in history against

the advice of the economists, and when the crisis broke, refused the demands of Congress for aid to the unemployed.

Thus when capitalism collapsed throughout Europe, our business enterprise was largely under control of trusts, our international trade stopped by tariffs, the whole of our banking system near bankruptcy; the gold standard began to totter and ten million American workers were unemployed and facing starvation. Hoover remained firm and stubborn. This was but a temporary upset. Our economy was fundamentally sound. "Prosperity was just around the corner." Capital needed temporary help and capital, once on its feet, would take care of labor.

Then in 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt became President of the United States and remained in that position until his death in 1945; twelve pregnant years for the world, and years of revolution for America. Who was this man Roosevelt and what did he try to do? He was not like Hoover, a business man and industrial promoter; he was not like Coolidge, a conventional New England farmer. He was a politician but of higher type than Harding or Truman. He was a man of manners and training, with knowledge of polite society, literature and sports. He was a man of inherited wealth, who had never had to earn a living; he enjoyed an unearned income but could not conceive making money as a main object of life.

He said bluntly; in his first inaugural speech: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself--nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance... We face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is

49-2-44

faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce, and the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

"More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

"And yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty, and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languished in the very sight of the supply.

"Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts of minds of men...

"Yes, the money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit."

There is here no doubt of Roosevelt's radical thought; Roosevelt was not a socialist, but he was tremendously impressed by socialism; he was stirred by the socialistic legislation of Britain, Germany and

44-2-166

France in the early 20th century. Especially did the idea of a planned economy, espoused by the Soviet Revolution of 1917, attract him as it attracted all inquiring minds of that day. He said once in the early days of Communism: "I recognized that many leaders in Russia were bringing education and better health and above all, better opportunity to millions who had been kept in ignorance and serfdom under the imperial regime. I disliked the regimentation under communism. I abhorred the indiscriminate killings of thousands of innocent victims. I heartily deprecated the banishment of religion." This fact is forgotten or ignored today. The Trotsky propaganda and the extirpation of Russian treason had repelled him and many others but the basic plan of economic reform sank deep in the minds of all liberals, even of many who today are swearing by high heaven that they never, never saw anything hopeful in the Soviet Union. The fact remains that Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union in the first year of his administration, after Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover had waited 16 years to perform this simple act of justice.

It was the educational system of his day which failed Roosevelt in his deepest need. His experience in industrial organization was not wide; his knowledge of the social developments of his age was narrow. He and his fellows of that day, did not receive in school or college any broad foundation in social science. He needed the guidance of a Karl Marx, a Friedrich Engles, a ~~Nicolai~~ Lenin; who had plumbed the depth and breath of modern industrial development. But such men were not mentioned, much less studied in the American college of Roosevelt's day. At Harvard they were heresy; and elsewhere anathema. But they were attacked by silence and neglect, not yet by witch-hunting as today, although by 1936, more teachers had

49-2-101

been dismissed for unorthodox economics than ever before.

Roosevelt's Brain Trust was ridiculed, because an executive tried to appeal to science instead of industry for guidance; the appeal was not conspicuously successful, because science--more especially social science--was in its Ivory Tower stage and had little truck with politics and business. The Harvard Professor on whom he called for advice on finance was far too theoretical for current money problems; in general it was clear that American study of social problems was superficial and academic, and furnished slight hope or scientific help for Roosevelt.

Sociology in the United States had not yet taken itself seriously; with Harvard it long hesitated even to call itself a science; but modestly regarded itself as a collection of miscellaneous facts about human beings, arranged in statistical tables or mathematical formulae. A real science of human conduct was simply beyond the conception of most teachers of sociology. Human action was viewed therefore either as pure chance or the result of undiscovered or undiscoverable law.

There was one teacher in a small western college, Macey, who helped Roosevelt immeasurable by teaching a gangling youth, Harry Hopkins, to take social reform seriously. Hopkins had studied poverty and charity on New York's East Side. He had lived in social settlements, those 19th century efforts to see "how the other half lives" and do something about it. He and I both used to frequent Lillian Wald's settlement; but we did not speak; there was a wall between us, which confined me in act on and interest to the narrow and quasi-nationalistic field of black folk. He was reaching out to the world. He had already given Roosevelt hard work and loyalty of a rare order and eventually supplied the socialist twist to his policies.

49-2-108

So Franklin Rooosevelt started with the strong word of his cousin Teddy at John Brown's Ossawatomie in 1910-- strong but never implemented; "We grude no man a fortune in civil life if it is honorably obtained and well used. It is not enough that it should have been gained without doing damage to the country. We should permit it to be gained only so long as the gaining represents benefits to the community. This, I know, implies a policy of far more active government interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in governmental control is necessary..."

Roosevelt faced three fields of effort: Restoration of industry; relief distress and reform of the social organization. The Soviet Union would have advised, first Reform; then relief and finally restoration; with the thought that an overall plan of re-organized economic life would be pre-requisite to any permanent relief, or any re-organization of industry, which would avoid waste. But this would have been impossible in a land which was sure that despite temporary disaster, that ours was the last word in industrial organization. Moreover, Hoover had already made a start to re-habilitate the tottering banking structure. Roosevelt moved to reopen the banks and restore confidence, following with surrendering the gold standard, and curiously enough, government insurance of small depositors. Here was the opportunity and duty to assume national control of banking, which would have been following the clear trend of scientific thought. Government control of money, credit and distribution of capital was spreading in the world and after the war seemed, to most thinkers, even to those who were not socialistic, as imperative.

49-2-103

as the postal service.

Neither Roosevelt nor his advisers had any clear overall conception of the economic status of the world and its development and cure. They paid no attention to Karl Marx, St. Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen or Louis Blanc. They had assimilated the American obsession that normal life is mainly industry. When therefore Business failed, the one duty was to restore it, rehabilitate it. That the system of industry which the 19th century had raised to world rule, had itself collapsed not only on account of world war, but from subtler reasons which they did not grasp. Whether the former industrial set-up could be restored or how it could be improved or whether it must be replaced, these were certainly questions which all called for study and examination. There is no indication that in the United States or in the councils of the government, or in the world of science, any such attitude was contemplated. Without hesitation or inquiry it was assumed that the only problem before America was how Industry could most quickly be restored to its former stature and functions. And the reason for this unrealistic and unscientific state of mind was the extent to which the United States was ruled, directed and schooled by organized industry.

49-2-104

Indeed it was the firm belief of America that human action was so unpredictable that planning for the future on any national scale was futile, and every action must be guided by individual and local trial and error. Yet most men knew that this attitude was unrealistic and forced on the country by selfish business interests. This land should and could know accurately the income of all citizens and its source and kind; it could know what taxes each person pays for the support of government; it could know price levels and changes;

costs of processing; property and ownership and rents; ownerships of corporations with income and expense, salaries and dividends. We could measure sickness and death, education and occupation far more accurately than our hit or miss census methods now accomplish. With this body of knowledge and a mass of other data concerning life and deeds of men, we could act and legislate with some accuracy and not by guess work, without infringing any privacy to which men have any essential right.

Relief came next. When Roosevelt came to power he faced thirteen million unemployed. Unemployment was too critical and explosive a matter to be handled entirely by Industry. Here naked socialism entered despite furious opposition. Under Harry Hopkins, 20,000,000 ~~million~~ independent, free Americans received millions of dollars in doles and were thus raised from poverty, despair and crime. It was an astonishing performance for America and to many seemed the end of the world. Why should a rich land, where everybody was free to initiate enterprise and accumulate wealth, resort to charity in order to survive? The plain answer was that millions of Americans were not free, could not earn a living, and faced starvation; that millions more of Americans dependent on the spendings of the presently unemployed faced analogous disaster. The country had no time even to enquire into the real causes of this situation before they must feed the hungry and make work for the idle.

Hopkins said: "I have never liked poverty. I have never believed that with our capitalistic system people have to be poor. . I think it is an outrage that we should permit hundreds and hundreds of people to be ill clad, to live in miserable homes, not to

49-2-105

have enough to eat; not to be able to send their children to school for the only reason that they are poor. I don't believe ever again in America are we going to permit the things to happen that have happened in the past to people. We are never going back again, in my opinion, to the days of putting the old people in the alms houses, when a decent dignified pension at home will keep them there. We are coming to the day when we are going to have decent houses for the poor, when there is genuine and real security for everybody. I have gone all over the moral hurdles that people are poor because they are bad. I don't believe it. A system of government on that basis is fallacious."

In October, 1933, Hopkins knew that with winter coming on the unemployment problem was bound to become more desperate and that the only solution was a huge work program. Thus by his advice the CWA succeeded state and local programs of relief, and was operated and 90% of its support came from federal funds. This aroused keen fears of socialism among many. It was one of the broadest programs ever instituted by the United States Government; and sought to provide individual work as near as possible to previous employment with pay prevailing wages with a minimum of thirty cents an hour.

The winter of 1933-4 was a terrible one with severe cold, and later floods and hurricanes. Suffering was wide spread and the initial appropriation of $400 millions was supplemented by $950 millions to sustain 20,000,000 in distress. In three and a half months the CWA built or improved 40,000 school houses; laid 12,000,000 feet of sewer pipe; built 469 airports and improved 529 others; built or improved 255,000 miles of road; employed 50,000 teachers to teach adults and open rural schools; built or improved 3,700 playgrounds

49-2-106

and athletic fields.

Among the 4,264,000 for whom work was found, were 3,000 writers and artists. It will take the nation long to realize what was done for American culture by this great gesture before it was sabotaged by organized industry. Indeed under present restrictions the truth may never be known. Borglum the sculptor wrote: "You have the only department that is free to help the creative impulses of the Nation, all other aids take in the character of hard business." This part of the program brought the most bitter criticism and was the first to be dropped.

With the passage of the omnibus work relief bill, there appeared three divisions of the relief program, a general clearing house, the PWA under Ickes, designed to help private enterprise by pump priming; and the WPA under Hopkins, designed to furnish work, regardless of its commercial value. This program eventually cost $10 billion dollars.

The enemies of the New Deal pounced on the WPA, as a matter of "handouts to Pan-Handlers," Only Roosevelt's popularity saved it; it rescued not only 20,000,000 needy, but the manufacturers, shop-keepers and landlords, dependent on them.

The attempt to rescue the farmers from bankruptcy followed in part the American industrial pattern, which was to raise prices by artificial scarcity. Thus in a hungry and naked world, we had the extraordinary spectacle of food being destroyed and the production of necessary materials curtailed. Yet for a hundred years it had been known that the earth could provide for the wants of men, if reasonably distributed. A national survey in 1934, when there were 12 million unemployed and nearly 20 million on relief, reported that there could

49-3-107

be plenty for all. But as Roosevelt gropedtoward that ideal, in that same year, the superintendent of schools of Gary, Indiana, that Steel Trust Town, made headlines and secured investigation by Congress when he declared that certiam members of the "Brain Trust" had confessed to him that they aimed at overthrowing our government and establishing Communism in this country!

The real underlying effort was to transfer some of the swollen income of industry to the persons who raised basic materials. Big Business was ever concerned to prevent abundance of goods from flooding the market. The New Deal sought to bring agriculture into this program, because the farmers during the war had so increased production that now farm prices were about to collapse. To do this directly by taxation on business was opposed by Industry; but since it must be done, it was accomplished by destruction of food and by bonus. But the bonuses instead of reaching the dirt farmer, quite often reached only the Junker land monopoly which was applying capitalist methods to farming and reducing the dirt farmer to tenancy. The attempt to go further and help the small farmer with his mortgages was sabotaged largely by the Supreme Court.

801-2-108

But that Roosevelt was far ahead in his thinking of the average intelligent American was clear from the revolutionary nature of his next steps: the Tennessee Valley Authority and the National Recovery Act, both of which involved reform of the basic American economy. The most startling measure of the New Deal, was the National Recovery Act, by which the government tried temporarily to assume direct control over the entire business of the country. It did not directly take over industries, but invited representatives to Washington to

26

work out "codes" of fair dealing to be followed. Industries which refused might be put under a "blanket code"; those which violated the code would have the Blue Eagle, symbol of cooperation, taken away. By the end of Roosevelt's first year nearly 400 codes had been drawn up, and 90 per cent of the industrialists of the country were supporting the NRA. The terms fixed minimum wages, prescribed hours of labor, abolished sweat-shop and child labor in various industries, and required business men to submit to the examination of their books by government inspectors.

This measure took imagination and courage. Organized industry, reeling under national panic, accepted the effort with a wry face. American labor had clung to its "laissez-faire" objection to government interference in its business; but now with one sweep the NRA, turned it into a semi-public trade unionism. One section of the NRA strengthened organized labor by forbidding employes to discharge men for belonging to a union "of their own choosing." This abolished the "open shop;" nor could the employees be forced to join the "company unions controlled by the employers." The terms of the act were resisted by some manufacturers, but most of them complied under the pressure of public opinion and the threats of General Johnson. Before this act had been thoroughly tried out the Supreme Court, long representatives of business interests, outlawed its main features. However in the Wagner Act of 1935, the right of labor to bargain, long recognized by all civilized lands, was at last conceded by this nation and it was admitted that coal mines might be run without machine guns and Pinkerton dectives. Court Injunctions were curbed in order to induce labor unions not to use their political power and form a real

49-2-109

labor party.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was a perfectly clear case of government intrusion in an area of economic endeavor where private enterprise could not enter save with powers of government. It had been championed in vain for years by George Norris. It at last was forced through Congress amid the bitter opposition of Industry. For Industry knew that this was the entering wedge for similar projects covering the river system of the whole country and destined to break the private monopoly of public wealth in agriculture, forestry and power control. Franklin Roosevelt deserves credit for this consumation of the life work and fine vision of Senator Norris.

The President said: "It is clear, that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential public usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends mere power development: it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry. In short, this power development of war days leads logically to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many states and the future lives and welfare of millions. I t touches and give life to all forms of human concern."

Industry submitted to this at first because of panic and the tottering of all security. Then it began to fight back against the "Red in the White House." The Supreme Court, long representatives of business interests, threw out Roosevelt's attempt to regulate industry by codes, emasculated his attempt to refinance farm mortgages

49-2-110

and stopped the stabilizing of the bituminous coal industry. Of his nine main measures, the Court spoiled seven. Roosevelt attempted to curtail the reaction of these "nine old men", but failed until death and age helped him out.

From here Roosevelt went forward to curbing the "unjust concentration of wealth and economic power." by surtaxes on income. This was the most dangerous invasion on the inner control of the nation by monopoly which the President dared. It caused his election to a second term by overwhelming vote of 27 to 16 million votes and an almost unanimous electoral vote.

The people of the United States were behind Roosevelt. If he had had an overhead guiding plan toward which he was steering, he might have transformed the nation from a plutocracy to a social democracy. But he was hampered by the courts, that part of our political structure which the founders purposely left outside democratic control. The size and power of organized industry was so great that Roosevelt would have had a life task to curb it, even if he had really sensed its power. He did not, although his vision was growing and clearing. He began to conceive of taxation as a means of transferring wealth from the rich to the poor, and Townsend and Huey Long did not stand in his mind as mere demogogues.

The President said in his second inaugural address: "I see one third of a nation, ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the National Resources Comittee showed, in depression years, that nearly one-third of all American incomes were under $750 a year and nearly half under $1,000. Since then the national income, in dollars, has increased, even though the dollar has

49-2-111

decreased in value and yet eight million American families and individuals in 1948 received cash incomes of less than $1000. THE NEW YORK TIMES, admits "relatively few of our population can save enough during the most useful working years to sustain them during the years when they are too old or too feeble to work."

The resistence of Big Business to the Roosevelt New Deal was unremitting. The chief Republican paper in April, 1934, declared that the administration's policies had been a succession of unrelated and hastily devised remedies and that "so far from producing a planned economy, the New Deal has produced an economic chaos, with no end in sight."

Aubrey Williams said: the fight was against" the Security and Exchange Commission which required them to tell the truth about what they were selling; the Wages and Hours Act which provided a living wage; and the Labor Standards Act which prevented them from throwing a man into jail for asking his fellow worker to join a union." ~~They don't like it,~~ To destroy these and other laws enacted in behalf of the people," they have undertaken to poison the people against the peoples government." They ~~have~~ marked for destruction:

The Wages and Hours Act
The Fair Labor Standards Act
The Securities Exchange Act
The Fair Employment Practices Committion
The Federal Communications Commission
The Unemployment feature of the Social Security Act
The Farm Security Administration
The Production Credit Administration
The National Housing Administration
The Bank for co-operatives
The Tennessee Valley Authority
The HOLC

Congress echoed the fight of industry because Congress was under control of industry rather than democracy.

49-2-112

But neither Roosevelt nor his followers realized just how this was happening. It was not only in the controlled voting of the East and Middle West, but in the utter suppression of democracy in the South. Here the withheld voting power of the Negroes was not eliminated, but was exercised by the white majority; and not by white laborers but by capitalists and employers. Here then could be sent to Congress and kept there to inherit the most powerful committee assignments, the most reactionary defenders of wealth and monoploly. This hard immovable core of opposition could not be met by democratic methods of reason and appeal.

The plight of the Negroes themslves aggravated the unemployment situation by furnishing a mass of labor which had to accept wage at any level offered. New techniques, new enterprises, mass production, impersonal ownership and control, had largely displaced the skilled Negro worker in tobacco manufacturing, in iron and steel, in lumbering and mining, and in transportation, and confined their common labor and domestic service to the lowest paid and worst conditioned varieties. In the new textile, chemical and other manufacturers, Negroes were nearly excluded. Just as slavery excluded the poor white from agriculture, so freedom excluded the poor Negro from rising and expanding manufacture. On the other hand, the world-wide fall of agruculture carried the mass of black farmers more and more down to the level of landless tenants and peons.

The world war and its wild aftermath, seemed for a moment to open a new door; two million black workers rushed North to work in iron and steel industries to make automobiles , pack meat, build houses and do the heavy toil in factories. They met the closed trade

49-2-113

union, which pressed them to the wall, into the low-wage gutter, and denied them homes and mobbed them; and then the Depression met all.

In the Depression , Negro workers, like white workers, lost their jobs; had mortgages foreclosed on their farms and homes and used up their small savings. But in the case of the Negro worker, everything was worse in larger or smaller degree; the loss was greater and more permanent; technological displacement began before the depression, was accelerated. The unemployment and fall in wage, struck black men sooner, lasted longer, and went to lower levels. In the rural South, their education almost ceased, while Southern city schools were crowded to suffocation.

Above all, in the Negro's case, local and Federal relief helped him last. It was easily explicable human nature that the unemployed white man and the starving white child, should be relieved first by local authorities who regarded them as fellowmen, and regarded the Negroes as sub-human. Moreover, it might happen, that while the white worker was given more than relief and helped to his feet, the black worker was pauperized by being just kept from starvation; and even when finally plans were making for national rehabilitation, and the re-building of the whole industrial system, such plans called for decision as to the Negro's future and his relations to industry and culture in this country, which the country was not prepared to make, and therefore often refused to consider.

The basic problem of the "New Deal" was whether to make its objective an effort to "restore" former "prosperity" or some more fundamental change in the essential economic structure of the nation to bring greater stability and economic justice. If it was the first, there was not much hope for the Negro. He simply could

49-2-114

look forward to being "restored" to a situation in whibh his prospects for economic development were growing less and less. If Southern agriculture was to be put on its feet again by government aid, the Negro would remain mainly the tenant farmer and exploited casual laborer. If the great industries were to be similiarly "restored" the Negro would still be the reservoir of unskilled labor with uncertain employment and low wage. And the restoration of banking and credit would mean comparatively little to a poverty-stricken horde of laborers.

On the other hand, if the relation of industry to labor in general was to be overhauled and readjusted, if the whole relation of the farming industry to the other industry of the land was to be carefully readjusted with regard to prices, methods, machines and markets; if unemployment was to be eradicated by shorter hours, mimimum wage, the forbidding of child labor and the arrangement of old-age security, if these and similar measures were going to change radically the basis of American life, then the American Negro, barring gross discrimination, was going to have a "New Deal", a new change to improve his condition.

The first blow to Negroes came when farm laborers and domestics were not included under the protection of the N.R.A. codes for industry. Thus three million Negro workers, more than half of the total number who must work for their livelihood, were not covered by the industrial codes. These three million were the backbone of the Negro consumer market. For them an immediate rise in prices meant additional insecurity and suffering. Furthermore, in certain areas where uniform mimimum wages were established for black and white

49-2-115

workers, employers replaced Negroes with whites rather than pay the same wages.

Thus the New Deal not nnly met opposition of concentrated wealth based on Negro disfranchisement, but also increased the opposition of white labor by increasing or failing greatly to decrease the number of poor and unemployed Negroes whose plight threatened the white standard of living. The result was violence and race riots.

Instead of decreasing in wealth and power during the crisis of 1929-33, America's richest families were strengthened, while masses of citizens were reduced to beggary. And even though many people were lifted from extreme low economic levels by some restoration of unemployment, the basic inequalities, issuing from no fundamental differences in skill or merit, remained as great as ever. Paralleling re-employment, which reduced the aggregate of joblessness from about twenty million in 1932, to about ten million in 1937, fantastic dividend and interest payments were automatically returned to the top income group of not more than six thousand adults.

The United States has not only nurtured the wealthiest class history has ever known, but it has also spawned an immense, possibly permanent, army of paupers--the unemployed. One expects to find millions of impoverished in backward economies such as India and China, Japan or formarly in Czarist Russia. In the advanced economic and cultural environment of North America, with all its natural resources, the phenomenon is tragically absurd. Fewer than twenty- per cent of the people possess nearly everything while nearly eighty per cent own practically nothing.

49-2-116

None can say how far Franklin Roosevelt would have gone in reorganizing the economy of the nation if the work of the first five years of his reign had continued and expanded. We might now have lived in a different world.

But war intervened, and once again as so often in the past, ruined the future of mankind. It was a senseless, inexplicable war, which none wanted, none foresaw. Its genesis was the First World War whedh ~~ruined~~ halted the colonial imperialism of Europe and laid its industrial organization in ruins. The one cure for this, on which Europe was practically unanimous, was the suppression of the Russian Revolution of 1917. From that time until the collapse of industry in 1930, Europe had waged war, directly, or through spies and propaganda against Russia. The dictatorships of Mussolini and Hitler were strengthened by the belief that Germany and Italy meant the fall of the Soviets.

When Germany and Italy ~~turned on~~ attacked Britain and France, the world was aghast. Franklin Roosevelt particularly was turned entirely from his task of the New Deal, to the salvation of the British Empire which to him and his class stood for all that civilization meant. He did not grasp the meaning of the Soviets or the part they played, He rather tended to ignore them as of minor significance, until later, far later in the conflict. It was this threat to Britain far more than any conception of the place of the United States in international industry and trade that seemed behind his desire to enter the Second World War. Nor was his grasp of the international plight of total industrial organization enlarged. Rather the world situation looked to him as primarily political.

49-2-117

All his education and social conditioning went toward his primary effort to save British culture. He forced the nation into virtual war, before war was declared, furnishing battle craft and "lend-lease" of material to bolster the tottering British Empire. Russia entered but casually into his thought, although he had, as one of his first officials acts as President, ended our silly refusal to recognize the Soviets. But Russia in 1939, seemed to Roosevelt negligible; he accepted the current American belief that the country was essaying an impossible economic experiment, doomed to inner collapse soon from starvation or revolution. Neither he nor the British made any real effort to make alliance with Russia.

When Sumner Wells was sent to sound out Europe on peace, Russia was not included. Roosevelt did not feel that such a visit would be of any use and regarded Russia as a certain victim of Hitler. Roosevelt did not at the time understand in the least the intricate problems that faced the Soviets or the situation which forced the war against Finland. Thus although both the British and Americans knew that Hitler was planning to attack Russia, no plans were mentioned to secure Russia's help, which was not regarded woth the effort. Churchhill forecast the march of Hitler through the Balkans, Russia and even "to the gates of India."

Lend-lease was debated two months and was admitted as necessary to save Britain, Greece and China. Open permission for the President to include other countries, especially Russia, brought shap oppositon. There was a hard fight and compromise was suggested, but the President was firm and got the power to extend lend-lease to the Soviets if Hitler or Japan attacked her.

49-2-118

Stalin in 1939, had no faith in the ability of Britain, France or the United States to stop Hitler. Russia had long regarded Germany as her eventual ally. She had, until the rise of Hitler, hoped that the German communists would gain control and swing Germany toward the East. But as Hiter and German industry gained control, Stalin knew that Hitler meant to conquer Russia if possible and destroy communism. He sought alliance then knowing that Hitler could not be trusted, but also knowing that evey moment of delay gained, would enable the Soviet Union better to prepare for the inevitable attack.

Every effort has been made to obscure this role of Russia from 1933 to 1939. Yet the facts are clear: when the Nazi revolution came Russia tried to insure world peace. She joined the League of Nations, made mutual aid treaties with France and Czechoslovakia, urged sanctions against Mussolini in his attack on Ethiopia; aided the Spanish republic, helped China against Japan and asked for an international conference against Hitler after his seizure of Austria. Had this Russian initiative been followed, World War II, would never have occured.

49-2-119

But France and Britain refused because such a policy would have protected Russia and they wanted Hitler to conquer Russia and remove this menace to world capitalism, which they had tried to elimiate since 1917. The United States also refused cooperation with Russia, although Roosevelt was dissatisfied by this attitude. He was held back by Congress, the State Deparmtnet and the Catholic Church.

Western Europe hoped that Hitler would leave it in peace while he attacked Russia. For this they were willing to give up the

League of Nations, yield Manchuria to Japan, let Germany re-arm and take Austria, and Czechoslovakia and the Rhineland; give Ethiopia to Italy and Spain to Franco. Our own Bullitt said: "It would be the wish of the democratic countries that armed conflict would break out in the East between the Greman Reich and Russia...Germany would be obliged to wage a long and weakening war." The Dodd Diary says that "Britain, the Nazis and Bullitt favored dividing the world, with Germany dominating all of Europe. Japan was to control Asia."

But in March 1939, Hitler made it clear that he proposed to attack the West before crushing Russia. Britain and France were dismayed but persisted in seeking to appease Hitler at the expense of Russia. Britan proposed a curious pact: that Russia should undertake "if Desired" to fight Germany in case Germany attacked Poland or Rumania; and this after Poland had refused to permit Russia's suldiers on her soil. There was no suggestion that England would fight Germany, if Germany attacked Russia, and naturally Russia refused such a commitment. A month later, Chamberlain, although refusing to visit Russia, proposed a Soviet alliance but with no commitment as to the future of the Baltic states, which had for 620 years had been the spearhead for Western conquest of Russia.

He finally sent a minor official to Russia by slow boat, with power to agree only to "consultation" in case Russia was attacked. Roosevelt could take no action, but a member of the United States staff in Russia gave Germany every encouragement. Finally in July, Chamberlain agreed to a "military mission to Moscow" composed of men of no standing and no power. Because of Britain's refusal to make a treaty of mutual assistance, the Soviets determined to make alliance with Germany, if they could obtain defence of

49-2-120

their own frontiers in Poland and the Baltic states. This pact enabled Russia to seize so much of Poland as would ensure her own defense against Germany; nor was any other procedure possible, since neither Poland nor England would consent to Russia's defense of Poland.

Already in May, France and Britain knew that a German-Soviet Treaty involving seizure of Poland, would follow failure to make a treaty between Russia and the West. They refused to do this, and instead in January, 1940, ~~Britain and France~~ they agreed to wage war themselves on Russia in Finland and in the Soviet oilfields in the Southwest. They had a hundred thousand troops to which Sweden refused passage in March. After the Soviets and Finland made peace, the French and British staffs continued to plan war against Russia in the Caucasus oil fields. Meanwhile, in November, 1940, Russia tried to sound out Hitler in accord with his proposal of a more extended alliance, but already Hitler without knowledge of many of his trusted advisers, had determined to fight Russia, in August. War began in June, 1941.

While war is waging, all thought of its cause is submerged in the all-out struggle to win. And when in addition, the expenditures of war solve problems of unemployment and profit, then danger mounts with victory and is at the same time disguised. This was the case of Roosevelt in the Second World War. His and the Nation's attention was diverted from fundamental domestic problems, to saving Great Britain, and to a personal deval called Hitler, who came to stand for all evil. But behind the phenomena of Hitler and Mussolini, lurked and festered basic problems, which were the counter-part of those which caused the crash of 1929 in America. The economic organization of

121 - 2 - 49

the world had cracked widely if not permanently. In that world organization America had played an essential role, not less important because it was industrial rather than political. To recover fm from collapse, effort on a world scale, with world-planning was essential. The United States attempted the impossible task of national and internal recovery, separate from world adjustment.

On this theory the socialism of the New Deal was based, and could at best have been but partially successful. But it was a forward step and was leading straight to international effort; first by tariff reduction, and then by economy planned for the world and not just for America. This tendency Fascism halted by attempting the restoration of world economy, not so much by fundamental change, as by simply by changing the beneficiaries of the system. Germany and Italy were to share equally in the profits of colonialism and world trade. To intensify and integrate this demand both these lands effected a new internal distriubution of wealth which was a national but not international socialism.

American recovery had no international aims and small national transfer of wealth. But there had appeared in Russia a new international socialism which both Fascism on the one side and the dictatatorship of organized wealth in the United States and Britain feared. After a world war to crush Russian Communism, failed because the organizations of world industry, which it was protecting, broke down, every effort was made to effect a modus vivendi between the German and British control of world trade. It would have been successful had not megalomania, approaching insanity, taken grip on Hitler. He began to conceive himself not as equal partner of the industrial

49-2-122

giants, Britain, France and the United States, but as conqueror of Russia and master of the world. He accomplished recognition and full partership in world industry so easily during the years of industrial disaster, that in 1939, he entered arrogantly on his vaster and more fantastic mission.

He determined to conquer France and Britain in turn, and then ignoring the United States, crush Russia and with Japan work his will in Asia. This wild dream could have been stopped in its tracks by a combination of Britain, Russia and the United States. But both Britain and France discounted Russia: first they thought her weak and on the verge of collapse, because of her planned economy; and second they feared that in case her socialism was successful, it might spread by example or force to the British Empire and America.

The war itself was a set of contradictions. Britain and France did not wish to fight Germany or Italy. They were ready to make every appeasement. They gave Ethiopia to Italy almost gladly. They were ready to yield Hitler everything in reason and more: he could take back the Rhineland; he could re-arm; he could have his colonies in Africa back, if he wished; he could re-partition Poland; he could have Austria and most of Czechoslovakia; he could take the Baltic states, and attack Russia; he could join Japan in dominance of Asia. All that imperial Britain and France asked, was a fair division of the spoils of empire, in a new arrangement of the world domination of Europe.

But if Hitler was going to dictate terms and dominate the world through Germany, then they would and must fight and call America to aid. The United States displayed no enthusiasm. ~~They~~ We had pulled England's chestnuts out of the fire before; ~~they~~ we did not like

49-2-23

France for various reasons, not the least of which, was her lack of color hate; ~~they~~ we sympathized with Germany. Then Industry and Finance had a word to say. Suppose the British Empire and the vast dominion of France fell, who would be heirs but America? It was the American Century by logic and no need fighting for it. Let socialism in Germany and the Soviet Union kill each other off, while we inherited the earth.

Against some such philosophy as this, more or less clearly conceived, Franklin Roosevelt fought from 1938 to 1941. He turned from the New Deal and on the strength of his third triumphant victory in 1940, forced the nation into war, by gift and agreement, land-lease, annexation and war-ships; he took Republicans into the cabinet, got millions appropriated for defense and with Churchill drafted the Atlantic Charter, on old and nearly forgotten terms of no new territorial annexation; self-government, free trade, free travel, better labor conditions and world government.

Yet the United States stubbornly stayed out of war, until with unbelievable effrontery, Japan attacked the United States. Japan was colored. The United States had brow-beat her, cajoled her, insulted her, admired her but refused her recognition as an equal, and induced Great Britain to do the same. But these little brown men had persisted, had built a mighty empire and demanded partnership with the white world. Her military might and her marvellous expanding industry was making her a feared rival of white imperialism in Yellow Asia. Finally this Japan made alliance with Germany, and while feigning negotiation destroyed our sea power in Hawaii. This made war not only possible but imperative, backed by American color prejudice.

49-2-124

 (p. 193 MISSING)

to Britain in return for military bases. Congress voted 18 billions of dollars for armmament and established the draft, In March, lend-lease was authorized by Congress. By June, Hitler had turned on Russia and Roosevelt saw that lend-lease must go to her . He and Churchill met in Mid-Atlantic in August, and framed the Atlantic Charter. Still the United States paused, until Pearl Harbor. Then all Americans wanted the United States to attack and conquer Japan quickly. But as to Europe, there was no unanimity. Most Americans wanted Russia to lose; many wanted Britain to lose and some wanted Roosevelt to lose. Of course the United States with Great Britain and the Soviet Union could win; but who wanted to unite with Russia? Meantime Big Businggs went to work; here was a chance to get even with

"The Red New Deal with a Soviet seal
endorsed by a Moscow hand;"

and three phases of attitudes toward the war ensued:

1. The "sitdown" strike of the corporations which refused to go into production of both the defense program of 1939 and the first war-time program of 1941-42.

2. Profiteering and robbery of the American people; manufacture and delivery of defective airplane motors, copper, wire, bullets and other war materials, resulting in endangering the lives of American soldiers.

3. The secret cartel deals by which the biggest American corporations supplied nations soon to be our enemies with materials and information, and kept America unprepared.

The rubber famine lasted for years because Standard Oil had suppressed the artificial rubber patents; the aluminum shortage arose because the Mellon Interests were in a cartel with the Nazis; the Steel Interests refused to expand. The Allied nations, notably Brit - ain and Russia, held the military lines at a loss of millions of men and homes and billions in treasure, while the United States spent

49-2-125

two years getting into production of the instruments for winning the war.

(managed by Barney Baruch)

Those owning copper mines made extravagent profits; a billion dollars were spent on airplanes before a single one was delivered; steel plate costing $315 a ton was sold to the Government for $400 to $600 a ton; the government spent over $100,000,000 for nitrates, but got none before the Armistice; $400,000,000 was spent on 1900 contracts for shells which never reached the firing line; shipping lines sold ships to the government for $2,000,000 each and bought them back for $300,000.

It was clear that the industrial leader, in business for profit, refused to take the risk of expanding their plants for a war of indefinite length; especially since business in consumers goods like automobiles, was booming. Moreover in war production, he faced strikes. His recourse was to demand enormous profit for all he did. This he got, while America gambled in death and Britain was at the point of collapse.

49-2-126

Both Britain and the United States rebuffed Russia's frantic efforts to make alliance with them and forced her either to ally herself with Hitler or fight the world. The Western world was aghast when Hitler offered Russia the alliance which they had refused. They knew the truce was phoney and so did Russia; but Russia immediately moved to strengthen her western frontier in Poland while Hitler crushed France and had Britain gasping for breath, when the United States rescued her with arms and materials. Balked here, Germany turned and attacked Russia. Here was the opportunity of the modern world; immediate and concerted efforts

could have contained Hitler and Mussolini and united Europe could have held Japan in Asia. But this would have made Russia a co-partner with the esrtwhile masters of the world. To this, Britain, the United States nor France were prepared to assent.

Hitler, with startling change, turned east to conquer Bolshevism and control Asia through Japan, before finishing the conquest of the West. The West awaited with relief and almost with complacency, the quick overthrow of Russia. This would at least give breathing space and a chance eventually to make terms with Hitler by restoring German colonies in Africa and elsewhere, with such other compromises as were necessary. And at any rate with the certainty that the threat of Communism in the world would be laid for a generation if not forever,.

The United States finally started her war effort, with appropriations rising to nearly eight billions a month by the middle of 1943, which showed not only our sacrifice but even more the profits of our industry. We had an army of four million by the Fall of 1942, and then we entered the war. We gave away 15 billions of dollars in lend-lease by September, 1943, but our armies and navy, late in 1942, went to Asia and Africam not to Europe. Back of this move was the desire to save the world of colonial peoples from Germany and Italy and part of it showed the hope that Germany and the Soviets would kill each other off, leaving Western Europe to recover slowly and divide the earth with the United States.

But the West was surprised and bewildered by the resistance which Russia exhibited to the fierce onslaught of the Germans. The British immediately suggested American lend-lease to the Soviets; it would not save them but it would give Britain longer breathing spell

49-2-124

and forward that mutual annihilation of two enemies which might save the world. Roosevelt agreed and sent Harry Hopkins to Russia. This was a master stroke. Hopkins found in Stalin a blunt, straight-forward man, fighting to win a war, with a nation back of him. A human nexus between two great countries was established and grew from then until Roosevelt's death and until Jimmy Burns tried to "get tough" with Russia and gain by threats of the atom bomb what Roosevelt got by compromise and friendship.

The Russian resistance grew and hardened. The German attack became an all-out struggle of vast proportions. MacArthur wrote in 1942: "The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and witnessed others, as well as studying in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistence to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy, followed by a smashing counterattack which is driving the enemy back to his own land. The scale and grandeur of this effort marks it as the greatest military achievement in all history."

If the West had responded by an equally strong push on Hitler's bare rear, the war might have been settled in 1943. But the world and its military experts refused to believe their eyes and was sure that Russia must eventually be completely vanquished. Hopkins wrote Churchill: "There is still an amazing number of people here who do not want to help Russia and who don't seem to be able to pound into their thick heads the strategic importance of that front."

49-3-128

Lord Beverbrook wrote in 1943: "Can we afford more time for preparation? The Germans have a most powerful army in the East. The Russians used up men and resources at a heavy rate last winter in an offensive which stopped short of its fullest aims. There is always the risk that Japan will stab in the back. It cannot be said that Moscow, Baku or Leningrad are out of danger. It can still less be said that we and the Americans could in any measurable space of time win without Russian assistance."

Stalin pled in vain for counter attack on Hitler's rear; but it was not until July, 1943, that the Americans and British attacked southern Italy and did not reach Rome until June, 1944, And Eisenhower did not land in Normany until that same month, ~~when~~ after it was clear that Russia was driving Hitler to the wall.

49-2-129

The Western armies ~~stalled~~ had stalled ~~still~~ hoping that Germany and Russia would destroy each other and thus eliminate the two greatest threats to the restoration of the former world industrial imperialism. They were deceived. Russia proved stronger, far stronger than they thought possible. She conquered Germany and entered Berlin, April 30, 1945, just as the allies captured Italy and three months after the near disaster of the Bulge. Even the nibbling at Africa began late in 1941 and carried on until 1943. Then in June 1943, the Allies tried to take Italy but were held back until 1945. Asia conquered by Japanese refused on Japans' defeat to return to her colonial role. The world had to be recast with Russia as one of the main partners, with Asia starting toward autonomy not simply in political control but in economic independence.

It was here that Roosevelt turned back from war to economic reconstruction and played his greatest role, disastrously interupted by death in 1945. Britain, interested in her African and Asiatic empire, had turned her strength to North Africa instead of France and Germany. The United States was induced to join this effort and then strike at the Mediterranean and the Near East instead of Germany. There was shrewd calculation here, to appease the certain wrath of Hitler by saving him from defeat in Europe, while strengthening British hold on Asia and the near East, and using this for bargaining after Hitler's delayed triumph. The sudden uprush and miraculous foray of Japan threw consternation into both Britain and America. Russia instead of figuring as a threat and nuisance who might serve to weaken Hitler, became the one great nation which might wipe out the German menace and contain Japan.

Here Roosevelt rose to statesmansip. He set out to build friendship with the Union of Soviets and dragged Churchill with him. The only man in the world at the time capable of getting the trust and friendship of Stalin was Franklin Roosevelt; and he accomplished this by frankness and honest dealing. He knew that Stalin was no fool nor barbarian. He knew that Russia had demands and was capable of enforceing them. He knew that Stalin kept his word but was not to be misled by flattery nor double talk. Personal conferences were arranged between Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek at Cairo, Teheran and Yalta, and at a cost in sheer physical strain that killed Roosevelt. But it brought peace to the world. The Soviet Union denounced its neutrality pact with Japan in 1945 and Japan was called

49-2-130

upon to surrender or face complete destruction. She refused and was blockaded. On August 6, the first atomic bomb was dropped and on the 14th Japan surrendered.

Stalin had demanded a strong attack from the West through France and Germany, with war material to keep his armies in the field; in return for this, Russia had offered 15 million lives and the destruction of her best in new industrial regions. After peace, she wanted the cordon sanitaire under her control so that the threat of Western invasion of Russia through the Baltic states, Poland and the Balkans should be stopped forever; and she asked Western tools and machinery to rebuild her stricken economy after she had delivered the world from the threat of Adolf Hitler.

Roosevelt offered continued and increased supplies; pushed the long delayed Western attack; did not oppose the eventual annexation of the Baltic states and in turn asked the entrance of Russia into the War against Japan. This was the story of these four world conferences, which stopped the war and sought to stop all war forever by eventual world organization and understanding. In March, 1945, Roosevelt reported to Congress on Yalta:

"The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or of one party, or one nation, it cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, or a French or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of a large nation or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

"It cannot be what some people think--a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace, and it will be a peace, based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter--on the concept of the dignity of the human being--and on the guarantees

49-2-131

of tolerance and freedom of religious worship."

Tremendous further agreements were necessary and the implementation and refining of those agreed on in principle. Had Roosevelt lived, this had every chance of being accomplished, not without friction, but with faith, understanding and good will. But at Roosevelt's death, Big Business stepped in on both sides of the seas to stop the Soviet Union from restoring her economy; to retain the industry and land monopoly of the Baltic States and the Balkans; to keep the Soviets out of the Germany which her blood had redeemed; to renew on a bitter scale the fight against communism. Here was built the foundations of a Third World War.

Joseph C. Hirsch wrote, in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, "The Yalta Conference stands out as a conference of decision. The meetings which produced that Atlantic Charter and at Casablanca, Teheran and Quebec were declarations of policy, of intents. The meeting at Yalta was plainly dominated by a desire, willingness and determination to reach solid decisions."

Hopkins later said: "We really believed in our hearts that this was the dawn of the new day we had all been praying for and talking about for so many years. We were absolutely certain that we had won the first great victory of the peace--and , by 'we', I mean ALL of us, the whole civilized human race. The Russians had proved that they could be reasonable and farseeing and there wasn't any doubt in the minds of the President or any of us that we could live with them and get along with them peacefully for as far into the future as any of us could imagine."

44-2-132

So Franklin Delano Roosevelt died in the 63rd year of his life and in the twelfth year of his reign as President of the United States. This was a man! A tall, handsome athlete, he was stricken in his young manhood by a malady which would have sent a lesser person into bitter, hopeless old age; he was rich and never played, but worked tirelessly to keep wealth from suicide, and poverty from despair; he was a gentleman but became the target of gutter-snipes who used a venal press to make lies true and paint Truth as a lie; he was hated by every jackal who dogged his life and desecrated his grave, but loved by every honest man. He saved the British Empire and the French Republic by firmly grasping the hand of Russia and letting her pull them and the United States out of defeat; he was father of a family which from mother to grandchild posed him every problem of life which can try a man's heart; he neither whined nor whimpered, but could curse Hell in Heaven to summon Right. In all and with all, he kept his soul serene, met the mornings with a smile and talked to the hearts of his countrymen as never President talked before. He died in harness--that harness of pounds of hard steel, under which he grimly bent every waking hour. His reach was not wide but his grasp was mighty, and gripping, he

Never faltered but marched breastforward
Never dreamed tho' right were conquered,
Wrong would triumph; held we fall to rise;
Are baffled to fight better
Sleep to wake.

49-2-133

CHAPTER VI

THE WITCH HUNT

We are a frightened people. Fear amounting often to hysteria fills the air. In coming years, we will look back on ~~this day~~ 1950 with astonishment, explaining laboriously to our grandchildren why sane people acted as they did and yet wanted right and justice to prevail. We are becoming a police state, with secret espionage, tapping of private telephone conversations, and filling of dossiers of accusations against thousands of persons unaccused by police or courts, but denounced by gossip, rumors, hearsay and the testimony of professional informers. Our freedom of speech, writing and assembly, is widely curtailed, and courts and juries are under suspicion of reflecting our fears rather than dispensing justice; for many of us, live in fear of losing our means of livelihood, of having our income decreased, or our property impaired or lost. And all this, so mindful of Germany under Hitler, arises from the widespread belief that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the doctrines of Communism and socialism, are threats to our security and our continued existence as a nation.

Our plight is psychological and part of a world-wide reaction to two of the greatest upheavals the world has ever known; with so many millions of people killed, wounded, crippled, driven insane and sent homeless and wandering, as to defy accurate calculations; with so great destruction of homes, wealth, and materials, tools and machinery as to make full restoration a matter of centuries. This in itself calls for patience and charity, but even more for clear understanding. We must seek and know causes, so that this abnormal situation shall endure no longer than it must and never recur if we can prevent it. For civilization and culture, art and faith await its passing.

49-2-134

One cause of our present plight lies in the structure of our government. The Constitution of the United States is not perfect. The wonder is that the eighteenth century political theorists were able to do so fine a job as they did. The weakness of our government is the doctrinaire effort to separate the executive and legislative, which in times of crisis may paralyze effective government. It did so in the term of Buchanan and resulted in Civil War. It would have done so in 1932, had not Franklin D. Roosevelt become president, and united in himself executive power and control of legislation, to an extent seldom accomplished before in our history. Suppose Harry Truman had become President in 1933, or Herbert Hoover?

Thus, there died in April, 1945, just at the end of the Second World War, a man who to an unprecedented degree united in himself the power of making and carrying out of law and helping in its interpretation. His ability to do this rested on the will of the people who could hear his words and arguments with their own ears and who turned deaf ears on an almost united press and widespread and bitter opposition.

On the other hand, in April, 1945, there came suddenly into power an accident of political manipulation. It was not the fault of Mr. Truman that he had forced upon him a position of great and even appalling difficulty. It was the fault of our impossible American assumption, springing again from the eighteenth century, that government being of negligible importance, can be handed to any chance person and done by him as well as by the next, since it is of small import, compared with manufacturing, trade, and engineering. So for five fatal years, a man without training, preparation or background, was called to lead the most powerful nation in the world and through it to seek to set the course of future civilization.

This was a calamity of measureless proportions, even granted that Truman had nothing but the best of motives. For he did not in the least realize that immediately the hand of a strong and sophisticated executive was re-

49-8-135

moved, the suppressed and frustrated desires of scores of interests would move into action; and in such case, the mighty appeal to public opinion which Roosevelt used so effectively had disappeared. For now, five years, the full effect of powerful and organized industry with its monopoly of the press and of the news-gathering associations in the United States has been felt in full force. Where can Americans get the truth these days? Not certainly from the Big Business interests which own the sources of news and the persons who interpret it. Screened by press and magazines, industrial and business interests moved into control of government before the Truman administration realized what was happening.

In 1945, two atomic bombs were dropped on open, unprotected cities, killing 150,000 men, women, and children. This marked an era in human culture. That same year, Lend-Lease was suddenly terminated. The Soviet Union had been bled white; much of her best new industrial installations had been destroyed; she had given at least 15,000,000 lives to save the world from Hitler. She had been granted lend-lease of war materials while fighting; but suddenly, with peace, she was refused a cent for reconstruction. Others got loans; not Russia; although the United Nations Rehabilitation Administration helped a little.

This year, also, James Byrnes of South Carolina was made Secretary of State. He had no knowledge of the history of foreign affairs nor economics. His knowledge of democracy arose from a political career in South Carolina, where from 70 to 90 per cent of the electorate is disfranchised, allowing men to go to Congress and stay there indefinitely, supported by one-tenth of the number of electors required for a Congressman in the state of New York. It was Byrnes who "got tough" with Russia and began the overthrow of the confidence and friendship built by Roosevelt and Hopkins. In 1946, the pace backward hastened.

Further, Truman was induced to support by his presence and applause a demand by Churchill that the United States and Britain join forces against the

49-2-136

Soviets, while Henry Wallace was working for understanding and peace. As a result, Wallace was forced out of the cabinet as Secretary of Commerce, and the United States adopted an atomic bomb policy of secrecy and threat. In 1947, Truman by-passed United Nations leadership and entered on a program which meant the attempt of the United States to control the world. UNNRA was discarded entirely as giving too much aid to the Communist countries; the "Truman Doctrine" of unilateral effort on our part to contain Communism was announced and the Marshall Plan to aid Europe by financing European industry for trade with the United States. George Marshall, a military man with small knowledge of diplomacy or history or economics, was put forward to initiate this economic program for Europe, by being made Secretary of State to succeed the inept Byrnes. All persons showing evidence of revolt against control of government by business were pilloried by the Attorney General and a list of ninety "subversive" organizations was drawn up, without the organizations being given opportunity of hearing or defense. Signs of economic depression, through rising prices, began to appear, and organized business began its fight against Labor through the Taft-Hartley bill. Too late, Truman tried to prevent this sabotage of the Roosevelt New Deal His veto was overwhelmingly defeated.

In 1948, we moved faster toward war and the police state. The Atlantic Pact took the matter of peace and war out of the hands of the United Nations and split the One World of Willkie's vision into two worlds with the United States pledged to arm European soldiers to do the brunt of the fighting in a third World War. Hope of understanding with the Soviet Union was surrendered and she was openly named as the enemy against whom we were arming and securing military bases. Suddenly, on March 17, 1948, President Truman urged, it is said, by misinterpretation of facts sent out by one our spies, almost asked open war. He told a joint session of Congress that the Soviet Union and its agents had "destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole

49-2-1-34

series of nations in Eastern and Central Europe," and was conspiring to extend their domination over all of Europe. To combat the "threatened" Communist control and police state rule, he urged immediate enactment of the Marshall European Recovery Program, universal military training, and restoration of the draft.

Meantime, the leaders of the Communist Party were arrested. Men were being threatened for supposed sympathy with Communism; for refusing to reveal their co-workers; for treason. The persecution of Hiss began; Duggan and Smith committed suicide; and in Berlin, the "airlift" of materials into Berlin began over the Soviet zone, and in logical sequence of the utterly impossible attempt to divide Germany between enemies. From here we drifted to the suicide of Forrestal, just resigned as Secretary of Defense and representative of finance capital in government. In his delirium he saw the Russian army upon us, just as many a saner American also imagined. This tragedy was capped by Truman's calm, almost jaunty announcement of our development of the hydrogen bomb.

49-2-138

What forces were back of this descent into hell? Not one force, but many, and not at first united; competitive business, small in extent and carried on after the American tradition, wanted war to cease and business allowed to proceed without the encumbrances of war restraints. It cut down the army and tossed away price controls. But organized and monopolized Big Business, on the other hand, knew that the old prewar conditions were obsolete and that the United States, in order to maintain its war-geared industry and mass production at full capacity and avoid depression, must have world markets in Europe, Asia and Africa.

In other words, the World Market which the First World War had destroyed, with its Gold Standard of value, under the hegemony of the British Empire and France, with Germany and Japan edging in, must now be restored by the United States with the dollar as the world standard. After the First World War, this

development seemed axiomatic and doubtless this belief hastened the depression.

When World War II opened, Big Business in the United States did not desire to save the world rule of the British Empire. The ambitions of Germany and Italy seemed reconcilable with our leadership, until the world grasp of Hitler alarmed us, and the rashness of Japan threw us into hostilities. To the dismay of Industry, we found ourselves eventually in alliance with the Soviet Union, the one power to whose whole outlook and plans, Big Business was fundamentally opposed. But there intervened the conviction that the inevitable end of this war would be the annihilation of both Germany and the Soviets, with the United States industry as heirs.

Meantime, the overthrow of Japan must be certain. For Japan, this nation feared, with perfect fear; she was colored, and, therefore, "inferior." Japan was destined to dominate Asia, unless beaten to her knees, and Asia was just the sliver of earth staked off specifically for American control. Japan's sudden and phenomenal sweep of conquest had shown the colored peoples of the world that the white race, with American wealth and the British navy, was not invulnerable; and, finally, we believed that Japan could only be held by the Soviet armies.

Big Business was more than content at Yalta to buy Soviet alliance against Japan at any price, because Japan was still a formidable and unconquered force, and the atom bomb untried, and Russia had armies immeasurably superior to the combined might of the world. Let Russia have the Baltic states; let her dominate Poland and the Balkans, especially since with her development definitely held up by the greatest military effort in history and with her communistic state soon bound to fail, she and her satellites were sure to fall into the industrial orbit of the United States.

It did not work out that way; and when we saw the Soviet Union emerging from war, hurt but not crippled, bloody but not destroyed, Big Business suddenly became military-minded and cultivated the idea that armed conflict with

Russia was necessary to world domination of American industry. This attitude was encouraged by the fact that unless industry continued to profit by huge military outlay, another collapse comparable to that of 1929 might develope. Thereupon, Big Business got back of the vast expansion of military expenditure which has marked recent years. The military leaders whom Truman put into high political position helped this outcome. We had a General for Secretary of State; and Admiral remained as his close military adviser; generals represented us in Russia and Germany as diplomats and the military was powerful in atomic policy.

On the other hand, the public had small chance to decide on the facts of the situation. The Russian Revolution had at first appealed to American traditions. Then the nation was alienated, first by investors like Hoover, but more by the overwhelming and world-wide propaganda of Leon Trotsky. By 1939, we regarded Stalin as a usurper and the Soviet Union as an utopian dream; unscientific, impossible of realization and insincere. Then, paradoxically, led by Roosevelt, we found ourselves allied with the Soviets in a life and death struggle. With the heroic defense and triumph of Stalingrad, Russia rose in popular appreciation.

49-2-1392

But the apprehension of Big Business was quickly borne out. Russia was not about to collapse and although she needed our machinery and consumption of goods, our offers under the Marshall Plan to integrate her into our economy was brusquely refused. Then the government and the press began to build up Russia as the great enemy of democracy, and as an imperialism set to dominate the world and establish the slave state, even in America.

The campaign to prove this was vicious. It became impossible not only to get an audience for the Russian side of the controversy, but it became dangerous for anyone even to believe that Russia had any side to defend, or even to associate with Russian sympathizers, or to believe in any of the communistic aims. The opposition to the Soviets and hate and fear of Russia

reached a crescendo. There were persons of standing who did not believe this anti-Russian propaganda. There were others who were hesitant and unconvinced. There were some who sincerely believed in the Soviets and their future. All these groups together, however, were united in feeling that wherever the Truth lay, War was not the solution. They united in March, 1949, in a great demonstration, not in favor of the Union of Russian Soviets; not in favor of Communism or Socialism; but in declaring their determination:

"To create an environment in which our lives prosper; to discover a process whereby man's fruitful aspirations may find a future in the atomic age; to contribute to the establishment of an environment in which reason may operate as a scourge of fear and hatred; to take from the shoulders of the creators of the earth's wealth, its people, the dead burden of armies and their armaments and to remove from their minds the rending shocks of insecurity; to reaffirm the duty of artists, scientists and workers in the professions to toil for a society of nations founded on justice for all."

They continued in their resolutions:

"The hour is late to unite for peace but there is yet time to save the peace if we truly unite. Humanity does not want another war. Peace is necessary and peace is possible. The maintenance of peace is the responsibility of all peoples. If the American people recognize their solemn duty and affirm their will, they can do their share to maintain peace.

"The peril of the times has united us who are gathered here. The deliberations of this conference have strengthened our unity. The issue of peace, irrespective of difference on other subjects, we propose to take our stand."

And they said this is our stand:

"We wish to open and keep open the channels of communication among the peace-minded peoples of all lands and in particular between our country and the Soviet Union. It was to this purpose that the conference was called. We have succeeded in demonstrating in demonstrating that the channels can be kept

44-2-140

open. Those who have tried to discredit our efforts, because they have already yielded to fear, hate, and hysteria, have failed in their purpose. We invite them to reconsider their position and to join us in a common endeavor to save the future."

This was the first postwar effort to focus public opinion on Peace, and oppose propaganda for war. The call was signed by 550 persons, representing an excellent cross-section of American life. Representatives from the Soviet Union, Poland, France, and England, many of world-wide renown, accepted the invitation to attend and speak.

The result was astounding. The government of the United States, through the Secretary of State, denounced the conference, even before it met, as a "sounding board for communist propaganda." It denied many distinguished foreign visitors visas, alleging they were Communists, which in several cases was untrue; and, then issued visas only to those who represented communistic states officially, so as to prove its contention this was a communist demonstration promoted by Russia, ~~and then~~ yet treated these representatives when they arrived like criminals, by refusing to let them travel or speak outside of New York City.

49-2-141

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Un-American Committee of Congress sent observers to the meetings. Pickets were solicited by organizations and churches; and by newspapers, which reported their number as 100,000, although they never exceeded 2,000 and were usually a few hundred. Riot squads of police were ostentatiously put on duty. Two Canadain delegates were arrested and deported at the opening dinner. A press bureau was set up in the hotel which announced that sponsors were withdrawing "by droves;" that Russia was paying the expenses of the meeting, and that secret Russian police were present!

With the aid of the State Department, a small rival Congress was organized and given wide publicity. Only two newspapers made any attempt to report

the speeches, and in the nine leading New York dailies, during the week of the conference, there were 1,090 items on the Congress charged with appeal to emotion rather than to facts; 205 items making unsupported charges; and 139 items which were quite false. Of all the items, 468 were distinctly opposed to the conference; 28 were favorable, and the rest were neutral.

The United States thus gave notice in March, 1948, that war was no longer debatable but was a set policy of the Government. Nevertheless, the thousands of people who braved police and spies to attend the week-long sessions of this conference showed that the official attitude did not reflect the belief of all Americans. Professor F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard, who in 1950 committed suicide, because he could not reconcile Socialism and Christianity with present trends, said to the assembly: "Fifty years ago Leo Tolstoi sent a message to America which we might well heed today. Urging us to rediscover the greatness of our writers of the 1850's he wrote, 'I should like to ask American people why they do not pay more attention to these voices -- hardly to be replaced by those of financial and industrial millionaires, or successful generals and admirals -- and continue the good work in which they made such hopeful progress.' "

That something is radically wrong with the United States today is manifest. Just what is the cause? One cause certainly is the growth of private and corporate wealth and its increasing concentration in a few hands. We sense this more or less vaguely, but we dislike to discuss it. We cling to the idea that wealth is "private" and is nobody's business but the man who "made" it and now has legal title to it. We have not yet fully realized that wealth is a social product, but that its ownership is mainly in the hands of men who by ~~its~~ this ownership can exercise oligarchic power. It does not follow that all possessors of wealth are criminals. They may be as much victims of a system as our paupers. Nevertheless, it is our duty to understand just what the present ownership of wealth is doing to our social order.

That it is plunging us into repeated financial crises is well known. In 1837, 1857, 1873 we wallowed in depression. Omitting minor upsets, we suffered again from low economic periods in 1893, 1907, and 1929. Meantime, we have today eight hundred huge corporations which increased their capital 64 per cent between 1939 and 1945, and which literally own America; and they are absorbing the others at an increasing rate.

Government reports in 1948, declared that 8,000,000 American families lived on less than $1,000 a year; 15,000,000 on less than $2,000 annually, and 24,000,000 had less than $3,000 on which to live. The Bureau of Labor demands $3,000 for a healthful standard of living. The lower fifth of our families received but four per cent of the money income and the top fifth nearly fifty per cent of it.

Corporate profits have so increased that the Federal Trade Commission has said, "if nothing is done to check the growth in concentration, either the giant corporations will ultimately take over the country, or the Government will be compelled to step in and impose some form of direct regulation."

But this government, which should step in, is largely directed by business men who represent these corporations. Bankers, executives of mail-order houses, insurance officials, cartel attorneys all stand high in cabinet and administrative positions.

The development of atomic energy, which when we recover from war hysteria, may be the greatest boon to human comfort and relief from toil, is now being surrendered, so far as possible, to the control of private business. The nation paid the huge bill for its development, but private industry got the contracts, controlled the administering advisory groups; and instead of building up a government industry, private corporations received knowledge of techniques, private patents, and fees for management. Lilienthal himself said, "private industry can alone develop atomic industry and must be given opportunities for profit."

49-2-143

It has been authoritatively said that "concentration of economic power creates great inequality of opportunity, sustains conditions prejudicial to democratic ideals, and makes those who are dependent on or subservient to the powerful, the instruments of the interests of the few, with little consideration for the welfare of the many."

Is it any wonder that many men over a long period have seen in socialism a cure for the ills of America. Scott Nearing says;

"Money reform, trust regulation, the protection of small business concerns, the control of privately owned public utilities, have been tried in the United States since the Civil War. What has been the result? Step by step the economy has passed from individual to corporate ownership. Year by year the stranglehold of Big Business has tightened on the economy and on the country, until a point has been reached at which a rich, powerful minority owns, controls, and dominates the American scene, securing its income and exercising its authority in the name of an economic apparatus which can no longer function except on a basis of large-scale military spending."

Albert Einstein says:

"I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman, and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society."

The rise of modern business in the United States has been instructive.

First we had the small, separate shops and factories for making goods and others for selling them, both financed by savings as capital. They were in keen competition with each other for trade, and got advantage usually by better methods, harder work, and greater ability. When such shops wanted to expand beyond the limits of capital saved, they borrowed money from the local public through banks. Then shops became factories with savings in method and material and power control, and with a laboring class of poor artisans who sold the future products of their toil for present food and shelter; shops became stores, with similar economies, with white collar wage workers and with increased sharp practices to kill off competition, in addition to better methods.

There grew up but one standard of success in business and industry, and that was the power which it put in the hands of its owners to secure goods, services, and social standing.

This so-called Profit was increased by the beginning of combinations in industrial effort; and concentration in ownership, not only bigger stores and factories, but by vertical union of factory and store , and even of factory, store and mine; and horizontal combination of many stores and factories into larger units. But this required increased planning of industry, large purchase of materials and machinery and big wage funds with longer wait for the end result. Those, therefore, who secured control of goods and money, loaned these to industry in return for a share of the profit and control of object and methods. Industry, both processing and selling, became integrated in great groups, which began not only to cover the nation but the internation. World finance and a world market appeared.

All this, especially as laborers became educated and united in unions and conscious of political power, called for increased control of government by industry, of industry was to rule, in order to guide the power which the masses through political democracy began to exercise over industry; and, also, to secure for industry, certain

49-2-145

powers of government which industry must have, to control the power which profit puts in its hands. Legislative lobbies, bribery, and control of news increased.

Certain kinds of business had long been carried on by government because it was difficult to so organize them as to yield private profit. Such government industry was subject to democratic control, and soon the public, especially labor, was beginning to demand that government go further into industry, especially into those vast monopolies like railroads, telephones, mining, and even manufacturing of certain integrated categories. This theory of democratic control of business and industry, called Socialism, was bitterly opposed by industry, not because it entailed planning, which all industry must use; not because it could not be done, since the same kind of persons run industry, as vote and run the government; but because while industry is autocratic in control, government is at least to a degree democratic.

Democracy in industry would, on the other hand, cut down private profits; that is, it would decrease the present power of industry to control through a few private owners, industrial processes, aims, goods, and ultimate distribution.

This is a tremendous power, the greatest in the modern world; and since the impact of the Industrial Revolution, it has been challenged and efforts made to subject this power to democratic control. It was thought in the nineteenth century that this could be accomplished by voluntary effort in group cooperation. Then gradual evolution of state control of industry was tried.

But industry, through control of the press and education, convinced most men that State socialism was an inevitable failure. Nevertheless, with modern national monopoly and cartels, it became clear that something must be done, if human effort was not to succumb to oligarchial control, at just the era when technique was able to make plenty, and content and freedom of thought

and imaginatiou could be universal. This was the basis of the extreme proposal of Communism, which sought to base industry on natural law and erect a state with industry under the complete control of democratic government.

The trend toward socialism and Communism was precipitated by the breakdown of the capitalist system in the first quarter of the twentieth century, because of inner quarrels among its dictators. The world market was broken up, with the cartels and state monopolies which supported it. World industry because of war sank in unprecedented depression and its revival was sought by a new orientation of economic power in the West and by communist revolution in Russia, all of which led to a second and more devastating war.

Individual wealth in itself is not evil but useless. The amount which a person can consume in food and clothing is quite limited; housing and personal service can be costly and extravagant and we have some palaces and principalities in the United States! Of course, luxury and entertainment can reach large figures. But American wealth has not on the whole been noted for conspicuous expenditure. Our huge profits have been used for power over production, exchange, and consumption, and over government; with the paradoxical object of accumulating more wealth for more power; and also lately to found dynasties of industrial rulers.

Two characteristics mark the power of industry in the United States. One is the effort to make the State furnish the capital and to take the risks while turning over management and profit to private industry. When complaint was voiced that industry opposed the development of the Columbia River power, the president of the National Association of Manufacturers said that it was not opposed to developing areas like the Columbia River, it is just that the job was so vast that the government should do it, providing after it was done, private industry was allowed to take it over!

Secondly, industry is steadily and with determination increasing its control of government, local, state, and national, in administration and

49 - 2 - 144

through the courts. This industrial control of government is now reaching out to world domination. The world market is to be restored under American instead of British and French control. This was to be accomplished by a huge navy, subsidies to shipping and aviation, and by the Marshall Plan.

The Marshall Plan was conceived in charity but carried out for private profit. It was put into the mouth of a well-intentioned military man who knew nothing of business, but did know poverty, destruction, and need. It was announced on the presumably unprejudiced campus of a great university whose graduate school of Business, endowed by rich industrialists, has been of immense influence in popularizing American business methods. It appealed at once to the generous heart of the American people; but it was implemented by a government directed by representatives of finance capital and carried out by Big Business.

Before the Marshall Plan was inaugurated, industrial production in Europe as a whole had reached prewar levels; the recovery in agriculture was not so fast and that in foreign trade was fair. The Marshall Plan came in with political, strategic, and, finally, economic purposes. First, it was to maintain "the American way of life," and oppose postwar planning, especially communism. Russia and Eastern Europe immediately refused to participate. Molotov said that the internal policies of each nation must not be subordinated to foreign support. Even Western Europe, according to the New York Times, feared there would be "a goodly number of plums pulled out of the pie by big American companies in the form of markets and commitments of European governments to keep hands off their operations."

This was immediately proven, by the breaking up of the natural and essential east-west trade, through which Western Europe received agricultural products for machines and manufactures. But this would give Russia "strategic materials" and was forbidden. On the other hand, the exports of the United States to Western Europe were not on the whole what Europe wanted and were

too highly priced for Europe's exports. Moreover, what could be bought from America was decided by Americans. The "gift" was made, but must be matched by a fund set up in the benefiting nation. The spending of this fund was controlled by United States officials. Europe needed capital equipment; but America limited and directed this and compelled the purchase of certain goods she wished to sell,--trucks, soft drinks, and often surplus stocks in the United States. On all of these goods, prices rose in the United States and freight rates skyrocketed, especially as fifty per cent of the carrying vessels must be American.

Moreover, the Marshall aid was used for an American imperialism in colonies. For "strategic" purposes, the United States required colonial products to the amount of $250,000,000 a year; private American business organizations, during the period 1946-1948, were investing a billion dollars a year in foreign projects and had in 1949, $15,000,000,000 throughout the world in quasi-colonies. America complained of slow recovery and Europe complained of American prices. America suggested ways by which through dropping of tariff walls and integrating methods of economy, Europe might purchase more from America. But the United States refused to lower her tariff walls or to reduce prices to any appreciable degree.

Britain solved her plight in part through her colonies; cocoa and palm oil in West Africa and tin and rubber in Asia furnished her goods which she could sell at high enough prices in America to help buy food, provided she kept African and Asiatic wages down. This made trouble on both continents.

In two great areas which America counted on to complete her world economic empire, Eastern Europe and China, the Soviet Union and her followers declined to allow America to infiltrate and dominate. These countries refused the Marshall Plan, thus removing an immense prospective market from the United States. In China, we trusted Chiang Kai-shek to keep that great market and reservoir of labor and materials subservient to the United States, as heir

49-2-149

of the British Empire. This plan backfired and China joined the Russian orbit. In the Middle East, the United States and Britain are still locked in bitter but polite rivalry for control of oil, which is blocking the development of Israel.

This forced American Business to take another step and depend on the threat of war to break the communist group. The Atlantic Pact was adopted ostensibly in defense, but in reality as an offensive against the Soviets backed by the atom bomb. It contradicted the Marshall Plan by compelling Western European nations to spend from one-fifth to one-third of their income for war. This has finally forced us to promise a Plan to finance war in Europe. Thus Big Business based its domination of the world market and restoration of nineteenth century capitalism on exploitation of Europe and war against Russia and socialism; and financed this venture by an unprecedented expenditure on preparation for war. This so far has kept the United States out of the depression which threatened to follow war, murder, and waste. Moreover, it made one further advance: colonies were still buttressing the economics of Britain and France, Holland, and Belgium. American business financed in rubber in Indonesia, copper and uranium in the Belgian Congo, and gold, minerals, and diamonds in the Union of South Africa. It proposed by the celebrated Point Four Program to penetrate other colonial regions.

Meantime, the American people had no clear understanding of the economic tangle which was bewildering the world, while Big Business made all-out effort to lay the blame of distress, frustration and unrest on the Soviet Union, and built up the nation to hysterical suspicion of communism and socialism. They called them Heresy and Conspiracy, Threat to Freedom and Democracy. They prepared them for a Holy Crusade, led by the Christian Church. If the strong common sense of the nation refuses the adventure of war and secures an era of peace and freedom, in which to study and reflect, it will soon discover that this development of Big Business points directly to the Government in Business

49-2-150

and the Welfare State.

Already many business organizations are equal to states in size and wealth; already many of them need the powers of government to function properly; already the government is furnishing capital for much of the activity of private enterprise, and already government enterprises, like the Tennessee Valley Authority, have been enormously successful. Why then should such enterprises become the property of government rather than remain private? Whether private or public, the same sort of folk conduct them, with the same technique, why then change? Because of one tremendous reason: public business organization is controlled in object and method by democracy; private business is at best an autocracy and at worst a world oligarchy. Its objects vary from personal philanthropy to a revival of colonial imperialism and slave labor. Moreover, the fond hope that labor unions in alliance with private business would work out a voluntary democracy has failed to come true, as the Taft-Hartley law indicates.

Meantime, the socialization of America is increasing. A textbook in use in the public schools was recently banned in Texas because of this true passage: "The United States is called a capitalistic country, but it does not have pure capitalism. It has capitalism subject to increasing Government control, as our manner of living becomes more complex. The country is capitalistic with strong socialistic and even communistic trends. The postal system, power projects, and progressive taxes are bits of socialism; and public free education and old age assistance are examples of communism 'to each according to his need.' "

Despite this and other efforts to conceal this truth, socialization grows as industry expands and consolidates. To preserve the forests of the West, for natural beauty and water, the United States owns 53 per cent of all land of the eleven states of the Far West, and its function is unquestioned, save by selfish private interests, because the United States is

49-2-151

consuming twice as much timber as it is growing; despite government efforts, three-fourth of our forest land still remains in private hands, with few efforts at conservation.

The great and outstanding example of socialism in our government is the T.V.A., the government-controlled ~~and~~ development of the great Tennessee River valley, for which Senator George Norris and his colleagues fought for years and which is still periodically under attack. Similar developments of all our great river systems would save us from annual floods, death, and sickness and destruction, while preserving water and furnishing cheap power. But so far Big Business and monopoly have either blocked this development entirely or secured most of the results for private profit.

This illustrates a new and growing demand from private capital. Let the taxpayer furnish the capital and take the risk; let Business be run by oligarchial methods and mainly for private profit and not for public welfare. Then Business will take over and conduct the project without interference from government. It is this demand of business for control of public monies plus assumption of many governmental functions, that is leading many persons, who know nothing of theoretical socialism, to ask why control of the most important functions of life should be surrendered to private hands at public expense?

Contrasting with our great wealth in America is our poverty. An expert recently said at a Congressional hearing: "A third of all our people in the year 1948, a peak of American prosperity, had so little income, such meager culture, and living standards so low, as to be set apart. In effect, they were a drag upon the rest of us, unable to pull their full share of the load, denied many of the good things of life which we have, and a possible threat to our free democratic institutions."

The current taxation falls heavily on the poor. Sales taxes, the most

inequitable of taxes, are increasing in states and cities. Tax relief has gone to the rich; corporations pay twice as high taxes as in 1939; but ~~while~~ a man earning $5,200 a year pays nine times as much. Colleges engaging in business avoid $50,000,000 a year in taxation; and wealthy men by forming philanthropic foundations, not only escape taxes but gain increased control of industry without government ~~control.~~ interference.

This poverty does not bother many business philosophers. Barrons, the national business weekly say, "The cycle of boom and bust is a basic principle of nature. Planets have their orbits and years their seasons. Night follows day. Recessions and depressions are unpleasant, but there are times when recessions are needed. Lay-offs are painful, but they do induce those who are still on the job to work harder, and they tend to reduce the working force of the nation down to where it includes those who really want jobs... It is hoped that depressions are never abolished for they have many desirable features."

Poverty and uncertainty encourage gambling. It has been said that in 1949, the entire nation spent in gambling or sports $15,000,000,000, while for education, only $2,500,000,000; and for research in mental illness not over $300,000. Barkley, Vice President of th United States, has told the thoroughbred racing association of New York that the revenue from horse racing has been enough to operate the government of six states and pay off the debt of fifteen states.

A reporter says, "if there is one persistent American dream embedded in the subconscious of our modern American culture, it is the dream that someday, somehow, like a bolt of lightning, you are going to strike it rich. This is shown by horse players in iron betting machines, in the bingo players, and in the people who buy Irish sweepstake tickets, in audiences led by the radio give-away shows."

49-2-153

There is lawlessness and crime in the United States today, but in individuals this is explicable from the upheaval of wars with disruption of family life, poor schools and uncertainty of occupation. But there is a lawlessness which the nation faces helplessly, and that is the refusal of corporations to obey the law, or their power to prevent the enactment of enforceable law. So far our attempt to stop or control the concentration of capital in growing monopolies has had little success. Almost anything which a great, rich corporation wishes to do, it does, and public opinion seems helpless: "The trust, the pool, the combination, and other techniques of the past, and even the powerful trade association of the present are rendered quite unnecessary in these industries where the number of producers is so limited that a gentleman's world of 'live and let live' can be effectuated without formality, without overt evidence of collusion, and without fear of prosecution."

We are neglecting the national health. There are fewer medical students today than forty-five years ago; yet of 25,000 applicants in 1949, only 6,387 were admitted to medical schools. We need practicioners, hospitals, nurses; our mental cases are wretchedly cared for, with resulting increase of crime. We need socialized medical system for the nation; but the American Medical Association is fighting this, with a huge lobbying fund and trained lobbyists.

Because of war and interruption of normal building and repairs, the nation needs to build at least a million and one-half homes a year for ten years. The real estate and building interests have held this down to less than 150,000 units and also blocked modern ways of mass construction, while we allow rise in rents.

Four million American children are not in school and two million are being taught by teachers with substandard certificates. Hundreds of thousands of teachers are still receiving poverty-level salaries. There

is a nationwide shortage of school buildings. More than twenty per cent of the city children in the United States ~~were~~ are assigned to overcrowded classrooms and hundreds of thousands of pupils are on half-day sessions. There are 10,000,000 functional illiterates. "Comic books," the low form of literature which floods our newsstands, are the addiction and virtually the only reading matter in three out of four American homes.

The future of the United States rests largely on our colleges and universities, which train teachers, scientists, physicians, architects, engineers, lawyers and increasingly legislators, businessmen and journalists. Despite this, we have been spending a small percentage of our national income on higher education each year. In 1932, we spent on colleges and universities, one per cent of the national income, and in 1947, one-half of one per cent. We are spending half as much of our national income to educate almost twice as large a proportion of our population. Tuition has increased over fifty per cent since 1941, and the children of the rich have three or four times the chance to go to college as the children of the middle class and poor. Salaries of professors are too low to secure first-class teaching. Of one hundred who enter the public schools, only three go to college. Yet some fear these college graduates. The Chancellor of the New York Board of Regents recently objected to the belief that the government should provide opportunity for higher education for all who desire it: "We are likely to educate many more men and women than can earn a living in the fields which they have chosen or anywhere else, and they will become embittered with their frustration and will turn upon society and government more effective and better armed in their destructive wrath by the education we have given them."

This is the reason that propaganda is directed toward the public schools by Big Business, the government, and the military establishments. The National Association of Manufacturers has a well-financed program to

49-2-155

influence schools and screen textbooks.

The United States gives one hundred million dollars a year to colleges chiefly through the military establishment for research; and private industry gives another twenty-five million dollars in addition. Of the government subsidity the University of Michigan gets $5,000,000, Harvard $2,225,000, and Columbia University $3,300,000. This means business and the military influence, if not control, much of our higher training.

But most disturbing today is the Press, daily, weekly and, monthly; with newsgathering agencies, the films, and the radio. In 1947, a commission, headed by the Chancellor of the University of Chicago said: "The freedom of the press in the United States is in danger; for three reasons: its increased importance to the people; the decreasing proportion of people allowed to express their opinions; the inadequate service rendered the people by those who can use it; the habit of those who control the press of engaging in practices which society condemsn, and which it will inevitably try to control." The report added:

"Anybody with nothing to say can say it by mass communication, if he has a knowing press agent, or a considerable reputation, or an active pressure group behind him; whereas, even with such advantages, anybody with something to say has a hard time getting it said by mass communication, if it runs counter to the ideas of owners, editors, opposing pressure groups, or popular prejudice."

It is clear that wealth in the United States, represented by the large corporations organized for profit, own and control the press in the nation. The small papers and independent magazines are disappearing. These periodicals, have a difficult time existing. In the big press the owners pay fabulous prices for columnists and writers. They gather news from the ends of the earth, and color and slant it; they omit what they wish and in some cases actually invent and mislead. The periodical press is no longer a forum for

ideas and opinions, but chooses writers who agree with their policy, or are willing for a price to follow their line of propaganda. Once I wrote a balanced criticism of the effect of Roosevelt's New Deal on the Negro. The magazine editor to whom I sent it wrote back, briefly, "Change this to an attack on Roosevelt and we will publish it."

All the newspapers, with their enormous circulation and special services, must cater to their advertisers, who may indeed be their indirect owners. The advertising carried on by the press is one of the nations's biggest businesses and represents immense revenue. Last year probably $5,000,000,000 was spent on advertising. This represents not only a tremendous bribe for opinion, news, and silence, but a decisive psychological influence on the public mind. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television bombard the public with inducements to spend money, to such an extent that the public wants things they do not need and often wants them for the wrong reasons. Emotional immaturity is encouraged and waste arises from aroused demand for useless and harmful things. Almost any product can be sold America by a sufficiently wide, loud, and costly advertising campaign. This is peculiarly true in the immense sale of drugs and patent medicines.

49-2-157

Chemists are adulterating and poisoning food and the newspapers carry their advertising and the radio spreads their wares. Some of the best known nationally advertised products have been charged with fraudulent advertising and thousands of advertised articl s have been proved fakes. The Federal Trade Commission continues to issue these facts 365 days in the year, and the press, for the most part, continued to suppress the news.

Our Christmas holiday season has been turned into an orgy of purposeless spending and waste by manufacturers, retail merchants, and their advertising. Thus American culture has been turned from its higher aims and efforts into a machine for making and selling for profit, so as to make and sell again. So that meat is worth more than life and raiment is more valuable

than the body.

The recent curtailment of civil liberties in the United States is frightening. In 1940, the Smith Bill was passed which made thoughts liable to suppression; then came arrests of persons for refusing to reveal confidential data; a congressional committee publicly accused persons without allowing them legal counsel or names of accusers; the Attorney General of the nation pilloried dozens of organizations as "subversive," without giving them opportunity for explanation or for defense; men and women were arrested and jailed for refusing to tattle on friends accused of no crime; workers were discharged for being accused of believing in Communism. Finally, the eleven official heads of the Communist Party were arrested and tried in a court proceeding which had faint semblance of justice and, although no illegal act was even alleged, they and their lawyers were sentenced to jail.

The Taft-Hartley act was passed restoring court control of labor unions and limiting the right to strike and bargain. Foreign-born citizens have been threatened and hounded until today more than 150 non-citizens in twenty-one states are under arrest for deportation, while 3,000 others are under investigation, and 3,000,000 non-citizens and 11,000,000 naturalized citizens live in danger. Investigations and loyalty orders have been made. Civil servants have been investigated; with secret trials and arbitrary decisions, some eighty-three have been discharged and 900 resigned.

The American Civil Liberties Union adds that "1949 witnessed an unprecedented array of barriers to free association, of forced declarations of loyalty, of blacklists and purges; and, most menacing to the spirit of liberty, of taboos on those progressive programs and principles which are the heart of any expanding democracy." It is reported that 7,600 employees have been accused and are being investigated. Under President Truman's order 9835, a person is liable to investigation if he ever:

Spoke against racial and religious discrimination

Attended a social gathering, no matter how large, at which a "subversive" was present.

Contributed money to help the victims of Franco Spain.

Owned a low-cost life insurance policy issued by the International Workers Order.

Attended a public meeting of the National Negro Congress or any one of dozens of other legal, loyal, but liberal organizations.

Talked, even to neighbors and friends, about controversial issues.

A new State Department code of principles was adopted, even more drastic than the loyalty order. The Hollywood writers were intimidated; mob action prevented meetings of the Progressive Party; censorship of teachers and students came in universities. Columbia University, the College of the City of New York, Brooklyn College, Hunter College, all banned leading American writers; George Washington University denied a charter to the American Veterans Committee and the Young Progressives. Books of leading authors, living and dead, have been barred, like Arthur Miller, Charles Darwin, Thomas Paine, Louis Adamic, Stuart Chase, Charles Beard and others.

49-2-159

The University of Washington discharged three professors, who had been on the faculty from eighteen to twenty years, for unorthodox political views.

Alger Hiss, Judith Coplon and the Russian, Gubitschev, have been tried under pressure of public opinion, so that few persons believe them guilty of any illegal acts. Harry Bridges has been repeatedly tried and finally convicted on the testimony of hired witnesses. His real crime was the successful leadership of the Longshoremen in conflict with the shipping interests. Secret espionage and tapping of telephone wires by government agents have been resorted to, until Bernard De Voto, of Harper's Magazine, said publicly: "Representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other official investigating bodies have questioned me, in the past, about a number of people and I have answered their questions. That's over. If it is my duty as a citizen to tell what I know about someone, I will perform that duty under

subpoena, in open court, before that person and his attorney. This notice is posted in the courthouse square: I will not discuss anyone in private with any government investigator."

Almost every strike is called Communist inspired; therefore, the threat of communism becomes the threat of higher wages in the face of increased cost of living. The Progressive Party, fighting for the Negro vote in the South, was promptly branded part of the Communist conspiracy. The crowning indignity comes with the declaration of the Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Wheary, who says, that if the Supreme Court upholds the conviction of the Communist leaders, the Department of Justice will arrest and try 21,105 persons who "appear to be acting in concert with Russian interests."

Finally, there is before Congress now a bill which a Senator thus characterizes: "This bill, if enacted, would constitute the greatest threat to American civil liberties since the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798. Like that bill, it is the product of hysteria and frantic, unthinking fear. Like that bill, it would strike at the very foundations of our democratic institutions — the right of the people to speak their minds, to hear every viewpoint on public questions, and to associate together freely to advance their common views. Like that bill, it merits the opposition of all who cherish liberty."

Because the business interests which are dominating the nation, see no way of restoring the world market, under American domination, except through war on Russia and communism, the United States has become today the greatest military power which the world has ever known and is spending more money for war than any other nation ever spent. For military preparedness we are spending directly $13,000,000,000 a year; indirect expenses, like interest on war debts, pensions for veterans, foreign aid, atomic energy and the like, bring the total to at least $31,000,000,000, which is 71 per cent of our total outlay. Only five per cent of our gross national income goes to such general

welfare as health, education, housing, agriculture, communications, power and natural resources, and for regulation of trade and industry.

We have never before been an armed nation in time of peace. We have never spent so much money, or so much of our income for war. We have never given so much power to military men. This concentration of power is a threat to freedom, and the taxes to support it an intolerable burden to the whole nation. Moreover, the kind of war we are preparing for, is the most undiscriminating destruction ever envisioned. We propose to kill men, women and children in unprotected cities in unlimited devastation. Hessler, a former navy officer, warns: "The United States alone is building a strategic air force planned to lay waste to cities such as ours." In other words, it is the American concept of strategic air power which is guiding future war into the pattern of blind devastation. Today, the American people, whipped by a false hysteria by anti-Communist tom-toms, and frightened by horrifying weapons of their own devising, have become the world's only nation relying on the arms designed for systematic massacre. The threat of war by mass annihilation is a basic American foreign policy today.

Einstein, the world's greatest physicist, declares: "Disarm or we die." He says, "The idea of achieving security through national armament is at the present state of military technique a disastrous illusion." War and preparation for war are diving the nation mad. Science is its captive. "There is at present," says The American Association for the Advancement of Science, "a tendency in public thinking to relate scientific activity almost wholly to military activity." Edward Condon, who has been dogged and smeared, says that scientists have probably suffered more than any other group from the postwar loyalty hysteria. The attempt to advocate peace has met every obstacle. Foreigners of highest reputation have been refused visas because they came to advocate peace.

Because of the billions of dollars to be spent on war, there is no plan

49-2-161

of public works to give employment to the unemployed, no unemployment insurance, no decent wage increases, only $4,000,000,000 for housing when $17,000,000,000 are needed. Slums are thus being created quicker than they are being cleared. There is nothing for school buildings, nothing for subsistence for those unable to continue in school, nothing for scholarships, no disability insurance for young people temporarily disabled, no maternity benefits for young mothers, no youth centers to provide opportunities for sports and recreation.

We hire spies, of course. All nations in this crisis try to find out as much as possible about their neighbor's deeds and actions and aims. But when our "intelligence" breaks down or is exposed, we indignantly deny it and charge foreigners with lying. For such reasons; because our charity, real as it is for the taxpayers, is changed by the merchants to profit-making and economic compulsion, it is true as all travellers can testify, that Americans are hated everywhere in Europe. Their real financial assistance is either not known or it is interpreted as malicious and selfish. Ignorance about America is stronger than ever before among both intellectuals and common people. Everything Americans have done and everything they are planning to do is vicious. They are ill-mannered, imperialistic materialists. What is true in Europe is even more true in Asia and South America.

We are relying on the strange belief that our defeat of Japan has turned her into our ally and that the future bastion of American expansion in the Orient will be Japan. This can scarcely be true. Japanese culture is very old and wise. No man like Douglass MacArthur will easily deceive the Japanese. The insults which the United States long heaped on this land will not be forgotten in our day nor allayed by mild but strong control. Sometime Japan will be free again. She will regain her efficiency and power. She will never be servant of the West nor of the white race; but if she has learned her lesson well, she may yet join China and India in leadership

of that Asia which her outbreak in 1941 sparked into freedom and autonomy.

How then shall we lead the world? On one point more than others, our motives and acts are suspect; and that is, the treatment of minorities, especially Negroes and colored groups in our democracy. Everywhere in Europe, Asia, and Africa this crucial test of our profession is known. We can reply that race relations in this land have improved in the last fifty years; but their unsatisfactory condition today simply emphasizes the depth of our guilt in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Race relations have been bettered, but this has been in large part due to the unremitting efforts of Negroes themselves, who, for a generation have been the defenders of democracy in the United States, of which they themselves were so widely deprived. With all this and with the help and sympathy of thousands of liberal white Americans, North and South, the situation today is not good. The report of the American Jewish Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in civil rights for 1949 says: "The darker side of the picture still remains dominant. Segregation continues virtually unbroken in Southern government. Throughout most of the country, racial discrimination governs the sale and lease of housing, while discrimination in employment and education still affects all minority groups. Finally, the international scandal of segregation in the nation's capital persists."

In the schools of the nation, textbooks still misrepresent the past. Slavery is depicted as a benevolent institution: "It was often a happy life for the slaves, they had no cares except to do their work well." Again: "On the whole, the slaves of the South were considerately treated." Or a new text, published in 1949, says: "Most of the slaves were happy, they did not want to be free."

The President in his campaign promised a program of civil rights for the Negroes in accord with the report of his Civil Rights Committee; he

49-2-163

repeats this promise regularly. Two years after this report not one of its major recommendations have been adopted. States have done something. Eight have laws outlawing race discrimination in employment and seventeen prohibit discrimination in schools; but forty other states have no such employment laws and seventeen make segregation in education compulsory. Eighteen leaders in American life, including John Dewey, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and John Haynes Holmes, declare that states having segregated school systems, expend an average of almost twice as much for the education of a white child as for a Negro child. The existence of segregated schools is in itself a blot on the American public school system. Today a map of discrimination in the United States shows that in most of the states, segregation and discrimination affecting voting, schools, marriage, or other rights, are in force. In some cases, race segregation has been broken down by facts, rather than theory: in the Battle of the Bulge Negro soldiers had to be used along with whites to beat back Von Runstedt.

In most cases Americans think that this condition is the rapidly passing result of former slavery, and affects but a small part of the nation; but this part amounts to nearly a tenth of the inhabitants and at least a quarter of the working class. Their condition affects the nation and particularly the laboring class. As low paid, ignorant and sick competitors they keep down production and wages and their condition increases the income and power of capital, just as slavery a century ago increased the political power of planters, Northern manufacturers and traders, and the British merchants.

These race and economic problems in the United States lead to curious paradoxes. It is, of course, natural that a white American of education and good income should be content with "the American way of life," and look on change or complaint as wrong, or even treasonable. But we buy gold feverishly from the slave labor of South Africa, from the bankrupt economy of

179 - 2 - 179

war-torn Europe. We run home and bury millions of this in the earth. It sounds like madness. It is madness. We live in a naked, hungry world. Our rich soil raises too much. We pay our farmers to raise less or destroy part of what they have raised. We store the rest in the earth. Our storage bins are already bursting at the seams.

This summer our carry-over of cotton will reach 2,000,000,000 bales. The carry-over of wheat will be 300,000,000 bushels; of corn 1,000,000,000 bushels. Already the Commodity Credit Corporation, which buys and stores supported products, is close to the limit of its borrowing power. The support program cost $600,000,000 in 1949. This year its cost will be much higher. Where will this insanity end?

Americans have many fine and outstanding qualities: their resourcefulness; their initiative; their keen common sense; their sympathy and generosity, and their sense of human equality. Much of this has been encouraged by the freedom of action and thought which they have always had, the vast resources of their country and the beckoning frontier which lasted so many years. But their very virtues have brought reactionary evils; their initiative has often been used to the hurt of others. They have not recognized as equals many millions of their fellows; their chance for gain has brought not only vast riches, but deep poverty, and their freedom has often degenerated into license and bad manners. And now, that the frontier has disappeared or been transformed from physical limits to mental problems, the old liberty must be curbed by social compulsion, leaving a realm of freedom only in thought and spirit. Just here (in thought and spirit) we are now frantically limiting freedom and compelling agreement ~~in thought~~ by threatening all with hunger, loss of status, or conformity.

It would seem that either Big Business will continue to take over control of the United States or the United States will nationalize the railroads, mines, forests, the telephone and telegraph facilities, the steel

49-2-165

and aluminum trusts, the Du Pont chemical empire, and Standard oil.

British capital cannot rescue India, and American capital will not, for it can get no guarantee of continued control. Chinese Communism can and will save India, if once it succeeds in saving itself. Then French and British West Africa will pour down the Nile with a new Middle East, rescue dead Egypt and turning back, absorb Kenya, the Rhodesias, the Congo, and South Africa. Mexico, South America and the West Indies, fighting Church and capital, will slowly follow this new world. With industry in state control and the state run for the welfare of all, there will emerge a new freedom in Art and Literature and a flowering of Science not dreamed of since the seventeenth century.

Either this, or Big Business will increase its control of American life and thought and, through America, will move towards control of the world. A third World War will inevitably ensue -- and Chaos.

Each morning now I look around at my country. I see its mountains and cities, its hills and homes, its rivers and cities, its men, women, and children. I sigh and ask: Where is the Land of my dreams, and of the dreams and faith of so many, many men? Where is the courage and high resolve, for a Land of the Free, a land of refuge for the weak and hunted, the friend of dissent and heresy, the hope of Peace on earth, Good Will towards men? The land that chained but freed the slave, gave votes to women and welcomed the poor and needy from the ends of the earth? What has happened to make her today the great warmonger of the world? Her battleships prowling in Saigon, her airplanes riding above Libau and patrolling the Seven Seas; her armies sitting in Germany, Japan, Greece, Korea, and Alaska?

We police the world and scan the stars. We are supermen, masters of everything and rulers of all, and yet, afraid of each other; searching, spying, questioning, burrowing into the minds and hearts of men. We fashion weapons madly and thrust them into the unwilling hands of English, French

49-2-166

and Italians and order them where and how to fight and keep fighting; these folks, with eyes still wet with tears for the dead and crazy and crippled. We shout defiance and murder to starving, naked and homeless people. We invent and manufacture death, and bury food and gold. We are howling wolves of hate, faring through the world on wire and telephone crying and crying again, Fight! Kill! Maim! Exterminate! The anti-Christ comes, the End of All. Our newspapers take up the tale, so that each morning begins poisoned with suspicion and hate. The magazines picture horror, dressed with fashions for Spring. We are afraid, afraid -- but of what -- of just what? No hostile armies are in miles of us; no ships or planes, save in the minds of idiots are near us. What frightens us? Why in God's name is this great, rich, secure nation literally scared to death?

The obvious answer is: Russia. Not the Russia of the czars; we endured that Russia, even with its indecent pageantry of royalty; its poverty and illiteracy; its pogroms against Jews. The Russia of the Revolution we regarded with pity and contempt. But not with fear. The Russia of Hitler we ignored as of no value for alliance and the sure and easy victims of the invincible Germany army, of god-like Nordics. We watched Soviet victory with disbelief and lend-lease, and then with dismay. We hastened to make alliance and gave generous praise to what General MacArthur called "the greatest military effort in history." And then, from 1945 until today all this has turned from distaste to frantic fear. Why?

There was a long day when no respectable man of brains and social standing referred to the French Revolution in any terms except of disdain, repulsion and disgust. Yet the time came when that Revolution was recognized as one of the great landmarks of human progress; naturally, with mistakes and excesses; but with vast preponderance of good. This may yet mark American attitude toward the Russian Revolution. But today as a nation we loath and fear it. The Archbishop of York reported after a visit to

49-2-167

America, that the dread of communism is more common and violent than it is in England, degenerating sometimes into an almost hysterical suspicion of those who hold left views."

A composer who had lived in this country for years was deported because his brother was a Communist. Shastokovich, the great Russian composer, was refused a hall on the campus of Yale University in which to give a concert. Picasso, one of the world's greatest painters, was refused a visa because as a Communist he wanted to plead for peace. The Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, a man of Peace and Love, may not set foot in the United States. When Sidney Webb, the great British socialist died, American reviews made no mention of his monumental study of Russia. Repeated attacks have been made on Einstein, because of his mild socialism. A Read Admiral says, "If Einstein doesn't like Americanism or our nationalism, then he should go back where he came from and try Mr. Hitler again."

An article in Harper's Magazine for September, 1947, by Henry Steele Commager, Professor of History at Columbia University, depicts not only the intelligence of the average American teacher, but his courage and independence as well: "May 6, 1947, a Russian-born girl gave a talk to the students of the Western High School of Washington, D. C. She talked about Russia -- its school system, its public health program, the position of women, of the aged, of the workers, the farmers, and the professional classes -- and compared some American and Russian social institutions. The speech reprinted for us in The Congressional Record does not disclose a single disparagement of anything American, unless it is a quasi-humorous reference to the cost of having a baby and of dental treatment in this country. She said nothing that any normal person could find objectionable.

"Her speech, however, created a sensation. A few students walked out on it. Others improvised placards proclaiming their devotion to Americanism. Indignant mothers telephoned their protests. Newspapers took a strong

stand against the outrage. The District of Columbia Committee went into a huddle; there were demands for housecleaning in the whole school system, which was obviously shot through and through with Communism."

About 98 per cent of the daily reporting of news from Eastern Europe is unfavorable of them ; only in a few papers the truth may appear in a feature article of the Sunday edition, or in a special article on the editorial page. Erroneous facts about Russia are made and reiterated so that they are received as gospel. An air force general said at a Washington hearing, that all that was necessary to subdue Russia was to let Russian soldiers see the West: "There those boys would see a way of life, a freedom, a dignity of the individual that they never imagined before. It would be psychological warfare at its best. Stalin would lose control, and he could not discipline them. Russia doesn't like the system she is living under; and once the Red Army sees a better way of life, Stalin will never get it back under totalitarian control again. The Red Army will disintegrate in Europe."

Continual "factual" statements are made of Russian labor. That Russians work 81 hours to earn what Americans earn in ten. Any story unfavorable to Russia is printed in the United States. The effort to show communism as criminal is repeatedly printed.

But worse than this popular impression of the Soviet Union rife in America, is the acceptance of this picture by the leaders of thought in the United States.

Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, offered peace to the Soviet Union. He said: "Good and Evil can and do exist concurrently in the whole great realm of human life;" therefore, the United States, being Good, and the Soviet Union being Evil, can possibly live together. Thereupon he accuses Russia of keeping Germany, Japan and Austria from being "free countries;" of keeping in various nations by military force and under a regime which their people do not want; of refusing to assent to control of atomic weapons or to disarmament;

49-2-129

of subverting friendly government; of not treating diplomatic officials with respect; of lying to Russians about the United States and the world.

There has not been in modern history a more deliberately insulting "offer" of peace. No person who really wanted peace, would have couched an offer in such terms, even if he himself believed the accusations..

Frank Graham, an outstanding liberal, says: "Totalitarian tyranny must sometime begin to give way to human freedom now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, but never dead within the human spirit."

In an editorial in The New York Times it is stated that the Russian "system has been able to win its victories by representing itself as a 'new and higher type of democracy,' which is to enrich the underprivileged at the expense of the possessing classes and thereby bring 'true' freedom to all. In actual practice it has only brought misery to those who have come under its sway -- and the reason it has done so is that its use of the word 'democracy' is as fraudulent as its promises.

"Under such a system there can be neither self-government nor freedom, but only the most rigid and stifling regimentation of all phases of a nation's life. To make this regimentation absolute, the Communist dictatorship openly espouses terror as the best means of mass control."

It carries its distaste even to refusing any restraint on Formosa to stop bombing of American vessels: "In actual practice the overwhelming force of wrathful American public opinion would prevent the United States from using its proud Navy to open up a supply line for the Chinese Communists. Common decency would prevent us from stooping so low."

Bertrand Russell tells Americans, that East of the Iron Curtain, "all that has made Europe valuable to mankind is extinct. And the Iron Curtain, alas, is capable of moving Westwards." He puts the issue of war or peace on the Russians and rests his hopes on civilization, military preparedness, and the Atlantic Pact.

Our representative in the United Nations said: "Confidence in Soviet pledges has been undermined by the experience of a past few years. To find cause for concern, it is not necessary to recall the friendship pact with Nazi Germany, or the Soviet non-aggression pact with Finland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. We need only look at the long, unhappy list of broken Soviet pledges that has grown since we have been engaged in the common effort to create the United Nations.

"The principle of unamimity of the five permanent members of the Security Council is based on the assumption that they will cooperate toward a common goal of peace. But the Soviet Union has twisted that principle into a weapon of obstruction and sabotage of world peace."

Enemies of Russia have every facility of publicity given them in our press and radio: "Any disgruntled journalist or diplomat or engineer, or so-called 'general'; any incompetent employee, any correspondent expelled from the Soviets for having lied about them, any dismissed incompetent technician, any scoundrel, swindler or careerist; any abominable or repugnant character; any international renegade, criminal, derelict or outcast; any adventurer or unsuccessful writer, any semi-socialist, anyone who has failed in everything is sure to reestablish his fortune by defaming the Soviet Union. The American press, the American magazines, the American editors, hold their arms wide open to them, and the American feebleminded public embraces them, receives them warmly and enthusiastically and generously displays its purse to them."

Even Henry A. Wallace, leader of the Progressive Party, declares both the United States and the Soviet Union are "brutes of force, both countries' policies rest on the doctrine of force. The Soviet Union uses one kind of force, the United States another. Both countries interfere in affairs of other nations. Both, certain of the righteousness of their cause, are plunging headlong toward mutual destruction."

49-2-171

Communism is continually described as a conspiracy of ruthless scoundrels; the Republicans say, "Communism is an international conspiracy aiming at world-wide dictatorship and the suppression of religious, political, and economic freedoms throughout the world. It corrupts ideals, corrodes basic religious teachings, destroys the fiber of man and denies the existence of God. It is imperative that the nations of the world develop new methods to offset this frontal attack on civilization."

Another widespread accusation is that Russia is a slave state, with all liberties curtailed and millions in labor concentration camps. The Vice President said on April 15, 1950, "The propagandists for this foe claim to be apostles of freedom, yet, in their so-called labor camps are more slaves than have been kept in bondage by any nation at any time in the history of the world. No citizen is free from searches and seizures of the secret police. Trial by unimagined tortures take the place of trials by jury. There is no freedom of expression, no freedom of the press, no freedom to worship in one's own way, no freedom of enterprise, no freedom to enjoy the profits of one's labors. Especially it is said there is no democracy or freedom of election." Communism is often described as deliberately false doctrine which takes advantage of poverty and distress with impossible promises.

At the end of the Second World War the rearmament of Germany was held to be the greatest threat to the peace of the world by General Marshall, Eisenhower, and others. Today, however, General Montgomery is preparing to create a Nazi army; the British Foreign Office believes this is inevitable. The United States Generals cannot say so publicly but privately they agree that a revived Germany army of some sort must be put into the field against Soviet Russia; and that our armed forces are in Germany to protect the West against the East.

A leading newspaper says in an editorial: "We cannot question the necessity for adequate security measures, if we cannot protect our country

against military aggression, then we may not long have any civil or economic rights to worry about. Disarmament is no solution; in a community of lambs, the wolf will rule."

Bernard M. Baruch called for a military establishment able to strike "immediately"; insure prompt retaliation and deter aggression and, also, to deal with possible civil war abroad. Secondly, a mobilization plan which will act swiftly with all our resources, men, money and material in case we or our allies are attacked. Third, organization of spies to provide information. Fourth, a general staff to formulate global strategy. There is a less definite but very general charge that the Russians are liars, murderers, and conspirators whose every word and act are suspect.

At the center of all Red-baiting today stands the charge that all Communism and all Communists are agents of a foreign power; so in 1928, it was said that Alfred E. Smith could not be President because he would be subservient to a foreign power; and finally, it is said that the Soviet Union is not democratic but totalitarian without real elections or any popular government. Such would seem to be the overwhelming opinion of leaders of American public opinion today.

But there are opposing views. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, said at the hearings on the Atlantic Pact: "During the past four years we have appropriated more than $50,000,000,000 for their use to build up a stock pile of atom bombs, maintain an air force to deliver the bombs in large quantity anywhere on the globe, maintain the largest military force of manpower in our peacetime history, finance peacetime military conscription in this country, and build military bases all over the world. No military machine is worth a nickel without an enemy, and the avowed enemy of our military leaders is communism and the spread of the Russian orbit. We contend that despite the almost unlimited resources at their disposal, our military leaders have failed to achieve their avowed

49-2-173

purpose, and for two basic reasons:

1. Communism, like democracy or Christianity, is an ideology against which no military machine or threat of force can be successfully pitted.

2. Economic poverty breeds communism, and by voting UNRRA out of existence, and by diverting our resources to enormous military preparations, including this even more conscienceless step of paying for the machines of mass murder for whole sections of war-gutted Europe, we are indirectly responsible for the very conditions in which communism is flourishing in the war-ravaged nations of the world...

   This is a wicked proposal, born of greed and self interest which will largely accrue to the conscienceless benefit of a handful of both American and European business interests. In the long run such temporary benefits will work to the advantage of such have-not regimes as Russia, China, and other Iron Curtain and similar backward countries of the world and give further strength to the contention of our military leaders -- that we should further tax our own economic and social resources for ever-increasing militarism."

When the President ordered the Atomic Energy Commission to make hydrogen bombs, Congress and the public praised the decision, but twelve leading atomic scientists said that few of the men who publicly urged the President to make this decision can realize its full import. No nation has the right to such a bomb no matter how righteous its cause. The bomb is no longer a weapon of war but a means of extermination of whole populations. Its use would be a betrayal of all standards of morality and of Christian civilization itself.

Russia's record on atomic armaments is morally stronger than America's. Russia has dropped no bomb, she has amassed no huge stockpile of bombs, she has not threatened other nations with the bomb, or used it in a form of pressure. Instead Soviet leaders have insisted that they will not use the bomb as a weapon of attack; and that they will build only enough bombs to protect their own nation.

The result of the fight which the United States is making against socialism and communism in defense of American business methods, is shown by the astonishing fact that this policy has forced us into alliance with nearly

49-2-44

every reactionary nation and movement on earth; even when this policy is against our wish and past traditions. We are upholding decadent and corrupt monarchy in Greece; land monopoly in Italy; we are helping fascist Turkey equip an army; we have welcomed the reactionary Shah of Iran; our trade is the chief support of Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo; we favor and help arm Pakistan over India; we have poured treasure and military aid into Nationalist China; and are now in military alliance with the puppet Bao Dai in French Indo-China; and have raised no finger to aid the peasants of Madagascar. We have defended the landlords of southern Korea and the present inept regime in the Philippines; we gave the Dutch more help in Indonesia than we gave the native government; in the West Indies, we have given more help to the dictator of the Dominican Republic than to Haiti; we have given Mexico little support, and more to the Argentine, and to Chile, and to other reactionary regimes in South America. Wherever in the world there is poverty, hunger, and distress fighting against vested interests and land monopoly, there is the United States, in nearly every case, aiding and abetting the oppressor.

This is not the real intention of America; it is not in accord with the genius of our institutions; it is the fatal paradox into which Big Business and industrial monopoly in this nation has landed us, camouflaged as a fight against World Evil.

So here we stand. The obvious next step for thinking people is Light, More Light. We must know the facts. What is Russia today and what are her plans? This reduces itself to answers to these questions:

1. How much personal freedom is there in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

2. Is the Soviet Union giving its people real education?

3. Even if we grant that Russia has a successful system of popular education, is there any democracy in the Soviet government with popular election to office? Does not the one-party system show that this cannot be true?

49-2-175

4. Has the Soviet Union been able to carry on a planned socialist economy for Russia with State Control?

5. Is the Soviet Union a slave state?

6. Does the Soviet Union suppress religion?

7. Does the Soviet Union today represent an aggressive and expanding imperialism?

8. Is it true that the Soviet Union has driven out race prejudice?

9. How far does the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics restrict Art and Literature?

10. How free is Science in the Soviet Union?

Whether or not Russian Communism is a success is beside the point; the point is, are the ideals of human uplift as conceived by Karl Marx and Nicholai Lenin ideals which ought to be realized? If so, how can they best be realized? Even if Communism as tried in Russia had completely failed, it was a splendid effort, a magnificent vision. Moreover, if it has failed, and in so far as it has not reached complete success, the reason is crystal clear: it is the long and contemptible effort of the civilized world to prevent its success by every possible means of slander, sabotage, and war.

Ruling classes have always used the tactics of smearing against those who threaten their status. They accuse the group of all manner of infamies and crime and treat as criminals all who can be directly or indirectly associated with it. This tactic was widely used against the Christians under the Roman Empire. Nero, it is said, was induced to denounce Christians as the authors of the burning of Rome "to perpetuate the popular feeling, for none others were so detested for their strange and mischievous superstitions or so generally held guilty of the most abominable crimes, of the crime, indeed of hatred toward the whole human race." The same tactics were used against the French and American revolutions.

It will be the aim of the next chapter on Russia to answer these ten crucial questions.

CHAPTER VII

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, 1950

To me, sitting in my office, in 1949, came the Councillor of the Soviet Embassy and said: "We hold a Peace Congress in Moscow, August 25; we are inviting you and a half dozen other Americans to attend." I did not hesitate. I had just returned from the Paris World Peace Congress in May, but this chance to make a third visit to the Soviets seemed the opportunity of a lifetime. I left New York at noon, August 20, had breakfast in Scotland, slept in Stockholm and next night, Monday the 22nd, landed in Moscow, feeling slightly like something out of the Arabian Nights.

During 1949, I attended three Peace Congresses and strongly desired to attend the fourth in Mexico. The Congress in New York was large and influential. It tried to arouse America against war. Itwas notable for the studied misrepresentation of its aims by the Federal Government and and the press. The Paris World Congress was the greatest of modern times and rallied the world for a peace offensive.

The Moscow Congress was different; not so large as the others and more national than international, it was designed to brign the attention of the Soviet Union and its allies, to the fact that it is not enough not to want war; it must be clear to all that the threat of war must be actively opposed.

For this purpose all Russia sent 1000 delegates to Moscow, August, 25 to 27, 1949, and they were joined by delegations from some 14 foreign lands. Most of these were friendly neighbors, like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania; from the borderland; from Austria and East and West Germany; but none from Yugoslavia. From the western lands, came

49-2-174

2

eight from Britain including the Dean of Canterbury and Professor Bernal; from France came four with La Fitte the Secretary of the World Peace Congress and D'Arbussier the African; from Italy came Nenni and seven others; from the United States, only myself, although several others had been especially invited.

The first session of the All Union Conference of the Partisans of Peace took place Thursday, August 25, at 5 p.m. in the Hall of Columns of The Trade Union Headquarters. It had a beautiful setting: a lofty white hall, flanked by 28 white corinthian columns of marble, with crimson curtains and 54 brilliant chandeliers; a huge bank of flowers on the rostrum under pictures of Lenin and Stalin. On the presidium were Fadeev, Shostachovich, the Dean of Canterbury, Arenburg and a host of Soviet officials, like the head of The Trade Unions, the head of the International Women's Organization, the head of the Collective Farms of the Ukraine, and a high official from Rumania.

The audience had representatives from every province of Russia and all classes, from miners and peasants to professors and professional men. It was no gathering of ragtag, but of intelligent, well-dressed men and women. After preliminaries of electing committees, etc, the speaking began. There were seven speakers, the first day, lasting until 10:30 at night. All the speakers were Russian save two, a Rumanian and a Britisher. Most of the speakers were hortatory lauding the Soveits, scorning capitalism and blaming Britain and America for warmongering. They spared no accusations nor epithets.

The center of the theme was Russia and before us the Soviet Republics were ranged in microcosm; every corner was represented from White Russia to the Ukraine; the far-off Uzbeks, the Turkmen, Kirghis, and Tashkent;

north were the Karelians, neighbors of the Finns; and all the cities, Leningrad, Kiev, Gorki, Odessa, and other. There were notables in the audience and on the platform: Gerhardt Eisler from Berlin; Wayland Rodd, an American Negro artist now resident in Russia; leading women from Poland, Britain, Italy and Czechoslovakia.

That crowd was a sight to make one bend forward and stare. There wa nothing bizarre or especially strange about it. These were ordinary human folk, dressed up but not conspicuously; quiet but enthusiastic. One would rate them as middle class, with artisans, miners, peasants, workers, intellectuals and professional men; and a large proportion of well dressed, but not over dressed women. There was no display of wealth--I saw one white fur jacket and many earrings. There was no poverty. It was a literate throng, which had read considerably and now bought many books in the anterooms. All listened with an absorbed intentness which put me to shame.

Three days, in double sessions of five or more hours each, we sat and heard talks. There was no let-up, no entertainment and only one or two, ten minute rest intervals during ~~the~~ each day. Ear phones helped us foreigners, but watching the faces ~~were~~ was more revealing. This was no crowd of cringing slaves nor fearful followers of command. Here were eager and sincere workers and inquirers. They had deep convictions and wanted more information.

It is naturally hard to indicate the lines of talk, so much was said in 22 hours. All was in open session; there were no panels. The seats ~~of~~ for the audience and presidum were never bare and usually full.

There were learned talks from heads of academies, scientists, leaders of Collective farms, labor unions and local leaders. Most of the talks were hortatory and inspirational but not effusive nor loudly oratorical. They emphasized the theme that "Anglo-American Imperialism" was intent on

49-3-179

fomenting war. Britain and the United States came in for most blame; France was less often mentioned; Holland now and then, and Belgium never. Faith in socialism and the Soviets were dominant themes and Stalin's name always was cheeredto the echo. They spared no phrases nor inuendos in attacking the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

In addition to this and among these periods, much information and indications of attitude came. A leader of Ukrainian Collective farms said that the Ukraine had lost 45 million rubles of property and nearly all their stock during the last war, but now was recovered in part and was making an annual profit of two million rubles. He said thay wanted neither war nor conquest; only peace to work out their plans. A Rumanian gave a picture of recovery and told of the amancipation of his country by the help and example of Russia. He told of farmers and city folk warking together; of scientists and artists; and pled for peace that this work might go on. A peasant from Uzbek thanked the Soviets for rescuing his land from slavery: in nine years, schools had increased 60 fold and in the country districts 300 fold. He noted the decline of superstition. Science and drama had been encouraged. Georgia (absit omen!) reported the integration of workers, intellectuals and artists. They now had electric trams, schools and an academy of science.

Albania reported schools, factories and railroads, "thanks to the Soviets." An Austrian woman said: "Thousands of Austrians want peace and friendship with the Soviets". The largest cultural organization in Austria is the one for Soviet Friendship. The Karelian reported reaction and propaganda from Finland to promote war. Western Germany demanded unity and independence for Germany and declared that capitalism failed in social aims.

5

In Tadjik peasants used to be beaten for non-payment of taxes. Now collective farms concentrate on cotton and they have just erected a Palace of Culture costing five million rubles. The people are far better off than neighboring India and Afghanistan.

In Latvia, 70 per cent of the investment before the last war was foreign. The terrible condition of Turkomania before the revolution was pictured by a dark broad-faced Oriental, as contrasted with the progress now. Khirgis reported: "We have recovered our pre-war status in Agriculture." D'Arbussier spoke of Africa and the French colonies and was enthusiastically applauded.

The schools in Moldavia were increasing and as one woman said: "We workers strive to make all things which meet the vital needs of men." Others declared: "women have become a great and creative force in the Soviets."

All this report of progress was bound up with reference to the hurt and uselessness of war. This rank and file of Russians asked only peace and time to bind the wounds and push forward to a social progress in which they expressed boundless faith. They did not want, they could not believe in war. As a Polish woman of amazonian proportions declared, leaning over the rostrom with tears in her eyes, "Every drop of blood in my heart shouts Never again War." When later I saw Warsaw, I knew what she meant.

There were bitter references to the last war; a Hungarian reported that his land had lost more men in the last war than the United States and England combined. Russian women told how they had done men's work during the war; how they had fought beside the soldiers and lost husbands, sweethearts, and sons. They appealed to the women of the world to stop war.

Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, pointed out that Russia had never started a war but had been the continuous victim. He told of the

49-2-181

growing British Peace Movement and referred to his successful lecture tour in the United States, where audiences ranging from two to five thousand crowded to hear him. He didnot probably realize that news of this was apparently not handled by the Associated Press and reached few of the citizens of this country. His Christmas broadcast done in California by special request was given no wide hook-up. He said Japan was not conquered by the Atom bomb, so much as by fear of Russia.

Continually the delegates said, "We are against war; we want no war;" but added: "We are not afraid!" Both La Fitte and Hewlett Johnson said "Hail to the Conquerors of Stalingrad." One realized what that great victory had meant to Britain and France.

There was little official entertainment. The foreign delegates viewed the Kremlin on Monday. We were told that an American Senator on seeing the extravagance of Czarist wealth and power, remarked: "No wonder they had a revolution!" We were all invited to a Goethe celebration where the influence of the French Revolution on him was stressed and the need for Russian and German friendship despite the last war.

The audience was not there for entertainment but to hear a very long discourse on the poet and one short one from a German woman. She stressed the influence of the French Revolution on Goethe and asked for friendship between Germany and Russia, despite what Russia had suffered from Germany. A concert of Russian, German and French classical music followed for an hour. I sat in a box with a Chinese lady and other foreigners; we were plentifully photographed.

The closing reception was most enjoyable. The restaurant was vast, with three or more great halls. The occasion informal but crowded; the food was abundant and good; most stood and ate but special guests were

49-2-28

seated and waited upon. We had wines and champagne, caviar and watermelon; sprightly conversation and toasts, even with translation; I saw D'Arbussier having a jolly time. My interpreter danced with the leading ballerina. I stayed from 9:30 to 11:30 p.m.

I spent ten days in Moscow and sensed the substance and reality of what we call the Soviet Republics beginning to take definite form. I do not yet know this land in any scientific sense of the word. But in the three visits in 23 years I have a sort of spectroscopic roundness of conception and sense of time which replaces figures. First as to my impression of the city which has today perhaps sevenmillion people living in an area of 2715 square miles.

Today I had a long ride on the Moscow sybway, six or eight stations and one transfer. It is the most beautiful in the world: that stations are very large and decorated in variegated marbles; each station with a different pattern so one can tell his station by the appearance without reading the name. ~~Escalators with polished wood are at each station.~~ Trains are frequent, running smoothly and with seats cushioned and upholstered in real leather. Last New Year, six new stations were opened, adding five miles to the system and forming the first section of the ring which will encircle the city. These "Palaces of the People" began with the Kursk station with red Georgian marble walls, huge columns of gray marble and mural paintings. Most of the stations have neon lights in special glass torchieres, telephone booths and rapid movement escalators. There is some crowding, standing and pushing in loading and unloading, probably bad at rush hour. There are no expresses and no advertisements!

Strangers who have heard about this subway but have not seen it, must be a bit skeptical; because after all it is not merely a means of

49-2-183

transportation. It is a great accomplishment which the people gave themselves; working folk gave voluntary labor ~~upon this~~ and put into it all the skill of which they were capable. They have time to give this labor because their hours of work leavesthem leisure. ~~So that here they put in voluntary work.~~ The result is a thing of sheer beauty, spaciousness with big curved domes and gracious pillars, with difference and individuality in decoration; with the evident idea of making something which will not only serve but please, and which will be a monument to the accomplishment of a free labor state.

I am on Gorki Street, at the corner of the vast Manezhnaya Square. ~~with~~ The Red Square ~~square~~ is not more than a block away, with the Kremlin and the twirled towers of old St. Basil and the dark red bulk of Lenin's tomb where he lies life-like forever. Opposite is a new, tall office building and katercornered the new Hotel Moscow. The street below me is one of the broadest in the world. Gorki street which in 1926 was a conventional narrow busy street is now about 140 feet wide with side walks 20 feet wide at either side. There is an unused space ~~with~~ of 25 feet along the center, with no traffic, where the traffic officers pace. The width of the street and the auto trafffic which is considerable but of course not nearly that of New York or London, makes crossing difficult; One cannot make ~~this~~ it on the greenlight and must usually stop in the middle. Right turns on red are allowed, but no left turns.

This boulevard runs from the vast Square a distance of ten or more miles. Another boulevard crosses it at the Square and there are a half dozen such wide boulevards in various parts of the city. These streets are being planted with young trees and are paved with asphalt. Moscow has today probably the longest milage of broad boulevards of any city in the world. Since the government owns all the land, city planning is easy and is hindered by not vast cost of vested legal rights. The whole edifice of real

4-8-47

9

estate values is non-existent. Henry George must lie quiet and happy in his grave at this development. The rebuilding of Moscow has been rushed and has its raw spots; behind the impressive new facades one sees here and there old and ugly Moscow; falling court-yards and stuffy dwellings; but the result of re-birth is impressive. Sometimes the new building material is not good, and in some cases the planning has run ahead of actual development; as when the first story of some new housing units, left for stores, are not so occupied but have families living behind the wide, curtained windows.

The folk are all clean, but with little jewelry or ornaments. Roughly I should describe a Moscow crowd as varying from the well-to-do to the poor with a preponderance of the comfortable. On the street one sees no idle nor rich, no elements of luxury and display and ostentation. It is a world of busy working people. There is no loitering nor loafing. Crowds go about their business briskly, stores are crowded, especially food stores but the crowd hurries. The integration of classes is noticable. Every effort is evidently being made to make the artisan and handworker the social equal of the white collar worker, the professional man, the teacher, the civil servant. Tipping is rare. Incomes are not graded so as to exalt the scientist and professional man. The Deputy Chief of a Bureau who interpreted for me said his income was less that that of many artisans. But aside from income, the expense is less: my interpreter pays less than five per cent of his wage in taxes; his rent (for a bachelor apartment) is about 30 rubles a month. His education through the university was paid for by the State and he has no fear for old age, unemployment or sickness. He goes to the Caucasus for vacations--the Florida of Russia.

Is there left incentive for good, hard continuous work? There are

49-2-185

rewards and medals for laborers and professional men and they are worn with pride; there is promotion with increased income and public honor.

The people look healthy; they are not handsome but sturdy and well built; the women are not pretty, but well-made and upstanding. All are frank and cordial. They push in crowds, but are inherently courteous--twice in one long ride in the subway, young women gave me a seat, to my ill-concealed astonishment. As I noticed in 1928, the crowds filled the museums and art galleries. The crowd before some of the best pictures made viewing them difficult.

There is much less drinking of alcohol and decreased smoking, compared with 1926. Hoodlums and impudent children are not in evidence. Cinemas and concerts are well-attended. I saw no evidence of dives, gambling and nightclubs, but I could not make enough investigation of this aspect of life to be sure. There was no evidence on the streets of prostitution.

A colored woman from New York visited Moscow last December; she said that the stores were crowded. Luxuries were high priced, but necessities were reasonable; beautiful apartment houses were going up with low rents; the people were sensibly and comfortably dressed; "you don't see Moscow kids loitering on the streets; school and studies, libraries and social games keep them occupied." The theatres are crowded and clean; and finally: "no," she said, "I was impressed by the equal treatment, the respect shown to people of different nationalities. Never for a minute was I made to feel by anyone, by look or action, that I wasn't their equal." And she added, "I wasn't excluded from a single place in Moscow either."

Russia before the revolution was a priest-ridden land. Moscow was dotted with the domes of churches, looking like a sea with islands of gold

49-2-186

as late as 1926; shrines to collect copecks and forgive sin were ~~everywhere~~ common; and superstition covered the land like a blight. The Soviet State seized this sickness with a firm and ruthless hand. Today I have not seen a church in Moscow. Of course, there are some, but a comparative few. The average Moscowite is as unmoved by religion as the average New Yorker or Londoner. Probably the church is still influential among peasants but nothing like before. Lenin's word is still on his museum, formerly the city hall; "Religion is the opium of the people;" but no one notes it. It is dusty and lost. My interpreter, a young man of 28, has never heard of it. Within the Kremlin, like museum pieces, gleam the dome of churches and cathedrals; St. Basil twists without the main gate. Crowds still visit Lenin's tomb.

Americans and Western Europeans are unused to the deference and almost worship rendered Stalin: his picture appears everywhere, his statue in marble and bronze; and his name provokes great applause. It must be remembered that the reasons for this are partly cultural and partly personal. To illustrate the cultural element: I noticed with interest that when the speakers at the Congress were applauded, they themselves also clapped vigorously. This is a Russian way of thanking the audience for its appreciation. It certainly gives the victim of prolonged applause something to do beside looking silly; but it strikes a Westerner as decidedly odd.

In some similar way, the Russians for generations have paid high tribute to their rulers; the "little White Czar" was almost God and provoked not simply applause but obedience and open devotion. Today Russians cannot give less tribute to the leaders raised to power by the people; they even exaggerate their loyalty in this way; it is a tribute different in degree but not in kind to the British "God save the King." Then too,

46-2-184

this present ruler of Russia is a fellow citizen, they like to call him, not Marshal, nor Chief Executive, but "Comrade." Beyond this is the fact that Joseph Stalin is a great man who has done a hard and successful job. He has steered the nation since Lenin's premature death, putting down treason, driving out invaders, formulating economic plans and finally defending his country in the greatest war of the age; he has made the world bow before the might of Russia and yield respect to her as never before in history. He has made peace possible between Socialist Russia and the Western World. As a man and statesman he deserves the high respect of his country and of the world.

On my last nightsin Moscow, I saw Offenbach's "Fair Helen" a comedy based on the Paris and Helen story. It was well-acted in a garden theatre. The next night, I went to the golden Bolshoi theater with its six graat balconies and crimson trimings. I saw "Swan Lake" a ballet by Tchaikowsky beautifully danced, with bewitching music and costuming, and lovely scenery. I noted the beautiful movements of the dances with marked absence of mechanical precision. It was the most delicately wrought ballet I have ever seen, by the best set of performers in the World. The mechanical puppets of Radio City are ghastly compared with the Bolshoi.

The chance to rebuild and improve cities is notable. Henry George, a half century ago, demanded what Russia now practises: confiscation of all unearned increment from land. Take "real estate"; the "Earth is the Lord's" but the real estate owner in New York and London and the speculator has taken charge; he uses a piece of land as if he had made it. When persons needing this land, crowd in upon it and give it increased value, this social value goes to the owner, until in a city like New York most of the counted "Wealth" is this legal ownership of the soil by a few persons. There can

381 - 2 - 44

be but limited city planning -- the costs are too fantastic. London, planned centuries since and still struggling with its cowpaths, may be bombed out of recognition; but no real replanning can ensue, because of the feudal exactions of the "owners" of London soil. The Soviets simply recognize no such titles, and no such wealth. They rebuilt Moscow and pay no tribute to private landowners.

The Collective Farm is a tremendous invention and may revolutionize the modern world. It brings the machine age to agriculture; it raises the farmer to economic equality with the trader and consumer. It enables modern conveniences: schools, electricity, automobiles, and theaters to penetrate the country districts and raises them from neglected, exploited slums to abodes of civilized folk. In America, the collective farm is a rich monopoly with impoverished tenant farmers, who must, often, be supported by the state. The profits go to the owners and they collect, also, federal aid. The representatives of the Soviet collective farms were among the most convincing and realistic delegates to the Peace Congress.

As I look back upon those ten days in Russia, seeing glimpses of the countryside with harvested fields, and the huddled villages; with passing glimpses of great cities like Leningrad and Moscow and lesser ~~villages~~ cities; I seem to have brought away with me a feeling of the confidence and serenity of this land. There is a calmness today that contrasts with the excitement and even apprehension of other years.

Here is a land which has found itself and believes in its destiny. It is no longer performing for a world audience and asking anxiously for approval. It is looking inward upon itself and what it sees seems good. There is no evidence of fear or cringing and, on the other hand, no boasting. There are bookstores, daily papers, parks are every where being built, and ~~being~~ widened. These are a contented folk.

It was fitting that on the way from the Soviet Union, I should catch

49-2-189

a brief glimpse of other lands behind the curtain which has been called "Iron." I saw Prague, which I remember as a student in the late nineteenth century. There was still the great hill and castle and the bronze statues; but there was also a bigger accomplishment in the midst of difficult problems which made the city not perhaps as beautiful, or with the same sort of memories of religious wars, that I caught in other years; but with a sense of hope and accomplishment and ~~of~~ organization ~~for show.~~ But most startling was my sight of Warsaw and of other parts of Poland. I visited Poland once as the guest of Stanislaus Von Estreicher, when his father was librarian of the University of Cracow. I remember him saying to me, "You do not know what the race problem is; you should know what has happened to Poland under the Germans."

I saw Warsaw in 1936; but at midnight, with but shadows and a confused sense of a great city. I see it again on the clear, sunny morning of September 3, 1949; I look down on its ruins. I come to the airport and am met by two officials of the Cultus ministry and the Peace society, whose guest I am. Their English is labored and their French is little better; but we are delighted in finding a common language in German. I am driven to a hotel, the Bristol. It has been but partially damaged, although in need of repairs. My room with bath has a vast window facing the city, but to my distress, there are no curtains for it, making the room a flood of light; frantic phoning in French brings a change to a nice fourth floor room, looking on a large court. Today, Sunday the fourth of September, we rode over the city.

No African barbarian, having heard of civilization in Europe and the perfect religion of Christianity could believe that civilized men could do to a city of 1,000,000 folk what Germany did to Warsaw; the tale seems unbelievable; the fiends poured bombs from the air on everything; they they trained their artillery and machine guns on wall, tower, and street; finally, the soldiers lugged cans of gasoline from house to house and put

49-2-190.

all that stood to flame.

I saw the Ghetto where the desperate Jews broke out into last revolt. It was literally reduced to ashes. Around it now apartment houses begin to rise and in its center stands the gray statue done by an American Jewish sculptor, a monument to a struggling group of those who died.

Much of the city was reduced to rubble; but everywhere stood sightless, empty houses and buildings, destroyed churches and monuments; and over all the memories of the scream of the dying and silence of the dead. Today, amid the remains of this incredible ruthlessness, rises the new city; flowers in beds and windows; trees and grass in parks, cleaned brick in pile after pile; and new buildings rising everywhere; every bridge over the Vistula was destroyed and rebuilt, and every museum was raped of its art treasures and only the smaller part have been found and returned.

This is a city where a man can weep and cry for sheer joy in the possibilities of the human soul. The landlords who raped Poland for centuries are today on the run; some are in America, preaching war! The land has been divided among the peasants, perhaps the most oppressed peasants of all Europe, except those of Russia at the time of the czars. I remember back in 1893, in another part of Poland, seeing them groveling like animals on their knees in a Catholic Church. Their emancipation has begun; already there are cooperative farms.

At dinner I joined a labor leader and Professor Lange, once Polish Ambassador in America and a member of the Security Council of the United Nations. Lange has taught at the Universities of California, Michigan, and Chicago. He has spoken at Howard and taught John Hope II. He told me of Polish land: in 1943, Poland dispossessed all landholders with more than fifty hectares (those with 100 in the Western section) without compensation, but pensions for themselves and wives. The fifty hectares must be selected outside their former holdings. Most of the aristocrats moved to England and

49-2-14

America. The middle class became kulak leaders in their districts -- Michiolaczyck was one and the right reaction gathered about him. Then voluntary cooperative farming began, perhaps one per cent. Next, collective farming ~~like~~ as in Russia will be introduced, as machinery and fertilizer become available, under the Six Year Industrialization program. Now peasants are taken on excursions to view Russian collectives. ~~The church retained and even increased its landholdings.~~

Last night, my young guide, his little wife, and a Czechoslovakian friend, went to a folk theater; it was based on folk ways, with authentic costumes, songs, and dances; there was the courting, the request for the bride, the engagement and the wedding; it was interesting, simple and well done. Today, we went to the bank and went through endless ceremony and signatures to get dollars changed into zloties at the rate of 400 to one. Then to a museum with a good ~~small~~ Egyptian selection. The Germans caroused there and stole all the art; only a part of it has been recovered. We walked through a street which was rebuilding. It had been literally swept out of existence but now is being reconstructed from photographs.

When I said to a young friend of mine, "I have just returned from Russia," she said, "Did they handcuff you?" She was not joking entirely; she was expressing facetiously the idea rife in America that Russia is a "slave state" in contrast to free America. Others bewail the absence of Democracy, the supression of religion, and the general poverty and misery of the people.

Let me, therefore, consider consecutively certain questions which have arisen in American minds concerning the Soviet Union.

1. How much personal freedom is there in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? There is not in Russia so much freedom of action, either in theory or practice as in the United States. Our theory of freedom is that a man should have the right to do anything he wishes to do, anytime, anywhere; in practice this is limited by the right of others to act; and always by general

49-2-192

considerations of peace and morality. But it is also distinctly limited today by the necessity of earning a living at the job which is open and under the conditions of work prevailing. The old freedom of throwing up jobs, changing homes, and trying different vocations at will is not gone but distinctly going. American life is limited by income, and income depends on the opportunity to work, which is also limited.

In the Soviets, the theory of freedom is discipline for the public good; and the public good is conceived of as involving work, production of goods, or the rendering of useful service. Morality is looked on as prohibiting profit from a wage contract involving another's labor; prohibiting neglect of children, and prohibiting of idleness. The state guarantees a job with a living wage, but the choice of a job is limited. This leaves considerable difference between Russia and America in the conception of freedom, but not absolute difference.

For instance, loafing without means of support would lead to arrest in Russia; living on unearned private income would lead to heavy taxation and severe public disapproval. Poor work on the job or neglect would lead to reprimand and possible arrest. No one would be permitted to build an elaborate house, exceeding his needs or that of his family; and when the law says not to park a car or not to turn left, the law means what it says. With us, laws are disregarded, work is regarded as a private matter, and loafing the right of anyone who can manage to live that way.

The extreme of these theories are licen e in America and regimentation in the Soviets. Nevertheless, in the United States, we know there is too much license and lawlessness and we are fighting against this; and in the Soviet Union, the average man is not a slave but submits to discipline willingly because he sees its results in regular work, with no fear of old age, with his children in school and a vacation with pay every year. Certain kinds of undisciplined persons recoil at the picture of Russian discipline

49-2-193

for the public good; certain Americans fear the license and anarchy of America.

2. Is the Soviet Union giving its people read education? If the planning for a nation's welfare is a matter of autocratic power from above, we have a totalitarian state, which in the end will be almost inevitably conducted for the benefit of an aristocracy or a plutocracy or a junta of capable but unmoral conspirators like the Nazis; this is the picture of the Soviets which has been painted in the United States. The facts in Russia do not support this thesis.

First of all, no oligarchy educates or tries to educate the people. No educated mass of people can long be kept in slavery, serfdom or poverty. This is the reason that the Southern part of the United States has always opposed the education of Negroes; and why Great Britain today even under a labor government does not give free education to the masses. On the other hand, Russia has today, without doubt, the best system of popular education in the world. Its preeminence in comparison with other lands is in part due to the collapse of education in Germany, the poverty of England and France, and the neglect of the United States. But absolutely, the effort at education in the Soviets is the most outstanding in human history.

The Constitution of the Soviet Union declares: "The right of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to education." In 1941, there were 1,200,000 teachers; the war reduced these to 775,000, and 84,000 schools and libraries were destroyed. But in 1949, there were 1,225,000 teachers, compared with 900,000 in the United States and 34,000,000 children in primary and secondary schools, compared with 21,000,000 in our schools; there were 5,000,000 pupils in kindergarten and millions in nursery schools.

Before the war, the number of students attending higher schools in the Soviet Union exceeded that in any of twenty-two countries of Europe, including Britain, France, Germany and Italy. At present, there are over 800 higher institutions of learning in the Soviet Union, with an enrollment of 1,000,000

students. Moscow alone has more university and college students than any country in Europe. With each passing year the Soviet State allocates ever-increasing funds for cultural needs. Under the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1949, over 119,000,000 rubles were allocated for social-cultural measures. This is 12.9 per cent higher than the allocations of the previous year and fifteen times as much as the Czarist government ever assigned to the needs of education. In the U.S.S.R. budget and in those of the various republics, expenditures for culture and education constitute basic items. For instance in 1949, they come to 71 per cent of the budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic; 66 per cent of the budget of the Ukrainian Republic, and so on. Pre-revolutionary public libraries in Russia had only 640 books per 10,000 residents, while in 1938, there were 8,160 books for each 10,000 persons.

The Government budget for education rose from 12,000,000 rubles in 1943 to 60,000,000,000 in 1950, or 26 per cent of the total budget. All schools have clubs for sports, arts, handicrafts and hobbies.

Adult education is carried on so as to provide ~~education for all, equivalent to~~ for all, the equivalent of secondary education. The goal is eventually to make higher education universal. Technical education is carried on in twenty different types of institutes with 1,000 to 4,000 students each. There are widely distributed lecture courses and 94,000 workers clubs with "palaces of culture." Primary and secondary education for children are free and compulsory. By a series of examinations the road to higher education is open to all, while tuition is charged, the amount is small and scholarships usual.

In Moscow University, the fee is 400 rubles a year; it is less in other schools. Actually, not many have to pay. Those who get excellent marks are exempt. Veterans and their children and orphans are exempt. For those who need it, a room can be secured in the dormitory with meals free of charge.

49-3-195

In addition, everyone making "good progress" gets a stipend, beginning at 250 rubles a month; and ~~it~~ the is increased for the better students.

Last January, 1949, I attended an "off the record" meeting addressed by the president of a leading American university. He told us, incidentally, that on his one trip to Moscow he was unable to get information about entrance examinations to Soviet universities; on return, he learned the Communist Party had forbidden all examinations!

In reply to his assertion, Jessica Smith said," It is simply impossible that a higher education official could have said that there were not examinations -- unless he was referring simply to the fact that those students who graduate from high schools with excellent marks and receive excellent marks in their final exams are admitted to higher educational institutions without further examinations, which is the case in this country for students receiving high average.".

"The early days of the Soviet Republic were a period of extensive experimentation in education. They widely used what has been known in the United States as "progressive education," the complex, or project system without regular classes, and in those days marks and examinations were abolished, the pupils were given an extraordinary amount of initiative, but the teachers had little authority.

When experience showed that these methods did not work, that while they resulted in a ~~tremendous~~ creative initiative, the basic formal tools of learning that all human beings require were sadly lacking, a change was made. While the best features of the former methods were retained (as for instance combining practical with ~~the~~ theoretical work, linking up ~~up~~ education closely with life itself, independent research, and so on), regular, formal classes were reestablished, and marks and examinations introduced again. This happened by a special Government decree back in 1932, and the system of marks and examinations has been continued to this day.

49-2-196

3. Even if we grant that Russia has a successful system of popular education, is there any democracy in Soviet Government with popular election to office? Does not the one-party system show that this cannot be true? It is a mistake to think democracy has been throttled in the Soviet Republics. The Soviet is the cell of democracy just as the town meeting was the nucleus of New England democracy. The people come together to talk, propose, argue, and to decide; to elect a delegate to a higher Soviet which in turn elects to one still higher and so on to the Supreme Soviet. Here is pure and effective democracy, such as has almost disappeared from the United States.

Then comes a difference. At the top of authority, conformity is imposed, but it has two guides: the overall plan of a socialist state as laid down by Lenin and developed by Stalin and others, and confirmed by the party councils; and in addition to this, the wish and will of the people are known from the free discussion of the Soviets. Only in crisis is this will ignored, as in the case of the peasants and their farms. Like all peasants the Russian mujik was ignorant, superstitiously religious, custom-bound, rooted to his little farm-strip and his home. He wanted no collectivism, no cooperation, no compulsion as to crops and methods. I remember the peasant cabman pointing out a tractor to me in 1926, in the suburbs of Moscow: "They want to introduce contraptions like that," he said, "they'll never do it." Peasant public opinion, especially that of the richer and most influential peasants never would have done it, but power from the top down compelled them and thus introduced the Collective farm, the greatest step forward in agriculture for a thousand years.

What would happen if the Supreme Soviet was wrong and made unwise or fatal decisions? That is a grave question and unanswerable; but after all, what happens if Congress or Parliament go wrong? Democratic public opinion armed with the mass of knowledge of the people change this in time. I see

49-2-197

no reason why this would not happen in Russia as the schools increase and as the socialistic state succeeds. It would, of course, be a longer process than with us or in England, at least in theory; since it would involve change in the fundamentals of Russian socialism as now defined. But that socialism has changed and grown since 1917. Doubtless, it will continue to change, albeit slowly, and, indeed, fundamental changes in "free enterprise" have not occurred overnight.

There is one puzzling phenomenon to those used to the British party system. We think there is something sacred and essentially democratic about two political parties. Russia thinks that in a socialistic state there is but one party; decisions are made before voting for officials; in the vote for officids persons are chosen to carry out decisions, not to make them. Therefore, one party and one ticket is logical. We may disagree with this, but it has logic. And the American elect on of 1948 shows how little effect the election may have on decisions.

The Soviet Union insists that outside the question of division of income between classes there are no problems which naturally divide peoples into parties. There used to be; there still are in backward lands. But in modern nations it is not a question of party difference as to whether man should eat or wear clothes or have homes. The details as to how this shall be accomplished or how quickly or in what quantity, must be thought out and debated; and the character of the engineers and managers must be continuously inquired into. But above and beyond details, there is but one opinion, one party--to get these things done. Consider the party differences between Republicans and Democrats; Laborites and Conservatives; Socialists and MRP? They cannot even be stated, much less put in action, outside the question as to who is to control the national income. The Soviets insist that since this basic question has been settled in Russia there is and need be at present but one party.

261 - 2 - 64

With all of our talk about democracy, there is not today a single nation in the world, which attempts to practice democratic government without modifications and restraints. In the United States, our election of the president, appointment of judges, representation in the Senate and inequality of electoral districts show the legal restraints on democracy; while extralegally but by common consent are the disfranchisement of Negroes and the poor, the use of money in elections, and the well-paid lobbyists of Big Business in our legislatures, not to mention the press and periodical monopoly. It is with the greatest difficulty that the American electorate gets a chance to express its mind or receive the truth upon which to make up its mind; or secure sanctions by which it may make its legislators carry out the popular will. In both Great Britain and France, and in pre-war Germany and Italy, and certainly in the United States, the will of the people has long been thwarted by wealth, privilege, and ignorance.

49-2-199

Elections in themselves are not proof of democracy. Elections in most of South America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East are farces or pretenses because of the methods and the number legally or illegally disfranchised. In the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias, the minority composed of whites who have the right to vote, impose its will on all. In India, illiteracy and poverty make popular elections a very imperfect expression of the public will. In Poland and the Balkan states, before the war, the landholders controlled the voters. The voting in Italy today expresses the power of property and of the Church. Even in typical democracies, like the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Scandinavia, an election expresses the will of those who are in social control of the nation, by privilege, by monopoly, or by economic ownership. No real democratic decisions can be made unless the electorate is intelligent and free to decide questions without fear of loss of income or status. There is no pretense of democracy in Georgia or Mississippi; in Spain or Bolivia. In most states of the United States, wealth and industry have overwhelming influence in the elections; while in Britain, Canada, and Scandinavia, where the popular will comes nearest full expression, it is greatly influenced by fear of poverty or lowering the standard of living. This makes "plebiscites" so unsatisfactory. They are nearly always rigged in favor of the holders of wealth or power cloaked in religion or prejudice.

Russia is not today a democracy, and elections are influenced by the Communist Party. But the Russian people, of both sexes and all economic classes and all races and groups, take wider and more continued and more intelligent part in democratic processes than is the case in any other modern nation. In no country on earth, do over ninety per cent of the qualified voters go annually to the polls to elect directly their highest law-making body. And that act is not the beginning of their democratic functions; it is the end of a long series of arguments, debates, decisions and elections

which culminates in this final act.

What are the difficulties which every attempt at democracy faces? They are:

A. Stupidity of the voters.

B. Lack of time or interest for anything outside of earning a living.

C. Local conditions and inability to change.

D. Ignorance of national affairs.

Most politicians in a democracy take to demagoguery in despair, since the voters are too ignorant to understand issues or too uninformed to listen to discussion; so the candidate entertains them with jokes and platitudes and gets them jobs and graft. Moreover, people working ten hours a day and worrying about low wage and high costs, anxious about their children and their jobs, cannot be interested in politics. They are interested in bread and clothes and shelter. In the United States it takes a most strenuous campaign to bring half the voters to the polls, and even then the candidates on the ballot mean nothing to most voters and interest is centered on the candidates for president and not on representatives in the state legislatures, or on the city councils.

In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, political activity begins where it should--in the village, the farm and the city ward; it begins with matters of vital interest to the people, that is, work and wage and living conditions -- matters not simply of interest, but of personal knowledge and experience. Everybody wants to talk about these matters; everyone attends meetings twice or three times a week; they discuss the local industries; the water supply, the schools and the man or woman best fitted to represent their thought and decision in the county meetings. If the delegate selected does not act and vote as they wish, they promptly recall him and substitute another.

In most democracies, the powers of the localities, states and national

49-2-201

governments are all limited by written constitutions or long custom; so that there are wide areas of "no-man's land" in government where nobody has any right of rule and matters adjust themselves by chance, or just "muddle along." This was in accord with eighteenth century ideas that the least government is the best; and where work, wealth and wage were designedly excluded from government control so as to leave more "freedom" for capital, privilege, and monopoly, none of which were subject to democratic control.

The Russian state seeks to change all of this. There is nothing which a village soviet cannot discuss and express opinion upon and take preliminary action on matters pertaining to local, provincial, or national life. If, however, the village takes any action which the province in which it is located decides is unwise or beyond the power of the locality, it can veto subh action; and in turn the actions of provincial and state legislatures can be vetoed by the all-union legislature. But manifestly, if such power of veto were used often and arbitrarily, the local interest would soon die. On the contrary, the locality is listened to with care in Moscow. On the local matters its decisions have great weight and are interfered with only when they infringe on rights and needs of other or larger units. The local discussions and vote is an invaluable sounding board for public opinion and maladjustment. It is listened to. The veto is used but as rarely as possible. However, more than this is needed. The people must be kept informed. Their mistakes in decision are more often due to lack of understanding than to bad intent. They need knowledge and direction. They must be taught history, they must understand the aims of the State, and its ideals. Here is the function of the Communist Party.

This organization is not a political party, in the sense of the English Conservatives or Republicans. Such political divisions occur in Russia but they are the local splinter groups which the Western democracies regard as indications of political immaturity. On the contrary, the Russians

49-2-202

realize that public opinion on human affairs seldom falls nicely into two or three distince categories. In the European eighteenth century there might have been two clear-cut sides to the question as to whether or not the masses should vote. But in France of the twentieth century there are indeed six or seven, if not a dozen, clear differences of opinion as to public policy in general; and in particular touching dozens of localities and social problems. It is this situation which Russia is trying to meet and guide to solution.

Just after the Revolution there was a time when two distinct national parties in Russia divided finally between Trotsky and Stalin. Stalin won; since then the one political question in Russia is the technique of carrying out socialism in a single state until full communism is possible. This is a matter of infinite trials and decisions; but not of national party division. It is always possible, especially with growing national intelligence and scientific advance, that large party differences will appear in the future. But this the leaders of Communism hope to forestall by social experiment, hypothesis, and research, so that Government will approach a Science and not be merely Opinion and Experiment.

The so-called Communist Party then is not a political party, but an over-all agency of adult education, carefully selected from the best elements of the Union, and regularly reorganized so as to represent the best in character and ideals. It is not a privileged aristocracy, cultured and pampered and confined to the great cities; but a section of all the workers and managers and thinkers distributed to every part of the Union; doing the labor and sharing the fare and receiving the wage of the masses; and yet, organized in a hierarchy to meet regularly and discuss from complete knowledge all aspects of the life of Russia. From such members, every locality of Russia gets information and guidance and usually at the desire of the localities and their insistence, rather than forced down from above. For here

49-2-203

at their own factory or farm, is a fellow-worker who can and will teach and whom they trust.

One may say that this is ingenious propaganda, ~~but~~ if it is, then the test is, does it work? Does the land prosper under this regime? Has a nation been organized and put to work? Has it been willing to give life and fortune to defend this land? The answer is, Yes. Perhaps the greatest tribute and proof of success of the Soviet Republic is the type of public servant that has emerged from the travail of founding a new government; for hard work and sacrifice, for clear vision and courage, the world must acknowledge the work of Lenin, Stalin, Molotov and Vishinsky, and of thousands of others less well known. How has this been accomplished? By a planned economy on a scale never before attempted on earth.

4. Has the Soviet Union been able to carry on a planned socialist economy for Russia with State control? The Soviet Union has taken no census since the war; but it is estimated that there are now 200,000,000 inhabitants of the sixteen constituent republics and thirty-three other territories, occupying an area two and one-half times the size of the United States. There are more than sixty nationalities in the nation and in addition many smaller groups. The economy of the land is Socialist; that is, property belongs to the State, or to cooperative groups, or to individuals. To the State belongs the land and its resources; waters and forests; mines, factories, and railroads; post offices, telephones and telegraphs, banks and state farms, municipal enterprises and most city homes. Cooperative groups own jointly, farms with buildings, livestock and implements. Individuals have private use of farms which employ no outside labor; they own the income from their labor; their savings; their household furnishings and tools and utensils, and articles for personal use. All of these goods may be inherited and bequeathed.

The industry of the nation is directed by a state national plan, which

locates the centers, the kind of enterprises, the amount and sort of goods produced, and the relation of industry to agriculture and cultural activitie. The progress of this planning is checked as it progresses and full statistics are kept. The planning coordinates the smallest units into the overall plan.

The planning since 1928, has been forecast in five-year periods. The first and second Five Year Plans, 1928 to 1937, socialized all industry and over ninety per cent of the agriculture. Production was doubled and private enterprise reduced to less than six per cent of production. Illiteracy was almost eliminated and universal free and compulsory elementary education introduced. A third Five Year Plan, 1938 to 1942, was disrupted by the Second World War. Its object had been to increase the production of consumer goods so as to ease the strenuous lives of the people and thus progress from Socialism, which was based on the dictum "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work;" to Communism, which would declare "To each according to his needs."

This goal had to be changed to defense in war against the greatest military machine of modern times. Consumer goods had to be held up to allow a 76 per cent increase in machines for military effort, and the nation plunged into the very depths of a life and death struggle for survival. Directly and indirectly, the Soviets lost 15,000,000 human beings; 32,000 industries with 4,000,000 workers were destroyed; including the gigantic power installations into which the nation had poured its labor, sacrifice, and pride. Mines, which yielded annually a 100,000,000 tons of coal were closed.

Over 600,000 square miles of territory with a population of 88,000,000 were occupied by the enemy armies at the height of the German invasion. In this area the invaders demolished and burned, completely or partially, 1,710 towns, over 70,000 villages, 98,000 collective farms, over 6,000,000 buildings, 31,580 industrial enterprises, 40,000 hospitals and medical institutions, 84,000 schools, 48,000 public libraries, and 25,000,000 people

49-2-205

were deprived of their homes. The devastated area included some of the richest and most highly developed industrial sections of the country, accounting for about one-third of the prewar industrial putput.

Beginning in 1946, a year after the Peace, the Fourth Plan was inaugurated and is now in operation, hampered by the "Cold War," and the grim necessity of maintaining and defending the nation's integrity and especially guaranteeing her borders against infiltration; but even more, the task of maintaining against resurgent capitalism in America and Western Europe, the right of a socialist state to live and function.

It is a most difficult task, but there are signs of success. By the second quarter of 1949, industrial output had increased 41 per cent over 1941, the first war year; real wages since 1948 have been doubled, and the total expenditure on education and social services has greatly increased. The average annual wage is now 6,000 rubles, and the average worker has a forty-eight-hour week, and an annual vacation with pay.

When one compares the standard of living in the U.S.S.R. with other countries, allowance must be made for social service, such as medical care, birth-expectancy vacations, and regular vacations; free education and payments made to students in higher schools and extra payments to large families. These items increase money wages by about 38 per cent.

To illustrate this, take the case of Praskovja Pavlovna Zaikina, who lives at 64 Trifonouskaya Street, Moscow. Praskovja started work in 1925 as a knitter at the Nogin Stocking F actory. Some years later she received three months leave with pay to learn how to overhaul machinery. Every year she received a vacation during which her wages were paid. She paid two-thirds of the cost of her vacation expenses; for instance, in 1947, she stayed at a Rest Home near Moscow; the cost was 400 rubles but she paid only 120 rubles. In 1948, while her children were at camp, she spent a month in a mountain sanitarium in the Caucasus. The cost was 1,000 rubles of which she paid

49-8-806

300. Meantime, she received her factory wages. One winter her daughter had grippe and measles; and later she herself was ill in bed. Medical care cost her nothing and she received her salary while ill.

After the death of her husband, a pension was arranged for the children. Her own earnings were 1,000 rubles a month and the childrens' pension 200, making 1,200 rubles in all. For her apartment, two rooms and a kitchen, she pays 47 rubles a month. Her children attend school free. The girl is in the Second Grade, while the boy, fifteen years old, has completed seven years of education. He will enter a machine building high school next year and will receive wages while studying.

In summer, the children go to a Pioneer Camp. The expenses for the summer vacation, 800 rubles each, is paid by the factory trade union. The family had given them a lot for gardening also by the trade union. Here they can raise their own vegetables. Libraries are near where they can borrow books without charge and there are clubs and parks. When the widow is too old to work she will receive a pension from the state.

By 1948, Soviet industry was about restored to its prewar level and volume, and a great increase is expected in 1950. Russia is today the second greatest industrial power in the world. She will soon be the first.

5. Is the Soviet Union a slave state? There have been lately, stories of increasing virulence, accusing the Soviet Union of forced labor, and declaring from 1,000,000 to 14,000,000 laborers are in concentration camps or otherwise forced to work as prisoners of the state. The Russian trade unions especially have been accused as state-controlled.

It is easy to see how in time of war and recovery, and in the case of a nation whose whole economy is under suspicion and attack, such accusations should arise. Labor in the Soviets is under stricter discipline than in Western lands and in return has greater protection and social insurance. There were in the Soviet Union labor drafts during the war; there were millions

49-2-207

of war prisoners; there were the criminals. Of these, some were recalcitrants, like the evacuated kulaks, and some had committed conventional crimes. Before the last war, crime decreased markedly in the Soviet Union between 1922 and 1928. With the forced farm collectivization it increased between 1929 and 1933. Between 1933 and 1937 it decreased over fifty per cent.

The problem of the treatment of war prisoners was difficult and aroused bitter feelings. Ehrenburg said, "We will not asphyxiate people with gases or bury them alive, or cut off girls' breasts. We will not yield to the instinct of revenge. But we want to know that Smolensk, Warsaw, Rouen and Belgrade are rebuilt before the Germans are allowed to rebuild Lübeck or Cologne."

Without doubt, war prisoners in Russia had a hard time. But Russia, with her own criminals and recalcitrants, had a method and an aim. I saw it in her dealings with the "wild children" in 1926. Her method is not simply punishment, it is also reeducation by labor. It was hard labor, but not useless "made" work. It is well known that the great Baltic-White Sea Canal was built by convict and kulak labor. It was bitter labor, but the prisoners were not cruelly treated. They had food and clothing; and some won public awards. Drafted labor in wartime is understandable and in the Soviets at the time it was done willingly. All of this would account for a large, but not unreasonable number of forced workers, decreasing as prisoners were sent home and as war emergencies disappeared.

There are other gruesome stories of forced labor in the Soviet Union which lack verification. Some are spread by professional enemies of communism who do not seem themselves to have had any chance to verify their charges. The Soviet Secret Police under Beria are said to be in official charge of a vast forced labor reservoir. There can be no proof of this unless the U.S.S.R. gives us figures or allows inspection, which is not likely under present conditions. It does not seem probable that Soviet economy is to any large

803-8-64

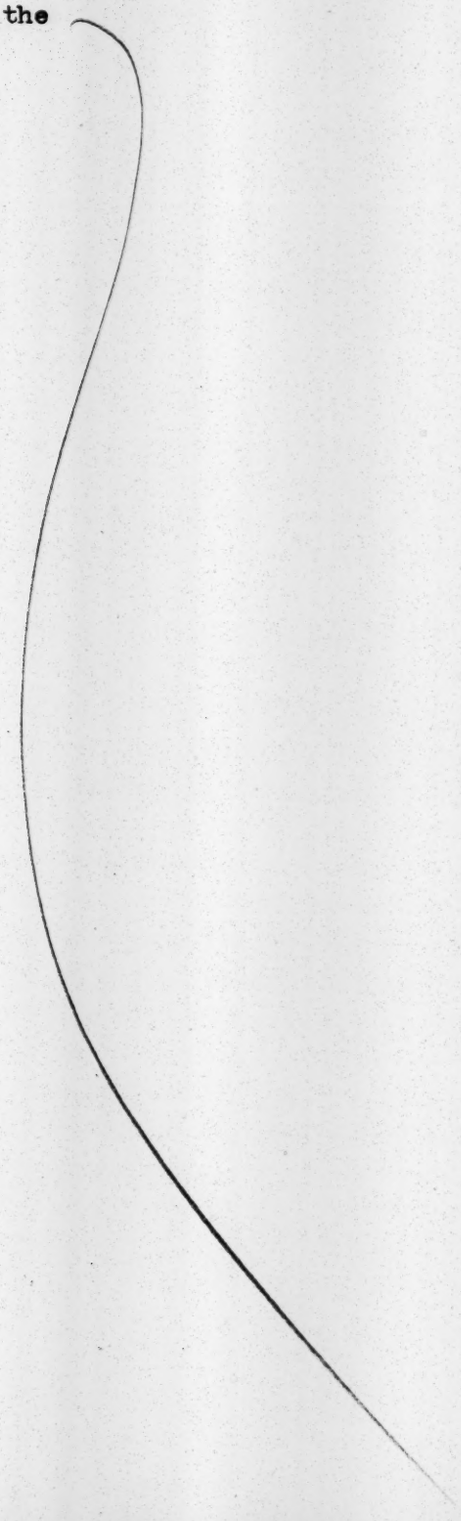
degree dependent today on slaves.

In general and in normal labor relations, the task of Soviet workers does not seem hard. Of 30,000,000 Soviet workers, 28,000,000 are enrolled in trade unions. These unions are concerned with the workers' welfare; administer social insurance, recreation and health activities, and oversee safety and working conditions. They make agreements with managers on conditions of work which are subject to arbitration and frequent review. The dues are one per cent of wages yearly. In social services they fare better than Western workers: medical and dental care are free; there are 700,000 free hospital beds; workers are paid when ill and compensated for injuries; mothers have maternity care with pay; there is life, fire and theft insurance. Education is free and adult education is always available.

It is in the wage contract that the worker in the Soviet differs from other labor. In the Western world the wage contract is usually between worker and private employer, and the union is chiefly an organization to increase wages and better working conditions, by bringing pressure upon the employer through contract or strike. In the Soviet Union the employer is the State and the Trade Union Organization is an integral part of the state. An analogous situation is arising in Western lands where the union is composed of Civil servants, like police or post office employees. Legally they can strike, but they seldom do. If in addition, they had representation in, to influence legislation and management, they would approximate the Soviet trade union. The Soviet labor unions participate in all labor legislation, and the union labor codes are much broader than those in Western areas. The All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions is the staff headquarters, with departments covering wages, organization, labor protection, safety, insurance, rest homes and sanitariums, hospitals, culture and education, physical culture, sports, publications, housing and living conditions; legal matters, international

49-2-209

relations, and statistics. The unions may propose new laws. Strikes are legal but rare; because the object of industry is not private profit, leading to continual strife on the part of management to lower wages and on the part of labor to raise them. The object of both labor and management is to increase production and at the



49-3-210

same time increase the living standards of workers. Workers then voluntarily speed up production and share in the sacrifice of wages which are geared to national welfare. Government and unions collaborate on wage scales. From eight to twelve categories of pay are set according to skill and a basic hourly rate for each grade. For instance, in one industry the base pay is eight rubles a day for unskilled work, rising to 28.5 rubles a day for the highest skilled work. This is the ~~basic rate~~ usual method; but much work is paid for on a piece-work system. Steel workers who earn from 7,200 a year from common labor to 30,000 annually for the most skilled, averaged in 1945,10,800 rubles. The top managers get ten times as much; while in the United States they often get as much as one hundred times as much.

Most Russian workers regard their paid vacations as their best incentive, along with medical care, insurance and education. The Soviet effort to protect motherhood and care for children is without doubt the best in the world, with prenatal care, nursery schools, and kindergartens.

6. Does the Soviet Union suppress religion? The Soviet Union broke the power of the Russian Church, and ~~for a time~~ taught atheism in school and by propaganda organizations. Moscow, which once was studded with the golden domes of churches, had in 1948, some thirty churches, while New York has 2,000. The younger educated people are atheists or agnostics; but there are 1,000,000 Catholics, 2,000,000 Protestants, 3,000,000 Jews, 500,000 Buddhist, besides 30,000,000 whose background is Moslem; and at least 100,000,000 from Russian Orthodox families. But this does not mean that many of these connected with the larger religions, are today orthodox communicants of their churches. There are in Russia today some 15,000 priests as compared with 70,000 before the Revolution. Russia represents today that emancipation from dogmatic religion which Western Europe has professed since the Protestant revolt, but which has been only partially realized; indeed, today Europe and America can praise the Soviet Union for establishing actual freedom of religious belief.

49-2-211

I know nothing today which does more harm to our ability to think logically and act rationally than our conventional lying about religious beliefs. Very few intelligent, educated adults today believe in current religious dogma; they do not believe in God, unless one means by God some impersonal force like Gravitation; they do not believe in Prayer, unless prayer is interpreted as earnest wish; they do not believe that any priest is in such personal communication with the ruling forces of the universe as to receive miraculous knowledge of past or future.

Yet, for the object of guiding children and overawing the ignorant masses, we regularly and unashamedly and publicly declare our belief in a personal and benevolent ruler of the world, who on request may change the course of nature or adapt it for our benefit; and in a human organization which knows more about the past and present and future than science has learned. Yet, in the face of this reiterated declaration of belief, we talk and act with absolutely no reference to such assumed facts, causing amazement, bitter protest and mental confusion among the naive persons who assume we are telling the truth. I can see in my mind's eye that bemused and bewildered young priest in Vienna, who recently refused a bishopric in what seemed to him a world of lying or heresy. The picture of his innocent and bewildered face tells the story of disillusionment.

The Soviet Union is seeking to establish a nation of people who have the right to live and talk in accord with scientific truth so far as discovered. This attitude they teach their children and try to guide the state, their work, and all social activity along this line. They do not forbid, but they discourage citizens of their country from joining churches or adopting dogmatic creeds of "revealed" religion. It has been commonly assumed in civilized lands that this was already among the liberties of modern times, ~~won~~ gained by the bloody Protestant Reformation; that the battle of freedom of religion had been fought and won, save in ignorant and backward countries.

49-2-212

As a lad, I was taught in American schools that the battle for freedom of belief was fought in Europe in ~~the great Reformation of~~ the seventeenth century against the totalitarianism of the universal Catholic Church; that for thirty long years of total war Germany was devastated from end to end to establish the great principle of the right of man to think his own thoughts. It was drilled into me that the United States of America was founded as living example of a land free to worship God as it would, or not to worship if it would not. Yet I have lived to see honest men hailed before Congressional committees without rights of defense granted to criminals; browbeaten by representatives of Mississippi disfranchisement and New Jersey theft and lying, and ordered to reveal their beliefs or go to jail, while the Supreme Court turned its silken backsides. There can be no dobut but that the body of great Americans who drafted the Constitutions deliberately left out of that document all reference to God, Christ, or revealed religion, in deference to the atheists and free thinkers in ~~this~~ *that* body and to confirm the principle that the right to believe or not believe in religion was fundamental to the law of the United States.

Yet today in the United States, the president of Columbia University can justify war on Russia, because "hundreds of millions behind the iron curtain are daily drilled in the slogan, 'There is no God and religion is an opiate'." Has a nation no right to do this?

It is not so much a matter of invective and crusade, as of explaining to honest folk, why it is that in lands which profess the most intimate relations with the Almighty, there is and has been the most cruel denial of basic human rights; as in Protestant countries like the Southern United States and the Union of South Africa; and in Catholic countries like Italy and Franco's Spain?

7. Does the Soviet Union today represent an aggressive and expanding imperialism? The charge of imperialist aggression on the part of Russia is undoubtedly at the basis of the "cold war" and the main expressed threat

49-2-213

of a Third World War. It usually bases itself on:

A. The annexation of the Baltic states

B. The rise of Communist states in Poland and the Balkans

C. The triumph of the Communists in China and the threat of Communism in eastern Asia.

The Baltic states of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were integral parts of prewar Russia since the eighteenth century. They were made separate nations after the Revolution of 1917 for the express purpose of establishing a "cordon sanitaire" from which the West in time could overthrow the Soviets. For a decade these states and Poland were the source of repeated attacks on Russia, and the Soviet slander. It became, therefore, a matter of faith for the Soviet Union after World War II to demand the incorporation of these lands for essential self-defense. This was clearly understood by the West.

The Balkans have for centuries been the center of unrest and oppression, dominated by greedy landlords and privileged nobles, and gradually becoming the center of increased capitalist exploitation by investors from Western Europe and America. As the industrial and investing nations became bitter enemies of Russian socialism, it was a question as to whether the West or the Soviets should dominate these lands. Domination did not come by Russian conquest; but rather by ~~means of~~ Russian refusal to allow Western capital in union with landlords and native exploiters to take over countries, where the vast majority of the workers and peasants were striving for emancipation.

It is, of course, doubtful if the ignorant proletariat alone could have planned freedom and industry, if left to the power and influence of Western Europe. But with the vast Russian armies in readiness to repel interference from the West, these lands started to plan socialist regimes. There can be no doubt but that all of them today show greater economic and social progress than ever before in their history. This was not Russian imperialism; it was the refusal of Russia to allow Western imperialism to take over these

49-2-214

nations
~~hands~~. It was the knowledge that force would be met by Russian armies from the East. Russia gave Revolutionary China education and training in leadership at the request of her great leader, Sun Yat-Sen. Later, under Chiang Kai-shek, Russian influence was driven out, and for many long years the West tried to seize China by every available means of armed force, deception, lying, stealing, and bribes ~~graft~~. America wasted $6,000,000,000 of her taxes on the poor to establish a scoundrel as master of 450,000,000 slaves for the white world. Who is the United States to talk of imperialism?

China, without the help of Soviet soldiers, beat back traitors and invaders and established the present republic, upon socialist principles. This was not an imperial conquest by the Soviet Union; it was the victory of the Chinese people despite arms and bribes from free America.

It is not then, that the Union of Soviets is imperialistic in design which has spread Communism in the world; but the impact of an idea and a way of life. It has met world-wide opposition. Russia has not attacked the world; the world of wealth and social and military power has attacked and plans still to attack Russia and to eliminate Communism, not by argument or example but by brute force. This was what Lenin and the early leaders of the Soviets feared; that is why they insisted at first that without worldwide socialism Communism in one land could never succeed. They may have been right. To this idea Trotsky adhered and made his attempted treason with Hitler. But Lenin was willing to try Russian Communism without the world; and Stalin eventually carried his policy to the present triumph.

This opposition slowed up the development of socialism by forcing its pace toward indu trial organization and collective farms to heartbreaking speed; by involving Russia in two World Wars with endless fighting between, cold and hot. Today, Russia has no plan of conquest. She does not have to. If the present spread of socialism is maintained, the world conquest will be moral and economic, not physical nor murderous.

49-2-215

If the Soviets had succumbed to capitalism and welcomed Western investment; if with dividends and cartels, they had joined Great Britain, France, and the ambitious United States and added opened the rich Heartland and Balkans to the world areas of loot, where profits of 50 to 100 per cent could be expected, the Soviets would today be safe from war and as honored and worshipped as in the days of the czars and grand dukes. But would Mankind have been as happy or as hopeful?

8. Is it true that the Soviet Union has driven out race prejudice? It seems to me true, that in no modern land which I have visited, is there so little consciou ness of racial differences as in Russia today. In the great Moscow Peace Congress which I visited, on the streets of Moscow and Gorki and Odessa, in social intercourse and in current literature, I, who am supersensitive in matters of discrimination, could see none in the Union of Soviets. Patent differences of physical type were manifest. At the Congress were black, yellow, brown, and white faces; especially was the Mongolian type frequently seen. There was no shadow of segregation nor discrimination.

Of course, the law is clear; but for that matter so is the law in London and New York. In neither place am I protected from discrimination based solely on race. The reason for Russia's attitude is not superior ethics, but her early consciousness of the danger of racial and cultural discrimination. The leadership of the Jews in the revolutionary movements emphasized this attitude; but the early experience and convictions of Joseph Stalin were invaluable in implementing this attitude. Born and nurtured in a congeries of races and religions, he sensed from the first the tyrant's rule of "Divide and Conquer" on which the British Empire was built; he experienced pogroms of Czarist times; and from the first, in building Communism, he was the leader most conscious of the dangers of race prejudice; and

F8-2-215

as commissar in charge of Nationalities, he implemented the legislation.

Moreover, the Soviets saw in race antagonism, only a variation of class struggle and it was class differences which they were set to abolish. They knew that race prejudice in Russia, America, Spain, and Britain had been the basis of class exploitation for economic power. Inferiority did not enslave Negroes in the United States, but the slavery of labor in the cotton kingdom made Negroes highly profitable. The British slave trade in Africa was a paying investment which was the foundation of commercial empire and not simply of racial hierarchy. This the Soviet Union planned to avoid and succeeded.

Of course, in Russia, the problem of Jews was from the first uppermost, for religious and economic reasons. The religious disabilities were quickly swept away. When economic exploitation appeared, whether by Jews or Gentiles, it was suppressed. It is possible that certain actions against the threat of exploitation or against the more likely rise of religious autonomy, which appear in the Soviet Union today, can be misinterpreted as resurgent anti-Semitism. There is no proof, however, that this is true, although the fact is being alleged by enemies of the Soviets.

9. How far does the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics restrict Art and Literature? The Soviet Union aims at the Good Life, with freedom and variety; but it recognizes that first, men must eat; that no enduring culture with adequate art expression can be founded on poverty, ignorance and disease. Whenever and wherever that is attempted, there results the civilization and art of a small section of th nation and world, threatened without by the rude and hungry barbarians and within by eventual dry rot.

The Soviets began with an ignorant and poor folk, with perverted standards of servility and selfishness, and with not much of value in cultural heritage; and all of these overawed and frightened by the worst forms of dogmatic religion. The transforming of this mass into an inteligent

44-2-214

nation, with adequate income for all, a high standard of living, ideals based on the best which the world has known and creative energy for the future -- all of this called for thought, effort, experiment, and time.

Time, the Union of Soviets has not had. Subtracting the waste of foreign and civil wars, this new pioneer among nations has had less than a generation for constructive work. Yet education must go on side by side with production of food, shelter and cloth s and defense. The path to the ideal must be guided and straight. Error and decadence; debauchery and luxury must be kept at bay.

So the Soviets have restricted art and literature to what they think is inspiring, uplifting and informing. "The force of Soviet literature lies in the fact that it neither has nor can have any other interests except those of the people and of the State. Its task is to help the State to educate the youth." They have sternly excluded American "comics," ~~and magazines, and~~ French pornography, and British aristocratic ideals. They have reverted to the classics of all tongues as embodying the tested taste of humanity.

In painting and sculpture they have exhibited in popular and daily crowded museums the best examples of the past, with little of the still disputed modern art. They have induced the masses of people to read to an extent never equalled in ancient, mediaeval or modern times by any nation on earth. The Soviet Union is today the leading European country in book publication with almost 40,000 titles annually; an overall circulation of 800,000,000 copies, distributed through 3,000 bookshops.

The leading place in published books belongs to the mulatto, Pushkin. Within the last thirty years, his various works attained a circulation of 35,000,000 copies; on occasion of the 150th anniversary of his birth, no less than 250 titles by or about Pushkin were published, totalling 11,000,000 copies. Leo Tolsoty comes second; almost 1,000,000 of his works are sold

8.8-2-44

yearly. Turgenev, Gogol, Lermontov, Nekrasov, Saltykov-Shchedrin are also among the favorites, and their works, published in many millions of copies, are avidly bought and read by the average Russian.

Statistics of the Soviet Book Chamber for the past thirty years indicate that European classics in translation are also high in publishing totals. Victor Hugos 4,000,000 are followed by Guy de Maupassant 4,000,000, Balzac, 2,000,000; Stendhal and Anatole France 1,800,000 each. Dickens 2,340,000 and Shakespeare 1,611,000. Cervantes, Schiller, Goethe, Byron are also widely read, and their works are published in hundreds of thousands of copies.

Among American writers, Jack London, James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain and Bret Harte are the favorites. Contemporary writers like Shostakovich, Shastokovich, Fadeev and Ostrovsky have a circulation of 2 to 6 million copies.

The 7,200 Soviet newspapers have a daily circulation of over 31 million. One-third are printed in 80 non-Russian languages. All republics, regions and cities have their own papers. Pravda, with its daily circulation of over two million, has one of the largest circulations of any single newspaper in the world.

"The Soviet Government has encouraged high standards in the opera, ballet and radio programs. The ballets of Moscow and Leningrad are the best in the world, and the legitimate theatre is excellent. The States sees to it that musicians can compose and play, writers can write and artists can paint in comfortable circumstances; because the government is well aware that the task of raising the cultural level of the Soviet people to that of most of their European neighbors still is far from complete."

49-2-219

It is often explained to the unitiated, that all present Russian culture does not stem from the Revolution; that much in the ballet and drama, literature, art and architecture, comes down from Czarist times. This is no criticism of communism but rather a tribute; for leadership consists not simply in innovation and invention, but even more in selection, preservation and re-building ond old foundations. This communism has done. Moreover the Empire of the czars owned much of its culture to the revolutionary elements preceeding the successful overturn and only partially used under the empire.

There are altogether 926 theaters and opera houses in the USSR, including dramatic theaters, opera and ballet theaters, musical comedy and operetta theaters, collective farm theaters, and childrens theaters. Thousands of special theaters and musical groups are run by trade unions and other organizations, and hundreds of concert halls. The all-Union Art Exhibition, which is to be opened in Moscow this Autumn, will display the works of 2,000 painters, sculptors and engravers from all of the sixteen republics of the Soviet Union. Art is encouraged by teaching music, painting in schools and academies.

On the other hand, they have restriced originality in lines which they feared might be misleading or arouse dangerous tendencies. They have not hesitated to criticize composers, reject experiments in literature and drams. Here lies the danger of censorship by the State and the cramping or stifling of originality of genius. Education itself is at present unduly slanted toward machine production and progress measured too much by material ~~progress~~ advance.

The Soviet leaders recognize this danger. They have eased censorship materially so that new authors and playwrights and composers

49-3-220

continually appear and the present output of Soviet art and literature is by no means negligible. But, say these leaders, the nation must eat and eat well; it must produce and produce much more widely, largely because world commerce is denied us save on fatal terms. We must see that our folk know and recognize what part civilization has left us before they start to create with out standards.

The Soviet Union appreciates the Good Life, with Freedom and Variety. It knows that this cannot be created and enjoyed in a moment. It sees in the United States a free land, debauching its freedom from failure to know the past. It refuses to duplicate this mistake even at the cost of some repression. It says: "Once we have set for this nation, standards of taste founded on the best things of the past; once it has food and clothes and shelter so as to be free of fear and want. Once we have peace, then we will set no barriers to genius and innovation trusting the judgment of a great intelligent nation to choose the best and preserve the worthy. Until then, even with some chance of loss we will guide the mass and suffer what we now regard as evil.

10. How free is Science in the Soviet Union? Science has never been free; the danger of knowledge has always been felt and it has been chained by dogma since the beginning; but equally it has repeatedly freed itself, for man must know in order to live. Usually science, systematic and integrated knowledge, has been the secret and perquisite of the few and has been used to guarantee their power; it was kept from the masses lest they misuse it and thus either hurt science or with it displace the Priest or Landlord. So Life has been the continuous unbinding and binding of knowledge, as well as its slow broadening and integrating.

49-2-221

In the modern Western world the freedom of science has been opposed by the Church and by society, organized in social and economic groups. The church long imprisoned astronomy and biology; and social organizations kept learning away from the poor and thus hermetically sealed anti-social activities.

In science the Soviets are facing a problem which the West has refused to face: how far is Science a servant of the common weal and how far independent, self-sufficient and individual? Science as aimless, unconditioned search for knowledge, has wrought havoc in labor and technique; it helped to form the factory system with its wretched poverty; it joined slavery and factory to which fastened colonial imperialism on the world; it developed mass production and opened the way to two world wars; it unharnessed atomic energy and made the destruction of the earth possible. What is the remedy? We surely want to leave speculation and curiosity free; ingenuity uncurbed; but unless we are willing to arm evil with all devises to destroy, the nation must in some way and by some method control the scientist and make him a social agent for good, and not a man so free that he cannot be held responsible in any way for anything he does. This is the problem facing American science today.

But Science in the 20th century has not been as free as we love to picture itself. It was directed by colleges dependent on the rich and on government in the hands of business men. No American history which attacked slavery or social science which taught the essential equality of men, got the endowment needed for buildings, books and laboratories, nor did scientists who denied the inferiority of Negroes get the better appointments. Thus the wide acceptance of Mendelism was not entirely a matter of free scientific inquiry; it was in part the pressure of income based on the subjection of the darker races to the greed of the whites.

49-223

Recalling the Lysenko controversy in the Soviet Union, the Western world has welcomed the scientific hypothesis of the unlikelihood of acquired characteristics being inherited; because it justified the popular doctrine of race and group inferiority and made American Negro slavery justifiable. This defense was a matter of private organizations and not of the state; and yet private churches and cotton manufacturers and captains of trade easily made the policy of the state which passed the slave codes.

Lysenko said: "You must not thinkthat science or thoughts are planned in this country. The tasks are planned. The thoughts are free. You have certain jobs to do. You can think out how these jobs should be done."

Russia needed winter wheat to be grown in the cold of Siberia; it needed to increase its crop of millet five-fold; it needed better all-purpose cattle. Lysenkco accomplished these results, not by solving the mystery of chromosomes but by taking the whole set-up, seed and plant, land and weather, man and machine; and leaving a side the theory and the conditioned experiment, he worked until he got the wheat, millet and cattle. The Soviet Union decided to give its official support to his methods, because Russia must have food; they did not, as has been alleged, kill or starve those scientists who wanted to work in other ways and for objects more nearly approaching "pure" science; they gave them work and wage, but removed them from control of the main work of the state for increasing the crops and bettering the animals of the Soviet Union. Thus in a way they narrowed the freedom of science, but certainly no more than science has been curtailed in all Europe for many centuries.

Any interference with the freedom of science is dangerous; but the reasons for such interference are various: they may be to buttress the

49-2-224

power of religion; or to save the ignorant from inflicting harm; or and more often, for making money for the few. None of these motives led the Soviets. Soviet philosophy of the state at present disavows the Ivory Tower aspect of sci ence in the West. The Soviet Union regards science as an instrument for the uplift of the masses. It refuses to regard science as a plaything for an elect few; or as an ideal pursuit without definite gaal. Not Truth as such, but Truth for the welfare of the people is the goal, and in the current titanic struggle of the world, all and everything must yield to the public welfare as the Soviets see it.

Doubtless just here the Soviets justify their action in the Lysenkco controversy: if their decision results in better crops and stock, they will pursue it; it not they will repudiate it. If no decisive judgment is indicated, they will pursue their way as now, but with intense effort to get indisputable results. Following this aim, Soviet Science has flourished. Already with her intellectual career hardly begun, this nation has encouraged scientific work ~~and~~ begun before the revolution and forged forward notably in nearly every area of scientific research. It may be that in eugenics, it has allowed economic expediency, and the desperate necessity of pushing production at top pace for war reconstruction and defense against increasing western threats, to forestall full free scientific inquiry. Of this I am not sure, but it may be so. But even if it is, the vast effort at education in this nation is sure in the end to rectify the mistake. The Soviet Union is never dogmatic in its theory or decisions. It has always been ready to rectify mistakes. With increasing intelligence among the mass, the area of scientific freedom in the Union must increase and be increasingly regarded as inviolable.

49-2-223

The Communists rest their ultimate appeal to mankind on exact science. They seek to build a state on foundations of natural law and guide it by careful measurements, made continuously and tested frequently. The only variation from this fundamental thesis would be threat to the very existence of the state from ~~froce from~~ within or without. Even this should be resorted to most infrequently and its threat to basic science and ultimate knowledge ever recognized. This was true in Lenin's surrender to NEP and in the purges of recalcitrants and traitors in 1928 and 1938.

Today, the union of the most powerful part of the world in military alliance against the growth and existance of communism, means that socialist nations must strain every nerve to be sure of food and clothing and defense with their own borders. If making science the slave of production can be used to accomplish this end, it surely is justified. But only on the assurance that this step is necessary, is temporary, and its danger fully appreciated. On the other hand, if contrary to the conviction of scientists like Julian Huxley, Mendelism should ultimately be disproven, then Soviet science can only be blamed for premature faith in a hypothesis at the time unproven.

On the other hand, for nations like Italy, Britain and the United States to wax lyric in attack on this binding of the hands of free sceintific inquiry, in view of the doctrines of religious inquision, race inferiority and survival of the "fittest" on which these nations have based wealth and power by chaining free thought, seems hardly convincing.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the leading scientific institution in the Soviet Union has increased its membership twenty-fold. In 1947, it numbered 436 Academicians and Corresponding members; and 4350 scientific

46-3-24

workers and 1050 post-graduate students were engaged in its various institutions. The same year the Academy of Sciences had nearly sixty scientific research institutes in Moscow and Leningrad, thirty other branch institutes and bases, sixteen independent laboratories functioning on the basis of institutes, more than thirty commissions and committees, five councils, fifteen museums, thirty-five stations, seven scientific societies and seventy-three libraries.

At the beginning of 1947, there were 921 agricultural research institutions; 1,664 sectors for the production of highquality seed; 4,924 seed control laboratories, and 88 agricultural colleges. Great, too, is the concern of the Soviet state for the development of medicine. At the beginning of the Second World War, the Soviet health protection system included 213 research institutes; 70 research laboratories and 72 medical institutes. Extensive research work is likewise being carried on in all branches of the national economy and culture.

In 1947, there were about 100,000 scientific workers in the country, among them over 10,000 Doctors of Sciences and Professors and about 25,000 Masters of Sciences and Instructors. During the decade following Stalin's speech at the reception of higher education workers, held at the Kremlin in 1938, a large amoung of work was accomplished in training scientific forces. In the higher schools alone, the number of scientific workers increased from 53,000 in 1938; to 80,000 in 1948. During this period more than 6,000 persons received Doctor's degrees and nearly 25,000 Master's degrees on the sciences; 6,000 became professors and 21,500 docents and senior scientific associates. At the universities and research institutes extensive work is in progress for the training of scientific personnel. In 1948, there were 13,000 post-graduate students in the USSR.

SECRET

Soviet History tells of the past, so as to increase appreciation of the present. It is too bad to omit Trotsky from history in order to erase the error of his treason; it is too bad not to record the accomplishments as well as the failures of America; but it must not be forgotten that the exploitation and aggression of the West is in part responsible for this. A nation which must protect itself against the atom bomb and the largest navy in history, cannot be too nice in its pedagogy. But the people of the Soviet Union read. They will progressively read more widely and with more variety. In time they will read not only what they believe but what they do not believe and know that this is the beginning of wisdom.

The years of abundance and the classless state have not yet been realized in Russia; but who can say waht may happen in a century, there and in Asia? The disappearance even of the State itself may in some far day prove the prophecy of Karl Marx.

49-2-226

11. Is the Soviet Union a civilized state worthy of recognition &c
Recently there have been reiterated accusations that the Soviet Government encourages lying and obstruction, does not keep its treaty obligations and maintains fifth columns in foreign lands. These statements, often repeated by responsible persons, are so clearly the outcome of hysteria that no reasonable answer can be made. I find no proof that the Soviets have broken treaty obligations or failed in keeping committments. They have declined to follow majority decisions or to accept the interpretations put on agreements ~~which~~ by other countries ~~make~~. Their so-called obstruction in the United Nations was perfectly legal, even if it was not in accord with our judgment.

We helped insert the Veto in the United Nations Charter and we would not sit in the Security Council if Ireland represented Great Britain. We have no right to insist that only our unchangeable formula for disarmament be adopted. In Greece, Korea, and China our role has been clearly outside interference, against the will of large minorities or even vast majorities of the peoples involved. The Soviets may have been equally to blame in the Balkans; but certainly they could not be more to blame.

But it is not true that the Soviet Union is unworthy of faith and recognition. Her saving of Western Civilization from Hitler amply proves that; and all nations bore testimony to this fact at the time. That this mutual faith and copperation has been broken is the calamity of our day and calls for redoubled effort to repair the breach.

I can interpret the Soviet Union today through my experience with ten million American Negroes in the last half of the nineteenth century. Despite all we knew and saw, we shrivelled before the judgments of men -- casual men, twisted men, men who saw what they wished to see. They saw our laziness from car windows; our incompetence from their servants; our crime from a thousand alleged thefts and rapes. We shuddered when we faced investigation; and went to Hell when we saw the activities of our traitors and "white folks' niggers." In defense, we boasted sometimes beyond the fact and retorted often with bitterness and hate. The tangled complex of our feeling of inferiority before arrogance and power tore the finer fabric from our inner soul and left us too often naked to ridicule and rebuttal. Yet we were right, as all men realize today; we were not supermen but men, with brain and heart and guts; and that we were and are going somewhere up yonder where our ideals gleam, most men now admit; but I remember the day when, to America, nothing black was beautiful, nor is it indeed to many today.

It is not an easy task to judge a nation, whether it be of ten or two

49-2-226a

hundred millions. It calls for Faith and Prophecy as well as Fact to build Truth. And neither one-eyed men, distorted souls nor ingrown self-worshippers can interpret a miracle, even when it is clear. In a recent book six men tell how they turned for salvation to communism and failed to find it. Three of them were, from the first, distorted souls born in Black America, the torn Balkans, and Fascist South Italy. Richard Wright came out of childhood in the American South with faith in nobody, and faith in human beings he will never achieve. He was a cynical, suspicious soul, despising Negroes little less than he hated whites. He wanted to be a writer and a group of Chicago Communists helped him generously. But soon he found himself at odds with the blacks because he was an "intellectual", and with the whites because discipline irked him. Of Communism itself and of the USSR, he knew nothing and cared less. He left the party. No system nor philosophy of any kind will ever convince Wright. He will remain always expatriate and alone.

Arthur Koestler was dragged from the middle class comfort of a childhood in Hungary into a Germany about to surrender to Hitler, with Communism as a distraught, ineffective underground conspiracy. He escaped to the Soviet Union, just when it was in the throes of the Trotsky conspiracy; and finally fell into the prisons of Franco. He denounced Communism when the USSR chose alliance with Hitler, rather than face Hitler's world alone; and in order to have time to prepare for Hitler's attack.

Silone was an Italian peasant and victim of poverty and Mussolini. He helped form the Communist party of Italy, and visited the Soviet Union for a number of congresses. He, too, was caught in the conspiring and evasions of the Trotsky treason, and saw his concept of liberty unrealized. He broke with his comrade Togliatti, and became a wandering exile until he returned to Italy in 1944, still in search of liberty and still unable to find it.

Fischer was an American reporter, descended from poor Russian peasants. He visited the Soviet Union first in 1922 and sympathized with Communism. He

44-3-22-4

saw the Soviets as an imperfect state struggling like Laocoon with the snakes of Europe. He hoped they might be scotched, but lost faith during the treason trials; had it revived in the Spanish interlude, and then, at dis-appeared with the Hitler alliance. He believes that liberty is dead in the Soviets; and that without liberty as Americans conceive of it, life has no meaning.

These four are joined by Gide and Spender, two intellectual exquisites, products of the wealthy and aristocratic cultures of France and Britain. They never had to earn a living and regarded work philosophically from afar. They could never quite grasp a culture founded on work of the hands, out and up from which it struggled to build all. Such an effort to Gide and Spender failed before it began, despite the thrill of a first glimpse.

One was a religious mystic in temperament who recoiled from Sin in any guise, even that of revolutionary struggle. The other was a born non-conformist who worshipped liberty as a God and not as an end. The mess of the Spanish uprising drove Spender out of Communism, after knowledge of a few weeks and with no visit to the Soviet Union.

Gide saw the dream of Communism as seers see Truth; but the grim reality of its birth-pains, with bad manners and sweat, revolted him and he turned his back on the struggle. But Time is not yet ended and there are a host of witnesses who still hope and believe.

Between the two World Wars, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, after long study pronounced the USSR a "new civilization" of the very highest promise. "Will this new civilization, with its abandonment of the incentive of profit-making, its extinction of unemployment, its planned production for community consumption, and the consequent liquidation of the landlord and the capitalist, spread to other countries? Our own reply is: Yes, it will."

49-3-23

Lord Keynes added: "Whatever the content of Russian Communism may be, it represents a gigantic human enterprise. In it men have resolutely embraced a purpose of reform and live tensely under the dispicline that faith instills in them. It is simply a misunderstanding of the European, to expect that he can hear unmoved that call to new action when he has no standard of a cause as great to unfurl in opposition."

What has happened to change these judgments, since the Second World War, where, in the eyes of the most reactionary soldier of our day, the Soviets made the greatest military effort in history and insured the victory of Great Britain and the United States over Germany and liberated France?

What has happened, is crystal clear: two world wars fought to restore, rearrange and establish more firmly the colonial imperialism of Europe over the world, with the United States as senior partner. The result of the unexpected advent of the Soviet Union, in a major role with Communism as a dominant and growing economic philosophy, was to make this aim of the West impossible so long as the Union of Soviet Republics persisted and grew strong. It was this fact which has convinced men like Herbert Hoover, Henry Luce, and Dean Acheson that a Third World War to overthrow Communism is inevitable.

49-2-2282

CHAPTER VIII

WORLD PEACE

There are two great objects which ought to bind the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics together in indissoluble alliance; and they are the abolition of war and the abolition of poverty. Both nations realize that another world war will fasten poverty on earth for a thousand years. Both nations know that in modern days they have led the world in realistic attack upon the degradation of the worker. It was revolution in the United States against exploitation of colonial labor that led to echoing revolution in France and Haiti, and resulted in uplift of labor throughout Europe and particularly in the great republic this side of the seas, where the wage and standard of living among the working masses today leads the whole world.

It was revolution in Russia that founded a nation built on the determination to abolish poverty in the modern world by equitable redistribution of wealth made through the democratic power of an intelligent people; and to start toward this great end by making the mass of people intelligent.

Thus peace and prosperity for all citizens of the state are the objects of both of these nations. They may differ, and have a right to differ, as to the immediate ways and means of accomplishing these ends; but there is and can be no question as to the desire of both nations to abolish war and poverty.

In such case, any agitation or careless and wicked mouthing of the possibility of war between these two peoples is worse than insanity; it is an attack upon mankind and civilization. It is a direct challenge to all men of good will to take firm and open stand not simply against war, but especially against all causes of war. It calls upon intelligent men to admit

49-2-229

that the greatest cause of war in the last five hundred years has been the degradation of the worker, especially through the colonial system and the human slavery upon which the colonial imperialism was originally built.

We know well that the main hindrance to security and democracy has been the fact that the attempt to raise the status of labor in civilized lands has for centuries been accompanied by the deliberate degradation of the laboring masses in colonial regions. The greatest insurance against future wars, which will continue to masquerade as national expansion and self-defense, will be the clear recognition of the right of colonial peoples to a living wage, education, and self-government. This desperately necessary advance step of mankind was foreshadowed in the Charter of the United Nations. But steps toward that preliminary trusteeship which will lead to the rise of the colonial peoples have as yet been slow and halting. This fact and crisis should bind the United States and the Soviet Republics in common striving against the determination of any country to perpetuate the colonial system.

This country cannot forget; and especially 15,000,000 American Negroes, victims of human slavery and the colonial system, must not forget that the slave system which stifled democracy in the United States for a century after the first brave effort to declare all men equal, is today denying under various guises the equal humanity of the majority of mankind; and here Americans should be the first to praise any attempt on the part of any nation to abolish race and class discrimination within the nation and in colonies which the nations control.

In considering any war between the United States and the Soviet Union, certain facts stand out clearly:

1. In war as fought today no amount of previous preparation can insure victory. If the Hitler war machine failed, it proved that the most careful preparedness for war faces today too many uncertainties to insure the outcome.

2. In any war between these two countries and their allies, no decisive victory seems possible; the stretches of territory are too large, the number of persons involved too great, and the costs in wealth, manpower, and materials too staggering to make conclusive victory probable.

3. The moral risks involved in such a war are too great for present civilization to survive: involving as the struggle must wholesale poisoning, mass murder of men, women and children, old and young, and total devastation, of land, forest, buildings, and vegetation, No dogma of brotherly love, self-sacrifice or diving guidance could survive such a shock.

4. The partial stalemate which would follow such a war could summon no conceivable allies in morality, science, art, or human health to rebuild in reasonable time the loss, frustration, and hopelessness which must follow such a cultural collapse. The ensuing dark age would transfer civilization from Europe and America to Asia and Africa, ~~with all the cultural losses of such change.~~

5. The European world, which knows, as we do not, what war means, would not join us in a Third World War, if by any possible maneuver it could keep clear. Since the Civil War, eighty-six years ago, the United States has had no wide experience of the real meaning of war. In the proposed world struggle, Americans would face as never before, blood and dirt, pain and want right on ~~its~~ their own hearth. It is by no means certain how far or how long this nation and all parts of it would respond to a call to fight for unreal and ill-defined issues.

6. There are today no issues or differences between the United States and Russia which could not more easily be resolved now in peace and patience than during war; or after either victory or defeat; or as is much more likely, in the ensuing stalemate.

We Americans have been called incurable romantics; and in no respect is this clearer than in our attitude toward war. Nowhere else in the modern world is careless, irresponsible reaction toward war so clear as in the United States. Nowhere in Europe is the state and its social institutions surrendered so lightly to military men or are army officers prodigally rewarded. This is because we are still under the spell of the old glorification of war which used to fill our school books and novels and is now current in our press. We are to be sure beginning to feel the pinch of taxation for the last world war, as we felt it for the first in the

49-2-231

thirties. But the impact of our childhood lore, with centuries of propaganda has not been yet outlived. We still thrill to martial music and glittering uniforms, "with trumpet and with drum." We still see plumed knights plunging ahead on neighing chargers, waving gleaming swords, and rescuing Virtue from Vice with glittering arms and thundering cannon. Our national anthems, with few exceptions, are hymns of hate and ~~are~~ hopelessly intertwined with patriotism, self-righteousness and glory. And even if some have outgrown this fantasy, there lingers in nearly all, the assumption that most of what civilization has gained has been through war. This is what conventional and current history still in the main teaches; war won way for art ~~of~~ in Athens and ~~the~~ law ~~of~~ in Rome; war won the Renaissance and Reformation; war built England and rebuilt France; war freed the American colonies and freed the slave; war united Italy and Germany; in fine, war is the world's great weapon of progress.

It is true that this way psychosis is not universal, nor ~~that~~ its contradiction is unknown or untaught. But this contradiction is far from penetrating the mass of Americans as any reading of present school texts will show.

Yet all men should know how dirty, cruel, and horribly inconclusive a mess war is at best and how utterly indefensible at its worst. It is and must be primarily planned murder and maiming; dirt, theft, and rape; sweat, drunkenness and destruction; and utter losing of nearly all restraints of religion, morals, and decency. Wars are continually fought for objects vague or quite unknown to the fighters; or for aims changed while fighting or improvised to inspire lagging morale. The results of wars are ~~repeatedly~~ usually far from what they first aimed at or last dreamed.

Yet we have learned to think of war as indisolubly bound up with progress, absolutely inevitable, forever impossible of abolition, even when we know also how often war has proved the first resort of liars, aggressors,

5

thieves, and fools; and the last remedy for human ill.

Whatever excuse and justification for this attitude the past may have offered, has disappeared completely in the tragedy which faces us today. We must not only reassess in the light of critical and scientific history, the real place of war in civilization and begin to teach this interpretation in school and college; but first of all, we must seize the present threat of war as the day of all days and perhaps the last opportunity of civilized man, to save the world by outlawing war as an instrument of human progress.

The maddening fact, which frustrates the world today, is that the overwhelming majority of men, not only in the world and in Europe, but precisely in the bristling nations of the Soviet Union and the United States do not want war, do not believe that war will settle any essential aspect of matters in dispute, and yet are moving or being moved just as rapidly toward war as is humanly possible.

49-2-233

Here, if anywhere, or if ever, comes clarion call for common sense to override army, air force, and navy; blind members of the legislative branches of the government, and stubborn executives; and urge for reasonable people to take charge of the two nations. Out with double-talk and with such mystics as the young American ~~liberal~~ clergyman who staged a mumbo-jumbo tryst of prayer for peace and then refused to join a peace congress because forsooth he suspected communists might attend! Out with Russians who will not believe that most America praises what the Soviets have done to raise the working people of Russia; sternly putting the intransigeants aside ~~aside~~ and refusing to look for guidance in a propagandist press, let us face facts and acts accordingly.

What are the issues in dispute between the Soviet Union and the United States?

1. The USSR believes that the United States wishes by armed force to suppress communism, not only in the Soviet Union but elsewhere in the world.

2. That the United States is working to spread her control of labor and materials through the world by force.

3. That for these reasons the United States deliberately misrepresents conditions in the USSR and seeks on the basis of these alleged facts to stir up attack on the USSR from without and within.

The United States believes:

1. That communism is a failure and has erected in the USSR a police state with slave labor and restricted liberties.

2. That the USSR has forced communism on her bordering states and the Balkans and indirectly on China; that only fear of the United States army has saved Greece and Turkey and that the USSR is now threatening Asia and Africa.

3. That the Soviets through local communist parties, maintain fifth columns in all countries possible in order to subvert their economics and culture; and that these parties are directed and financed by the USSR.

In this dispute it should be easy for both parties to agree:

1. That military force or threat of force to dictate the way of life in another nation with regard to its economic or social institutions is inadmissable.

2. That criticism of conditions anywhere in the world, which anybody thinks is detrimental to human progress is rightly the concern of all men. Investigation, comment, and criticism should be encouraged, if carried out with reasonable courtesy, sympathy, and honesty of purpose and without irritating condescension of some folk toward foreigners. Deliberate liars and scandalmongers cannot expect international welcome, but the time has come for wide encouragement of criticism and visiting among nations.

3. It is everywhere conceded that the economic status of human beings today is unsatisfactory over large areas and among the majority of folk in all nations. All lands agree in the necessity of radical reform but disagree widely on method and ideal. Recognizing this world-wide situation, charity and unbiased judgment of efforts at reform are called for, with strict refusal of all effort to use force or threat of force in directing the business of any people save our own.

4. That the right of people anywhere to follow their own line of thought and action, in accord with the thought of any nation is sacred so far as there is no attempt to transgress the law; in that case the men should be punished for illegal action and not for unpopular opinion.

It is difficult to see why some such basis of agreement might not be reached by leaders of thought in the United States and the Soviet Union without invading in any degree the right of either nation to pursue its own way at home and abroad. The American Friends Service Committee after careful inquiry has expressed its conviction that peace is possible for the following reasons:

1. The fact that there is widespread and sincere desire for peace.

2. The conviction that both the Soviet social organization and the type of social organization prevailing in the western world are likely to persist for some time and that attention should be directed to their coexistence, rather than to the victory of either over the other.

3. The conclusion, that while there are drastic differences in the methods of the two systems and some differences in their aims, both systems attempt to promote the general welfare, while defining it differently.

4. The belief that there is the possibility of sufficient accommodation between the two systems, as evidenced by changes that have occurred in both, to permit them to coexist and to compete peacefully in the same world.

5. The probability that much of the present tension between the United States and the Soviet Union reflects the mutual fear felt by each of attack by the other.

6. The improbability of overcoming this fear and attaining either the impression or the fact of security by arms competition.

7. The desirability of reducing armaments and the reliance on the military weapons before the burdens of an arms competition weakened democratic institutions.

8. The likelihood that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union intends at the present time to promote its foreign policy by means of direct military aggression.

Upon such agreement might come disarmament, including the atom bomb; the progressive freeing of trade between nations, whether the traders be individuals or states; and the final ridding of the world of all vestiges

49-2-235

of colonialism, whether through political control or investment; and a new and generous rivalry among nations to find the best ways of human progress and freely invite criticism and exchange knowledge.

Already the world movement for peace is much further advanced than most Americans realize. I have spoken of the peace meetings in New York in March, 1949, and in August, 1949, in Moscow, and I was due at the Congress in Mexico the same month; but the greatest came in Paris, in May, 1949.

This seemed to me the greatest meeting of men ever assembled in modern times to advance the progress of all men. The Races Congress of 1911 in London was comparable, but was quickly forgotten in the onset of the First World War. The first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations in that little Geneva church, raised hopes of universal significance, despite the fatal absence of the United States. The United Nations Organization at San Francisco, after the Second World War, lifted the hearts of men, until the long, drawnout horse-trading on trusteeships revealed the determination to hold in serfdom the majority of men.

The Paris outpouring was extraordinary; not simply because of the heart-breaking preliminary preparation which brought together 2,192 delegates from seventy-two countries, representing 600,000,000 people; and with 213 delegates from thirteen other lands, meeting in Prague; but because of the single-hearted earnestness, the deep determination, the unflagging interest which kept 3,000 persons fastened to their seats for eleven sessions covering five full days and a sixth day devoted to the most impressive mass demonstration I ever saw.

Add to this, the so impressive fact to me, that the colored world was present; not simply on sufferance; not with the well-known Anglo-Saxon condescension; but as members of a world movement in full right and with full participation. I sat on the Presidential Tribune, representing the United States. I looked out across the sea of faces hour after hour and saw seven

Haitians; 27 from India; two from Indonesia; 12 from Madagascar; four from Morocco; three from Mongolia; five from Puerto Rico; 18 from Tunis; 60 from Viet-Nam, and 18 from black French Africa. There were other colored folk from France itself, from Cuba, Central and South America, and two from the United States.

And these colored folk took part. At two sessions, black men presided. One of the very best speeches was delivered on Thursday by Gabriel d'Arboussier, Vice President of the African Democratic Rally, for whom the audience rose to applaud. Paul Robeson appeared unannounced on Wednesday, and was given a tumultous ovation when he dared to say that no Negro should ever fight against Russia. Madam Thai Thi Lien spoke for Viet Nam, with long applause following her discourse. On the World Committee, elected by the Congress, was a black African vice chairman, and among the 140 members, 13 were colored.

To all this, should be added the colored contingent of the Prague Congress, those delegates refused visas to enter France. Foremost, of course, among these were the forty delegates from China and eight from Korea.

The Manifesto of the World Congress faced definitely the colonial question and the color question: "We are against colonialism, which continually breeds armed conflicts and threatens to play a decisive part in unleashing a new World War."

"We condemn...the fostering of race hatred and enmity among peoples." But it was no mere matter of race and color. It was the suffering of a crucified world made visible. I saw that tall, white-haired Russian woman with a face like the mother of Jesus, stand and tell how her eighteen-year old daughter went to war to defend ~~American~~ "democracy;" how she was stripped by the Nazis and driven naked into the winter cold, beaten with straps and hanged, yet never betrayed her comrades. Madame Kosmodemianskaia did not sob. She paused and swallowed, as she went on to tell of her sixteen-year old son, who

49-2-232

followed his sister to death. A few nights later, in the home of a woman deputy of the French Parliament, I sat beside a beautiful young woman, almost youthful save for tired lines that dimly crossed her face. I looked down and on her wrist saw the concentration camp numbers burned into her flesh. She said simply, "I lost my mother and father; my brother and -- my husband."

In the Congress and out, I saw the crippled and maimed -- one soldier with no legs talked to us. I visioned the poverty, the hurt, the misery of a world crying, for God's sake let us at least have Peace, to heal our wounds. I sensed the bitter hatred toward an America determined to make money out of the world's misery. Tractors of French make wheeled before us May Day, labelled, "We cannot make these; we must buy them from America." I saw the leather workers unemployed, because their leather was sent to Germany.

Above all, this, looms in my memory that spectacle of Sunday, ~~April, 1934~~, when from all of France and half the world, 500,000 persons filed through the Buffalo stadium; a hundred thousand at a time filed out to let another hundred thousand in. I never saw before a hundred thousand human beings in one group. And they were not strutting and showing off. They were walking and hobbling and falling in faintness and crying, Peace! Peace! It was unforgettable. No lying, distortion and twisting of the American press can conceal or erase the heartbreaking significance of this spectacle. None who saw it will ever forget.

On the tribune sat Joliet-Curie, Aragon, Picasso, Nickolas, the Metropliitan of the Russian Church, the fearless Jesuit Abbe Boulier, whose desperate desire to come to America and tell us that all Catholics were not reactionary, was vetoed by Cardinal Spellman; the Bishop of the Calvinist Church of Hungary; the Red Dean of Canterbury; Zilliacus of England, Howard Fast of America, Fadeev of Russia, and Hamzah of Indonesia spoke. Children sang, men and women shouted and wept, and the Marseillaise roared.

32-2-47

When I was invited to this meeting, I did not ask nor care who organized or called. I was all the happier when I realized that communism was back of this undertaking. To this day I cannot understand why persons who want peace with Russia, recoil when Russia wants peace. This almost seems as though we feared that the Soviet did not want war. The explanation that we fear they are not sincere and want war, not peace, is so easily capable of proof: Will they, beside us, take steps toward peace? Certainly every word said at Paris indicated this:

> We are for the Charter of the United Nations and against military alliances that make the Charter a dead letter and lead to war.
>
> We are against the crushing burden of military expenditures that reduce the peoples to poverty.
>
> We are for the prohibition of atomic and other means of mass destruction, the limitation of the armed forces of the great powers, and the establishment of an effective system of international control to make certain that atomic energy is utilized exclusively for peaceful purposes and the good of mankind.
>
> We are protagonists of national independence and peaceful cooperation of all peoples, and of the right of national self-determination, as essential conditions of freedom and peace.
>
> We take a firm stand against policies which feverishly seek to curtail and suppress democratic freedoms in order to pave the way to war.
>
> We are the world front for the defense of truth and reason, for the defeat of propaganda which prepares public opinion for war.
>
> We condemn war hysteria and the fostering of race hatred and enmity among peoples. We advocate the denunciation and boycott of those periodicals, books, films, individuals, and organizations which are engaged in war propaganda.

In the face of these words, the one obstacle to understanding is the reiterated charge that the Soviet Union will not outlaw the atom bomb and has obstructed the work of the United Nations and repeatedly broken her plighted word. I cannot see that a single one of these charges is true. We invented the atom bomb. We are the only nation in the world which has

49-2-239

ever used this bomb in war; we began the stockpiling of the bomb for future warfare; and our national reputation for telling the truth is certainly no better than Russia's.

And finally, our proposal for international control was not an offer to consult, but a blunt "take it or leave it," arrogantly given and since followed by refusal even to consider other terms. The Baruch plan of June, 1946, proposed to hand over the ownership and control of all atomic plants to an international commission, on which at present and probably for a long time to come, the United States and its friends would have a clear majority of votes. The United States would have the right to retain its stockpile of bombs as long as it thought best, after the commission started work; and the veto which any of the Five Great Powers have over Security Council action would not apply to the work of this commission. This was a proposal which the Soviet Union could not and was not expected to accept. The Russians in return proposed to outlaw the bomb, destruction of all existing bombs, and the prevention of the manufacture of new bombs; and then, to make provision for control of atomic energy with limited international inspection and with maintenance of the veto power.

So long as the United States had the monopoly of the atom bomb, we had a pistol aimed at the head of every nation in the world and could set our own terms of international control. It was not a position calculated to reassure peoples, doubtful of the purity of our motives; but it was a bleak fact. When, however, in 1949 it was revealed that the Soviet Union had the secret of the atom bomb, the situation changed. Evidently the world must disarm or go bankrupt or infinitely worse than either, go to war. For this the recent session of the World Peace Committee at Stockholm, 1949, proposes:

> Nous exigeons l'interdiction absolue de l'arme atomique, arme d'epouvante et d'extermination massive des populations.
>
> Nous exigeons l'establissement d'un rigoreux controle international pour assurer l'application de cette measure d'interdiction.

We call for the absolute banning of atomic weapons and of all terror weapons of mass destruction.

We call for the establishment of strict international control to insure that this ban is rigorously observed.

We declare that any government which first uses atomic weapons against no matter which other country, shall be branded as guilty of a crime against humanity and shall be treated as a war criminal.

042-2-64

Nous considerons que le gouvernement qui, le premier, utiliserait, contre n'importe quel pays, l'arme atomique, commettrait un crime contre l'humanite, et serait a traiter comme criminel de guerre.

Nous appelons tous les hommes de bonna volonte, dans le monde a signer cet appel.

Vishinsky emphasized at Lake Success in November, 1949, the efforts made for peace in the Soviet Union: "The Soviet Union policy is a policy of peace. The Soviet Union stands for peace and consistently and determinedly defends the cause of peace. It struggles against those who want to violate peace and foist a new war on the nations of the world."

He recounted the entrance of the Soviets into the League of Nations in 1934, and their efforts for peace in 1935; the peace treaties with France, Czechoslovakia, and China during the period 1935-1937; and her signing of the treaties at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam:

"The Soviet Union proposals for the general regulation and reduction of armaments...for the prohibition of atomic weapons...for the condemnation of propaganda in any form for a new war...for the reduction by the Five Powers by one-third of their armies and armed forces, all these proposals submitted by the Soviet Union in 1946, 1947, 1948, and finally, 1949, serve one purpose, to strengthen the peace and to insure the security of nations."

One of the most persistent arguments against Soviet Peace efforts is the existence of Communist parties in various countries of the world under the control of Moscow. Outside the 10,000,000 Communists in the Soviet Union and China, there are in the communist nations of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, perhaps 6,000,000 party members. In Western Europe, there are in Italy, 2500,000; France has 800,000 members, and elsewhere there is possibly 2,000,000 or more in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. It is charged that these parties, outside communist countries, are fifth columns for Moscow and centers of conspiracy and violence. Against this charge is the obvious fact that these parties

49-242

are composed of native citizens and not of Russians; that these citizens of France, Italy, the United States are presumably persons capable of thinking for themselves and not simply puppets of a foreign country; and, finally, it has become lately customary to accuse Communists and the Soviets for all opposition, all strikes, all violence which may happen among the underpaid workers of France, the starving peasants of Italy, the strikers of the United States, and anyone anywhere who is dissatisfied with local conditions.

That communist parties follow the main lines of argument and action dominant in the Soviet Union is as probable as that the rightest parties of most lands follow the line of investment, colonial control, and protection of private property prevalent in Great Britain and the United States. That Communist parties outside of Russia follow the Soviet "line" is natural; since the Soviet Union is the greatest experiment in socialism ever attempted; that a change in that line should be followed by corresponding change in foreign nations is conceivable. Who in the world did not change ideas and judgments when Russia and Germany made alliance, and then two years later made war? Was it proof of treason that the Communist Party in the United States reversed many of its policies in these years, or proof of common sense?

40-2-243

International exchange of ideas and policies; international action through parliamentary unions, health and sanitary programs and even socialist internationals have long been countenanced. If at any time anywhere these organizations transgress the laws of a country, they are justly liable to punishment of suppression. And any individual is always amenable to law. But hitherto in the civilized world, thought has ~~been~~ sought free; speech within reasonable limits has been free. It is monstrous for any civilized land to silence or jail people for what they believe, regardless of what they do. This is not democracy. It is tyranny.

After all, this is true, as the great Harold Laski said a few months

before his untimely death: "Without patience and understanding the stage is set for a third world war; and at its close there would be tyranny everywhere. If some critics say they do not desire accommodation with Communist Russia but would prefer to fight it out, my reply is simply that they are enemies of the human race. If they complain that accommodation means 'appeasement' and that we gained nothing from the appeasement of Hitler, there is, I think, a decisive reply. On the evidence, the supreme objective of Hitler was the domination of the world by the Nazi state, and to this end the German people were his first and hapless victims; above all, those Germans who were of Jewish birth or descent. Hitler sought, of set purpose, to drive a cultivated people into an ignorance which should be the parent of their permanent blind obedience. On the evidence, I believe no such charge can be made against Soviet Russia."

In illustration of what I have said and believe, may I end this book with a creed for the United States of America in the meridian of the Twentieth Century:

The American people want Peace. They want neither to conquer the world nor police it. They have no desire to meddle in other people's affairs, or censor their thought or control their industry. They want to spend the billions now wasting in war on human education and uplift for all men.

We ask the United Nations to remember that their main object and reason for being is Peace and to this end, we need wider cooperation, greater faith in each other, mutual disarmament and effort to achieve World Government with freedom, autonomy and abundance for all peoples.

We are threatened by no nation. There is no disagreement between us and the Soviet Union, which Force can settle, or which conference cannot resolve.

We are blood-guilty in first and unnecessarily using the frightful atom bomb to kill women and children; in refusing now to outlaw the weapon, save

44-3-244

on our own narrow terms; in curtailing its peacetime use, surrendering this use largely to monopoly; and in planning even more frightful weapons.

We believe in the self-determination of all peoples regardless of color, race, belief, or political philosophy. We congratulate China on achieving rule of the people and demand her recognition with refusal of further aid or recognition to Chiang Kai-shek and his kind.

Especially do we demand the abolition of the colonial system and freedom from its tentacles of all present peoples who suffer from control by foreign masters. We see in this system endless cause of war, poverty, ignorance and disease. We must not build high profit and high wage in Europe and the United States on poverty and starvation in Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and the beautiful, raped islands of the Seven Seas.

We demand that the Marshall Plan be confined to restoring the economy of the victims of war and not used for land monopoly, industrial investment, and thought control. We must buy as much as we sell and stop hoarding food in a starving world to maintain profits. We repudiate the Truman Doctrine wherever it supports oligarchy and reaction as in Greece, Indo-China, and Korea.

Not by might nor by power of far-flung armies, navies, and aircraft can we help the world, but by sacrifice and example; we gain little by boasting of a democracy which we do not practice, or of riches and comfort which at least a third of our population do not share. We are ruled today by corporate wealth; and blessed as we are in natural resources, never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many. Public welfare must replace private profit, and planned economy must bring order and justice out of the anarchy of Free Enterprise and Private Initiative. No pauper is free, no public service can be private, and the sick and ignorant cannot initiate enterprise.

We demand control of industry, public ownership of banking, transport

49-3-345

and communications, of mines and oil wells, of all government subsidized industry, and of all business which needs for proper functioning, police power and use of public property.

We demand limitation and such control of income, rents, profits, and prices as is necessary to insure a decent standard of living and to curb excessive personal wealth; and we ask a tax structure calculated to achieve these ends by stopping tax exemption for the greedy and decreasing the tax burden of the needy.

We demand immediate suppression of attempts at thought control by congressional committees, secret police methods as used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and witch-hunting by officials and the press. Communists, Catholics, and Pacifists have the same right to think, to vote, and to act within the law as other Americans; and injustice in the courts must not be used to punish freedom of belief and legal defense of accused persons.

We demand for every American citizen, no matter what his color, race, or belief, the right to vote and hold office; the right to live where other people live and on the same conditions; the right to work according to ability and income according to accomplishment; the right to move without segregation and to receive education and other public benefits without discrimination. This means fair employment legislation and laws against lynching and the poll tax.

The foundations of our democracy rest on free and equal elections. We should stop rewarding disfranchisement in sections like the South by giving 7,000 votes in South Carolina as much power as 70,000 in Michigan, and consequent committee chairmanships and rights to filibuster. Representation should be based on votes cast. Only in this way can the democratic weapon of the Third Party be able to oust corruption, connivance, and reaction.

We demand federal aid to education without segregation or discrimination by race, color, or belief, and we believe that education is the function

of the State and not of the Church.

We defend the right of working people to organize and bargain, whether in public or private employ, and resent the use of court injunctions to limit this right. We demand of labor unions freedom of admission to their ranks for competitive workers, of every race and color and of any shade of political opinion.

We call for increased government control of land ownership and use; for socialized medicine to protect the public health; for abolition of slums, and for publicly subsidized housing on a nation-wide scale; for unemployment relief, sickness and old age security on levels sufficient for decent life; for the protection and subsidization of workers in any essential industry like farming which has suffered from present organization of industry; we believe in the encouragement of all forms of self-help, like consumers cooperation.

We have come out of war a frightened, suspicious, money-made people, without Love, Faith, or Hope and with our charity married to profit. We must cease to make science the prisoner of Big Business, government the slave of the army, religion the leader of war, and education the plaything of propaganda.

And finally and above all, let us restore the freedom of our press and rescue it from monopoly and greed and make it again the purveyor of Truth and the Forum of Ideas.

Americans, Russians: In a third World War, whoever wins, will lose; what any nation gains, the world will pay for; world conquest through force, means the death of civilization for a thousand years.

49-2-294

LET liars fear, let cowards shrink,

Let traitors turn away,

Whatever we have dared to think

That dafe we also say

James Russell Lowell

842-2-44

RUSSIA AND AMERICA: AN INTERPRETATION

Incomplete draft manuscript

(2 Carbons)

THE APOLOGY

Three times during the last quarter century I have had glimpses of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For more than four-fifths of the last ~~century~~ hundred years I have lived in the United States of America. In 1926, for a month or more, I saw Moscow and the other chief cities of the Soviets from Leningrad to Kiev, and from Nijni Novgorod to Odessa. Ten years later in circling the earth I saw the Soviet Union from Moscow to Manchuria, over Omsk, Novosibirsk and Lake Baikal and thence to China and Japan. A third time in 1949, amid the twenty-eight marble pillars of the former Hall of Nobles in Moscow, I looked into the faces of a thousand Russians from every part of the vast nation, and joined them in a plea for peace. Then I said, I must write a book. I read the books of others. ~~I~~ wrote So this at last is the book I have written. And may men have mercy on my ~~soul~~ word.

W. E. B. Du Bois

New York

23 West 26th Street

On a day in June, 1950

35-4241

CHAPTER III

Sitting in Moscow on my arrival August 28, 1926, I was reading the New York Times; it said "Revoluti n has broken out in Cronstadt. Streets are flowing with blood!" I stared in astonishment, for the issue was dated the very day I had landed in Cronstadt. One can know who Cronstad looked when I landed by reading page . The dispatch was dated from Riga. That explained much. Riga had long been a nest of liars who poured fairy tales about Russia into the West. But how could the Times be misled into printing this story without confirmation? I went back in my own mind to what I had known abo t Russia since the Revolution and remembered that I was astonished to learn how long the war had lasted in Russia after the Armistice. Leaving Russia in October 1926, I tried after my return to America to collect and organize my knowledge. I read neglected books and reports. The result was amazing. I presume in all our knowledge something like this takes place: save in some narrow file we know events and situations vaguely, from newspapers, magazines or a book or so. But soon we are making judgments and coming to conclusions not on a basis of carefully garnered knowledge, but on flimsy generalizations influenced tremendously by current public opinion. Thus we tend to learn our history backwards.

42-18-61

I had known that Czarist Russia naturally resisted the revolution. But of the extent of that counter-revolution and of the active help in manpower, supplied and arms; supplied by the civilized world; of the spying and intrigue from all Europe which had accompanied and inspired this war of reaction, I had but the vaguest information. Indeed I did not learn the whole story until Sayers and Kahn published their "Great Conspiracy" in 1946.

What happened in Russia during the 20th century? This vast land, one-sicth of the golobe stood at the threshhold of the new century a miserable

travesty of government and culture. Long revolutionary revolt had shaken the land from Pugachov's rebillion in the 18th century to the Decembrists of 1825, the Nihilism of 1860 and the Narodinks of 1870. Now it was jolted to new life by the industrialasition of Russia in the late 19th century with French, Belgian and British capital. On the right stood the nobility and high clergy; in the middle were the bourgeoisie and at the left were the Social Democrats. Left of the Left came the Marxists, led by Lenin.

42-18-62

Three men led the Russian Revolution: Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, known as Nikolay Lenin, 1870 -1924, a social scientist, planned it. He was son of a school inspector and of the daughter of a small landowner, and was born in Simbirsk now Ulyanovsk east Central Russia. Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili, Known as Joseph Stalin, 1879---carried Lenin's palns into execution. He was the son of a shoemaker and grandson of a Georgian slave and knew the workers of the Russian Caucasus had their problems, because he was one of them.

Lev Davidovich Bronstein, known as Leon Trotsky, 1879-1940, was the brilliant idealist and egotist of revolution who inspired and betrayed Russia. He was born of well-to-do Jews, about a hundred miles from Odessa.

There were many other gifted leaders, like Kamenev, Bukharin and Zinoviev, but these were the outstanding leaders. Lenin was the man of wide reading and sound learning, who took the Marxian theory of socialism and by long scientific experimentation of trial and error adapted it to living and working human be ngs. Stalin was the slow, cautious but keen executive, not highly trained in theory but a man who knew the common laboring masses of many races, religions and classes; who took the theory of his leader, Lenin and translated it into reality, with grim steadfastness, self-effacing sacrifice and unswerving determination.

Trotsky was the brilliant propagandist, the dreamer of dreams; both patriot and demagogue, who in the stress of battle and the trial of endurance could not distinguish between his own ambition and the sacrifice demanded by principle. He organized the Red army and then nearly sold his fatherland to Germany and betrayed his fellowsworkers to world capitalism.

42-18-63

Lenin the leader, and one of the greatest men of this century was, as I have said, a social scientist; that is a man who believed that the actions of human beings were subject to natural law and that this law could be discovered and stated and its action measured. Others like Comte had forecaste a Cociology to develope along with Physics and Biology, but practical reformers and religion balked. A real science of human action would impinge on Freedom of the Will; it would contradict moral responsibility and acts of God; it was "materialistic."

But Lenin was not the sort of modern Sociologist, who boasted of his science, but did nothing to discover its laws. What laws govern human action, Lenin did not know nor pretend to know. But following Karl Marx he saw the rhythm of history and determined to plan human life in accord with known knowledge and on such scientific hypotheses as he found would work. He stood ready and eager to revise and restate in the light of experience any hypothesis or theory he might hold. He therefore studied not only the written world of history and economics, but the actual deeds of living men. He knew the lives of the mass of human beings; he admitted that much men did seemed entirely spontaneous, unconditioned and a matter of chance. But he was determined at least to measure the limits of this Chance and, beyond those limits, if limits there were, to plan the actual life of Man. It was this pragmatic approach to human action, either in government or revolution, that set Lenin apart from and above his followers and contemporaries and explained his life.

42-18-64

While a student he became suspect and between his 23rd and 30th year spent 5 years in exile in Siberia. Afterward he went to Western Europe to study and help organize a Russian Socialist Party. Real revolution was planned by Lenin in the All-Russian Congress of Social Democrats in Brussels and London in the Summer of 1903. Here Lenin tried to form a close knit organization to direct revolution. The attampt resulted in division into Mensheviki and Bolsheviki the right and left of the revolution--the idea of liberal labor, led by the intelligentsia; and that of close-knit core of organized leaders. Lenin was overborne and spent two years in Switzerland, returning to Russian late in 1905.

Meantime far in the East the man afterward called Stalin, grandson of a slave serf, was working among the laborers of Baku. Afterward the British trade unionists described how those workers lived.

"During the investigation of the oil fields of Baku we were amazed and disgusted with the conditions of housing the workers whoih had formerly existed under private control. The living places were not huts; to attempt to dignify them with the name of houses would be wrong, and the nearest description we can give is the out-houses one finds in the worst slum areas at home. Long rows of dimly lighted buildings, one story high, with small windeos and ~~ewn~~-built doorways, and in some cases no flooring but the earth. In these hovels hordes of people of various nationalities had been housed under such conditions that would subject the owner of cattle in our own country to prosecution for cruelty if he kept his animals in a similar state. We have no hesitation in saying that these conditions of housing the people were the vilest and worst we have seen in Russia or in any p rts of the world known to any of the Delegation. When we remembe ed that the output of oil from this district can be counted in hundreds of millions of poods and that

mil ionaires have been created in abundance from these oil fields, our indignation and disgust at the treatment of the workers was unlimited."

42-18-65

Stalin was inconspicuous, cautious and taciturn. He was expelled from the theological seminar which he had entered, and found work as a clerk. He became a socialist leader among the oil laborers of the Caucasus, inspired demonstrations and strikes, wrote leaflets and contributed to socialist papers. He was not quick nor brilliant; he was more than that--slow and tireless. He saw the oppression of Poles, Finns, Jes, Georgians, and religious sects. He followed the plans of Lenin as technical executive not mere propagandist, working down on the gathering of hard facts. He sought methods of action to implement revolution. By 1901, at the age of 22 he was organising the workers in the oil works owned by the Rothchild interests, and was arrested and spent three years in prison.

Stalin escaped from Siberia in the turmoil marking the opening of the Russo-Japanese war and went back to the Caucasus, where he helped in the oil workers strike of December 1904, which anticipated the Petersburg Revolt of 1905 and resulted in the first collective agreement between workers and employers ever signed in Russia. The Czarists let the Black Hundred loose on Socialists and Jews and soon had the Caucasus writhing in interracial feuds. Here Stalin learned his great and never to be forgotten lesson of the dangers of race hate, which stood him in good stead during the years when he was Commissar of Nationalities. Stalin wrote vigorously against the Czar and took the side of the Bolsheviks until his work came to the attention of Lenin. The two met in Finland in 1905. As the revolution began to fail, funds were lacking. These were furnished by the planning of Stalin who organized raids on public funds in the Caucasus which netted large sums. Over a thousand acts of terrorism were committed in 1905-6.

When Stalin met Lenin for the first time he was surprised to see this great man so small of stature and so modest.

The third member of the revolutionary triumverate, Leon Trotsky arose with the abortive Revolution of 1905. The crasy government of the Czar was riding to its doom. In 1904 it went to war with Japan and was on the way to defeat before the end of the year. Distress spread among the workers of Russia and in 1905, the workers of St. Petersburg, unarmed, led by a priest and carrying ikons marched to the Winter Palace of the Czar with an humble petition. The guards shot them down in cold blood. Angry revolt flamed; it was not planned revolut on, but sudden angry reaction: strikes spread; from Petersburg and Moscow to the whole country; a Grand Duke was assassinated; a battle ship mutinied and workers organizations, called Soviets began to spread. Railways stopped running.

42-18-66

The Petersburg Soviet became the spectacular center of the revolution and elected Leon Trotsky as its president. Trotsky had tried writing books and plays, and at 18 was sent to Siberia for leftist activity. He escaped in 1902 and went abroad, attending the London Conference in 1903 where he sided with the opponents of Lenin. When the Japansse defeated Russia he hurried back to Petersburg and led the Petersburg revolt. He was in his element; brilliant, fiery and daring he roused the workers to wild enthusiasm. They voted to pay no taxes to the government and the revolt reached its climax in an armed uprising in Moscow in June 1907.

Meantime the Czar wavered, granted civil liberties and a duma in 1905, arrested Trotsky in the same year; called and dissolved a second dx duma in 1907 and then put down the Moscow in a flood of blood. Lenin hurried back to this "general rehearsal."

But the attempted revolution failed and Lenin met Stalin for the first

time. He returned to Geneva in December, 1907, prepared to wait 20 years, "unless Czardom is shaken by a major war." Meantime reaction in Russia triumphed ---all four of the Dumas were dismissed by the Czar and most of the Socialist deputies sent to Siberia.

The following years Lenin described as the years of education for the wroking group. They learned not only to attack but to retreat. By 1912 the revolutionary forces began to revive, although Stalin was again sent to Siberia in 1913 (he spent 7 years there, 1907-17) and there heard of the outbreak of the First World War. But Trutsky fled to Vienna, Western Europe and finally to New York. He preached against Lenin and his ideas, but in 1917 returned to Russia and dramatically joined Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

42-18-67

Czarist Russia entered the First World War as a method of stopping revolution, but it succeeded in revealing the utter incompetency of the government. By 1916 the nation was prostrate and the Czar abdicated in 1917. After a vain attempt of the provisional government to rule, the Revolution of October, 1917, put the power in the hands of Lenin.

What happened? The Bolsheviks, now become the Communist Party seized power and established order and made peace with Germany at the cost of much territory, but at the insistence of Lenin who knew there was no alternative. Then in 1918, Banks, insurance, mines and railways were nationalised; foreign debts repudiated, foreign investments confiscated and foreign trade made a state monoploy. Immediately the World attacked Russia, cooperiating with all the elements of reaction in the nation and the emigrants residing aborad.

Western Europe had transfe red to Russia as investment before 1905, certainly 10 billions, perhaps 20 billons of dollars worth of machinery, goods and technical services. It had in turn received back in processed

goods, food and materials and labor of all sorts, probably more than the orignial investment. It is undortunately impoßßible to know these facts accurately and with confidence, because the matter of investment and ownership of property is legally and by custom so largely concealed and secret. The figures above seem not far from true.

42-1B-68

When the czarist regime was overthrown, they feared to lose all of their rights of property and joined the Russian reactions to put down the Revo ution. But the Bolsheviks in various ways offered compromise. They were willing to re pay invested capital and loans at least in part, but unwilling to continue the system intact and guarantee future ownership and rate of profit.

Thereupon the West from 1917 to 1922 spent $1000 billions in war to suppress the Revolution. They financed armies, munitions, spies and brigands, besides actually invading Rus ia with 25,000 of their own troops and 70,000 Japanese; they and their Russian allies killed seven million Russian people and inflicted on them damage amounting to sixty billions of dollars. Whatever plans the Russians had to build a new sort of economic world was held back for ten years. This story does not make sense. Indeed it is guage of our modern inability or unwillingness to reason.

Consider what happened in those fatal years, from 1917 to 1926. The Petrograd garrison revolted, the Kornilov putsch backed by Britain failed and Kerensky fled. France and Britain made treaty to dismember Russia. During the nest two years 14 nations invaded Russia led by Yudenitsch in the North, Denikin in the South, Kolschak in the East and Pilsudsky from Poland. As price for peace the Germand demanced Finland, the Ukraine, Poland and the Caucasus together with idemnity. Lenin frantically appealed to Britain and the United States, but got no answer. Finally he accepted the treaty while we called the Russians "Butchers, assassins, madmen, scum,

42-18-69

beasts!" The Russian-born British spy Reilly, began his career in 1918 which lasts u til his death in 1925. Rebellious Czech soldiers are enlisted by the Allies against Russia and raid along the Trans-Siberian railroad. In 1918, Kolchak proclaims himself "Supreme ruler of Russia", supported by the United States, France and Britain. He rages with murder and cruelty even as the Armistice is signed ending war in the West. But the Russian Bear at bay roped and bloody, turns and sinks in its claws. In a year Kolchak, loaded with a billion rubles in loot is in full flight; but Denikin and Wrangel attack from the East and capture Stalingrad and rush to a point only 120 miles of Moscow. The world press sees the Bolsheviks wiped out. So UYudenich simultaneously attacks Petrograd.. Three months later Denikin driven back desserts his army to flee on a French warship, protected by the shells of the British fleet. In the extreme North, 18,000 British troops, 5000 Americans, 1800 French, 1200 Italians, 1000 Serbs and 20,000 white Russians quarrel, parade and mutiny. When the Americans hesitated to mutiny, the British jeered "The Yanks are running, the Yanks are running everywhere."

The Torgprom, Russian nobles and European millionaires, including the founder of the Nobel prises and rich exploiters from all the world met in 1920, to stem the tide and systematically finance and guide the re-conquest of Russia, but the Russians conquer Wrangel, shoot Kolchak and drive Yudenich to Paris. The Poles with $50 million loaned by the United States and war supplies from the French and British join the attack, are driven back to Warsaw, but with new help of the Allies rally and take Western White Russia and the Ukraine from the Russians by the Peace of Riga. The Allies are encouraged, and the Japanese come to the rescue with an army in the Far East. Ungern-Sternberg, a medieaval despot leads a war of rape, murder and robbery; but by September his army has fled to China and he has been shot.

The Japanese withdrew.

"The Russian Revolution, after revolving to the left with great rapidity, reached its noon-tide in the War Communism of 1920, and since then has been returning by the right through a series of very complicated compromises. Of these compromises, one of the most interesting, and possibly the most instructive for other States of federal structure, is the combination of nationalism, and internationalism, of central authority and local autonomy, achieved in the Union constitution." (British Trade Union Report, 1925)

All this was made possible by the new Red Army, which the fiery Trotsky inspired and led, if he was not the actual creator of the invincible force which saved Russia. It is possible at the time Trotsky's personality and showmanship was even more valuable than military genius. By 1920, Russia was saved and her power consolidated. Within she was federalized into a Union of Soviet Republics; without the white armies were throughly beaten.

42-18-70

But the World Revolution did not materialize. Even Lenin had doubted if a single agricultural state could stand alone in an industrial world: and Trotsky had insisted that the Russian Revolution was only prelude to European uprising. Only Stalin, slowly but with ear to ground came to believe that Russia not only could but must prepare long to stand alone in a capitalist world.

The revolutionary Russain state, writhing like a wounded animal, with apparently no friend in a world which had long asked for economic reform and social freedom, tried compromise and concession. But by 1920, there were settled in the west over two million Russians, representing largely its former wealth and culture, with entree to the best and most powerful social, political and financial circles of Poland, Germany, France and England.

Thye led a world-wide opposition to the Revolution; an opposition all the more powerful and pursuasive because it was based on real suffering and the sincere conviction that this blasphemous revolt against divine right was something so inherently hideous as to merit any kind of suppression. But now came a new enemy, famine, due to disorganization, drought and peasant revolt. It was a dark period, but Lenin's resourcefulness, came forward with the New Economic Policy in order to furnish necessary consumers goods. Trotsky called it surrender. But Lenin said it was onetatep backward in order to take two forward.

Lenin senses the international plot against this new experiment in the kind of socialistic state which the wiser world had dreamed and talked about for centuries but never attempted to realise on a really national scale. He tried to compromise with the economic imperialism of Western Europe and America. He never offered surrender of his fundamental aims as many of his collegues were willing to; but his New Economic Po icy of 1920, permitted restricted capitalism and foreign investment and some recognition of pre-war financial obligations.

12-18-71

The New Economic Policy did denationalise the conduct but not the control of industry. The nationalisation of industry had been, in f ct, much less complete than is generally assumed. "Workers' control," established November 14, 1917, was followed by confiscation of certain enterprises; but it was not until Ju e, 1918, that the large industries were nationalised. Small industries were still only dealt with specifically and sporadically. Communities where in 1920 enterprises employing more than five workers with machinery, or ten withour, were nationalised, and private property in small industry was legally abolished. This latest development was never generally realised, and was reversed by the New Economic Policy.

The New Economic Policy restored not only the fu damental right of private enterprise, but also re-erected on it's superstructure such as Trusts, Syndicates, and Banks. These were reproduced in Russia as State organizations operation on a self-gov rning and self-supporting basis. In orther words, Big Business and High Finance in Russia were both under direct Government Control, Composition with dominant capitalism and gradual socialization of wealth and industry the world over, with peace and reason was here possible. But the West was set on crushing the Revolution and not compromising with its aims. It began a campaign of secret conspiracy, with spying, bribery and incitement to inner revolt which seethed for 20 years and was finally curbed but not even then stopped, by the Great Depression and the Second World War.

42-113-72

The real and powerful anti-Russian opposition center was the Paris Torg-prom with unlimited funds, military advice from the chief staffs of Europe and advice of statesmen and conspirators of the first order. Centers for the training of former czarists officers and soldiers were established and financed in five European centers. In June, 1921, an international Anti-Soviet Conference was called in Germany, with Alfred Rosenberg of later Nazi fame in attendance. By 1923, the general staffs of Europe had laid down and approved plans for general European attack on Russia.

Meantime carefully organized spying on the Russian conditions with covert encouragement and organizing of internal revolt had begun. A brilliant British subject of Russian birth began work in 1918 and continued until 1935. He had helped organise the Torgprom and had not only become rich but counted men like Winston Churchill among his friends. He hated Russian Revolution with perfect hatred and worshiped the menory of Napoleon. He had tried unsecuccessfully to organise revolt in Russia in 1918, and then returned to London and Paris. He thought he saw his opportunity in 1923, and with his friend, Winston Churchill, tried to interest Lloyd George,

British premier. but Ll yd-George thought Russia already on its last lgs

Russia now begins to try diplomacy: she signs the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany for twenty years of peace; but by 1920 meantime 2 million of white Russians have migrated to Western Europe--to Germany, France and Poland, and were becoming nuclei around which the international plot against the Russian revolution was organizing.

Leon Trotsky was a brillaint Marxist, believeing in world revolution, following the Menscheviks and then joining the Bolsheviks and organizing the Red Army. But he was more than this and less. He was an egotistical poseur determined to rule or ruin. He led left opposition against Lenin and when in the fateful year of 1920, Lenin retreated from complete socialism to the "New Economic Policy" of allowing restricted capitalism, Trotsky jeered at him. But Lenin stood firm and Stalin was elected Secretary of the Communist Party and Trotsky's popularity began to wane. The Trotsky opposition with Radek, Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Tukhachevsky now went underground and by 1923 was a secret conspiracy with codes, ciphers and printing presses. They made contact in Germany and beginning this year and lasting until 1930, Trotsky received 250,000 gold marks annually from the commander of the German Reichswehr to finance treason. Then to cap the climax, Lenin died January 2[illegible], 1924.

42-18-73

Before the Communist Party Congress of May, 1924, Trotsky demanded to be elected Lenin's successor. But the 748 dleegates of the Congress voted unaminously for Josef Stalin. Trotsky then organized all the malcontents and planned a secret army. Meantime the Torgprom in Paris was at work. Centers for training Czarist officers and soldiers were established in five or more European countires. An International Anti-Soviet Conference met in Bavaria in June 1921, with delegates from all over Europe, among them Alfred Rosenberg, of later Nazi fame. By 1923, the General Hoffman plan for

European military attack on Russia was matured and approved in principle by the General Staffs of Europe.

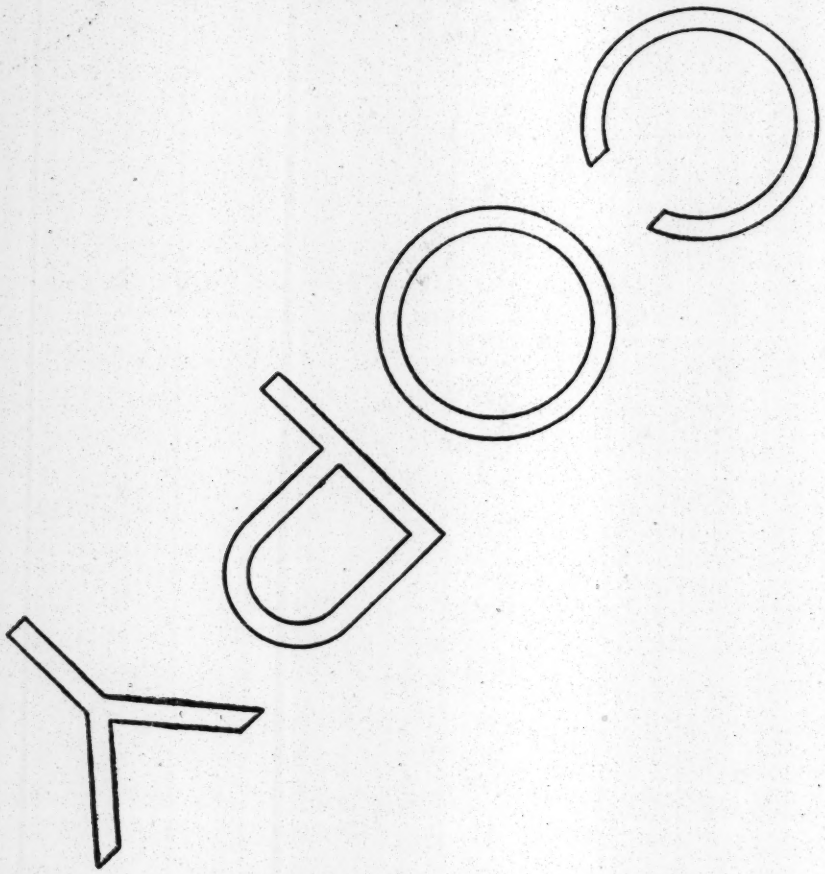
Then a British Intelligence agent, Sidney Reilly, who had been spying in Russia for Britain since 1918, becomes active again. He and Winston Churchill try to interest Lloyd-George in using the services of a Russian assassin revolutionary and Menshevik, Savinkov. Bu Lloyd-George thought Russia already on its last legs; "the worst is over." But Reilly encouraged by the death of Lenin sought to interest Europe in making Savinkov, "Dictator of Russia". He enlisted the cooperation of Sir Henry Deterding the oil king who had been buying up claims to Russian oil deposits. Reilly's plan changed Hoffman's to counter-revolution within Russia, helped by armed invasion. France and Britain were interested and Mussolini summoned Savinkov for an interview. Meantime in Russia, Trotsky and Kamenev in June 1924, had invited Savinkov to return to Russia. Soon with an Italian pas port Savinkov entered Russia to head an prising in the Caucasus, August 28, 1924 instigated by British oil interests. But August 29, the Soviets captured Savinkov and the uprising collapsed. Savinkov confessed and implicated Winston Chruchill. He was sent to prison and committed suicide in 1925.

42-18-74

Reilly was welcomed to the United States in the Fall of 1924 where he helped stop the proposed Soviet loan and met Henry Ford. Ford had already met Brasol, a White Russian who supplied him with the spurious "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" and started his Anti-Semitic crusade. Reilly cooperated with the Anti-Semites and Anti-Bolsheviks. He left the United States hurriedly in August 1925 to join in the conspiracy led by Trotsky in Russia. A meeting was planned in Finalnd and on September 28, Reilly and his confederates crossed into Russia. The Soviet authorities caught them and shot Reilly.

Britain had agreed to receive a Soviet ambassador on learning that he was conspiring with Trotsky. Trotsky went to Germany in 1925, after Reillys' death, ostensibly because of illness but in reality to confer with German leaders and plan for more systematic exchange of information. Returning to Russia he intensified his struggle with the government, but a referendum by the party, resulted in a vote of 740,000 to 4000 against Trotsky.

42-18-25



CHAPTER IV

BLIND STAGGERS

What amazed and uplifted me was to see a nation stoutly facing a problem which most other modern nations did not dare even to admit was problematic. Taking inspiration directly out of the mouths and dreams of the world's savants and prophets, who had inveighed against modern industrial methods; against the co-existence of progress and pvoerty; against slums and disease; this new Russia led by Lenin and inspired by Marx proposed to build a socialist state with production for use and not for privateprofit; with ownership of capital goods by the state and state control of public services including education and health. It was enough for me to see this might attempt even made. It might fail I knew, but its attempt seemed to me social progress and neither folishmess nor crime.

Russia became handicapped by 95% of illiteracy among her peasants and nearly as much among her working classes; by a religion led by a venial and largely immoral priesthood, dealing in superstition and deception, and rich with the land and loot of grovellingfollowers. Most of her industrial capital was owned by foreigners whose only interest was the 50 or 75% which they reaped from merciless exploitation. Her government had long been shot through with dishonesty and graft under dissolute nobles and fawning lackeys. Her punishment of crime and independent thought had long affronted the civilized world. Yet the best people of Europe and America seldom raised a finger of protest but fawned on Russian royalty and aristocracy, receiving them with open arms and loud sympathy when they were repudiated.

Now after this first glimpse of Russia I traveled home. I had made a great pilgrimage; the sort of journey of which one dreams. I had seen the Scheldt at Antwerp and the paintings of Rubens; I had seen the towers of Cologne, the Rhine and the Lorelei; I walked by the Rathhaus of Frankfort

and through the ThuringiaWald to the Wartburg of Luther; through Berlin and the Thiergarten. I had gone to the Baltic Sea, the Nevsky Prospeck and the Winter Palace; for the Red Flag had waved above the Kremlin, the slow boats had moved down the Volga and the Great Fair had opened at Nijni Vovgorod; down the Dnieper I had found the Black Sea. Thence slowly I saw in retrospect the Glory that was Greece and the Grandeur that was Rome--Constantinople, the Hellespont, Asia and the Parthenon; Corinth, Brindisi and Tarentum and the Bay of Naples with Vesuvius and Capri; then the Meditteraneum, Gibraltar, the Azores and the Statue of Liberty. Now I turned backward toward home Going I saw glimpses of the Glory that was Greece and the Grandeur that was Rome: the foundations of that European culture into which I was born--Foundations now in semi-ruin , to Talong the Bosphorus, villas of tarnished splendor and semi-tropical trees appear; they cluster and climb the hills to white and brown walled terraces. There comes a narrow passwith mighty towers and crenelated. The strait opens its beautiful arms and in the evening sun burst the domes and minerats of the city, Constantinople.

42-18-40

The city [redacted] and shines with six immense vast domes and sixteen minerets house on houses pile like fortress walls rise on the right and on the left Asia. I have never seen a city like Constantinople. It is magnificent and terrible. It is a microcosm of human life writing all its startling beauty and repulsive cruelty. The great sweep of its domes bulging toward Heaven, its hills, its rivers and seas, its crowded harbor and more crowded streets all give to its 2500 years of history a vividness and measuring which gatherings of men in millions possess.

I qualed before the city. I could get no idea of it. Its infinite winding streets were baffling. It was a great and unknown giant. Then I

went down to the Golden Horne and the teeming streets of Stambul and putting my shoes from my feet stood beneath the dome of Holy Wisdom. One hundred feet wide great curve sweeps above the immensity of the church and looms 170 feet above the soft carpeted floor. It is a singular and mighty thing--40 windows light it and the dome itself rests on four tremeddous archs. There are four vast pillows and arcades forming perhaps the most wonderful single building in the world. For 15 centuries this thing has risen, trembled, swayed and groaned and the golden light of its old and holy beauty. It is right for men in bared feet with out-streatched hands and moving mouths to touch their foreheads in its dust.

42-18-41

Other things I saw--a palace and guards of the Sultans', and the great bazaar, the square that was the Coloseum of Extrimus Sevens--and one wide look over all the burning beauty of Stamboul and Persia and Galatea to Scutari and the wild rocks of the Prinpipa of Wilson and Trotsky; the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, the Propontis and away in the distance the shadow of the Hellespont. But all day the great golden aisle of Saint Wisdom screamed in my soul. I saw the Scarcophagous of Alexander the Great, and beyond Scutari where skilled slaves of European capital toil cheaply in quiet. Beyond them a city of the sleeping dead, high above the Golden Horn, beneath ancient cypresses. Yonder the 10,000 Greeks came to barter.

We passed through the Hellespont in starlight, the water dark silver, the sky a deepened blue, the land black and heavy; high Europe and wide Asia and across the cortege flew Hero and Leander, Xerxes and Mohammed, Lord Byron, the Turkish host and armies of Russia, England and France. Above us hung the ruins of Abydus.

42-18-42

Then came the night. The Bear, the Pleiades and the Milky Way shone joyously and lingeringly the day arose again on the Isle of Greece. Achilles and Patroclus lie in long last sleep. How well I remember stumbling through the mighty lines of Homer:

Menin aeide thea
Peleiado Achillaos!

Yonder hidden to the left sleeps Troy. Beyond is Olympus, garlanded with snow Lemnos comes on the right hiding Samothran and on the right too we leave Gallifole where 10,000 British boys were murdered in 1915; for nothing; murdered and died and stank by the blunder of Winston Churchill. Lesbos and Chios lie far on the left.

All this by faith I see beyond the old Aegean; but real in soft morning light looms golden Euboea and Andros. We are amid the Cyclades--but empty, empty, barren and dead to all the sweet song, the myriad tongues, the plying boats, the teeming trade of the past ---dead and why?

No land that lived and breathed like Greece and Lesser Asia need to die; but any nation that sins against the Holy Ghost must die if truth lives. We tread the Cyclades, pass Chios and before us lies Greece. Bare but beautiful rise the blighted hills and mountains of Attica in the morning sun. We swept toward Salamus and the Peireus to see the pale and deathless Parthenon peering through; to see the rose colored columns of the Temple of Jupiter and the Acropolis. It was all pitiful and forlorn in its torn and raped beauty; baked and burned and yet eternal in the perfection of the dream that built it. The theme was simple, and quiet in its restraint, yet bold in the grandeur which conceived it, on a hill amid mountains, with backdrop of seas and all about memories of Thebes and Thermopylea, Eleusis and Hymettus. The marble palace where Demosthenes talked stands rough like Paul; the Dyonysian theatre crouched low to listen to Aischylus, Euripedes and Sophocles.

Athens was a dead wraith of white dust, hot and sweltering; and through it poured refugees from war and Turkey. Tall black mountains grimly escorted us through the canal and into the Gulf of Corinth; by the heaped mass of the Peloponessus, with Platea and Mycene and other mighty names all about us. The night bell tolled for Ithaca and with morning, came Italy.

It had been 33 years since I had seen this land; again I glimpsed beautiful faces and white towns as we sped by Brindisi, saw sea and Appenines and came to the Bay of Naples. Vesuvius wore the wreath of smoke but gone was the gayety and lazy laughter of Santa Lucia. I was whisked to a fashionable suburb and tucked into a "Grnad" hotel at fabulous rates. The trains were "running on time" and the beefsteak was English; but in the little day I stayed I searched in vain for the old, care-fre, dirty, jolly Naples; in its place the world was marching in uniform: officers strutting, soldiers quick-stepping, even boys parading. The Farnese Hercules was still there and the room of Titians; Vesuvius burned with its eternal fires. I saw Capri hiding beneath a broken-backed rock; in the rock is a hole; in the hole the sea blazes blue; writhes and seethes and blazes blue.

42-IB-43

And now it is done. The blue sun set is dropping towa d a sea of molten lead. Capri rises black and cloudy sharply limned against the Sorento green and gold shines with the soft sheen of evening. A sullen rock with a cross which was not meant. Castles old and high, perch on its edge of heaven; ships with silver sails go reverently home.

"O I have sighed to rest me." sings the orchestra. The breath of Vesuvisus spreads rose colored above the purple bulk of the long low mountain and then it slips up into grey, pink and golden clouds and wraps the skies in veils and scarfs and mists. And the sun changing is orange burnt and sudden in the sky. Vesuvisus is solemn and its waving veil sinister

until it strikes high Heaven and the sun. Now Capri fades and Sorento is hard and sharp against the sky. The Bay of Naples fades and dies then lives in a long string of tapaz lights which run in a great circle from Pazzule to where Pompei was.

What was wrong with Greece and Rome that they died and fell? Here modern science on which we stand today was born; here beauty found rare expression which still sets ideals today; Yet Greece is bare, eroded, ruined and poverty-stricken and diseased; Italy is crime cursed, sick and wretchedly poor. War piled on war explains much but not all. I wonder if when Aristotle built his republic on slavery, if he did not start the contradiction which Europe has never escaped; so that the Victory of Samothrace and the Moses of Michelangelo gave birth logically to black slavery in American and the Industrial Revolution in Northern Europe? And perhaps today Russia had at least to try to replace beneath a new conception of culture, a foundation of mass participation in civilization, which Greece never conceived, Rome thought impossible and Europe and America dreamed of but seldom tried to realize?

42-1B-44

As I range forward in space and backward in history, through the mad ruin of this grandeur and bleak desolation of breath-taking beauty; as I foresee in France and England, New England and California this same awful metamorphesis, my mind struggles to unrav l the reason beneath and the cure above. Here among these islands and seas, from Asia, Africa and Europe, was laid foundations for the world culture into which I was born. Why then is Greece today a squalid waste? Why is the Roman Empire a center of poverty, disease, ignorance and crime?

We got Science and Art from these beginnings; some unsurpassable heights of culture were reached, which built upon and not wasted, might still guide and enrich us. Here Faith in man and his destiny hurled great monuments to heaven and bore honest, keen, self-sacrificing servants of the common good? What happened? I see Faith which is pragmatic hypothesis going blindly and bravely and all unselfishly ahead and Science which is knowledge reaching the rough and guiding hand, until impatient Faith breaks away and lurches forward to doom, war and hate. I wonder if Aristotle in his logical building of his city on a substratum of slaves and barbarians did not make the initial mistake which formed the morass into which the world floundered, and which made Romae a slave empire, and forced the Renaissance to give birth to slavery in the New World? Out of this conception of a slave-supported society, we must emerge. The United States had opportunity but refused it in the Reconsturction after bloody civil war. Perhaps Russia is groping for the way out; for a civilization that will not die of its own contradictions.

42-IB-45

How could I best pause to see this, and now to write it, hurrying as I was through a world staggering blindly between two wars that in ferocity and sheer human depravity spelled one of the Ends of Time? But precisely for all these reasons I must see the world, as I turn home between the daring experiment of Russia and the Western World where modern freedom was born. Through the fading fires of Greece and Rome I came back to reinterpret to myself my native land.

At Naples I boarded the magnificent liner of the Italian Line, built for the luxury trade of rich America. Although I had ordered a second cabin passage, the polite management had reserved a single first class

cabin on the theory that no American was too poor to afford that, even though black. It left me practically bankrupt with the baffling problem of sufficient dress shirts. But one martyrdom I was spared. Indeed I supposed that in half the cases where all my life I have expected discrimination, I have been disappointed, it has not happened. This made it however not sweeter in the other half, where it dropped relentlessly with silent and bitter insult and cruelty. In this case a Harvard man (of all folk!) and his family made my trip most enjoyable; and the boat was a dream of luxury and taste, here on the eve of world disaster.

42-18-46

I returned to America late in 1926. Normalcy and Harding, the president in whose Negro descent I firmly believed, was dead. In his place reigned the colorless Cooledge, man of my own thrifty New England, who knew as much about the world as any narrow, untravelled and unread provincial. He and his powerful industrial backers had beaten La Follette, honest but hesitant hope of the Liberals, in 1924; and now Cooledge was set to collect foreign debts and raise the tarif to unheard heights so as to make payment of the debts impossible; to beat down the prices of farm produce, steal government oil at Tea-Pot dome and chase the murderous liquor gangs to jail for failure to pay income taxes. War was merrily "outlawed" by the Pact of Paris in 1927.

The country was literally seething with prosperity. Wall Street gambling was reaching new heights of audacity and all the old stick-in-the-mud rules of investment were being broken. Stocks yielding six per cent were selling on a ten per cent basis because of the golden age was a-coming with America in the saddle. But my little business, the Crisis Magazine, which was paid for by low-wage black workers was losing ground.

Its subscribers were out of work. Perversely I was concluding that the fault lay in me; I was not satisfying my readers.

What was happening in the world? The United States was blissfully unaware that anything was wrong that could not be cured by quick return to 19th century methods of government and industry. What could happen to a great, rich unconquerable land like ours? Coolidge did not "choose" to run and no one chose to have him. We proceeded to elect a new President on the incidential question of whether a Catholic could sit in the White House and also as to whether Negroes had any political rights. The Negro vote was completely ignored that the leaders of the race complained bitterely to deaf ears.

42-18-47

Herbert Hoover was elected president and Hoover looked like just the type of business man to restore and re-build industry after what all Americans believed to be the last war which modern civilization would permit to intertupt trade. Herbert Hoover had made money as an engineer out of the cheap labor of China, Mexico, Australia, India, And South Africa. Early in the new century he had invested heavily in eleven Russian oil concessions and in companies to exploit timber and minerals in the Urals. He shrewdly sold out heaver before 1917, when these various concessions were confiscated by the Bolsheviks. Naturally he became a bitter enemy of Bolshevism which he said was "worse than war." When he became United States Food Administrator in 1917 to 1919 he distributed nearly all of the hundred millions which he handled among the armies and peoples who were fighting the Russian revolution. Later as Secretary of Commerce 1921 -28, he was a well-known enemy of Russia.

With Hoover as President there was no hope of the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States. But no sooner was he seated in the

White House, than suddenly in 1929, the industrial organization of the United States crashed in unprecedented ruin.

I had by this time decided that my work as editor of the Crisis was no longer demanded. Quite unconsciously I had absorbed from my day the fashion of guaging usefullness and need by profit. If an enterprise was profitable, or an undertaking was paid for by the consuming public, that proved its worth automatically. If and when it did not pay, it was not needed. Such reasoning was idiotic as I soon came to realize; but also I realized that when my own effort could no longer make this periodical pay, then those who there-after helped support it, had the right to determine its policies. This latter fact hastened my change of work. I was sure that the propaganda era of my life was at an end and that now at the end of my life--I was then 61--I was justified in retiring from public agitation and devoting myself again to social investigation and pure literature. The urge to do this was all the stronger because opportunity offered to work with a friend; to wark at the center of the Negro Problems in the state of Georgia; and to be paid a modest salary of $4500 which was sufficient for my needs. I prepared to leave New York and the NAACP, and the deepening gravity of the Crisis hastened my going; so that in 1934, I was at Atlanta University.

42-13-48

Naturally my interest in Russia kept up however and I was increasingly disturbed by the news in the press. I did not, however, place reliance on the American Press, as I had formerly. For instance the reports of famine and trouble with the peasants did not alarm me. I expected no miracles in Russia. I knew that she had but embarked upon a momentous and revolutionary social program and that from its inherent difficulties and those deliberately placed in its path by the Western world, she was bound to

have a difficult path. Moreover from our custom of glorifying war; stoping with "victory" and then utterly ignoring the frightful recovery from murder and destruction and maiming in limb and morals--I knew that few persons criticising Russia had an idea of her utter prostration from ten awful years of foreign and civil strife.

"Then there were the terrible famine years of 1921-1922, which produced a positive migration of the peoples amongst the utterly destitute population; whole families, all the inhabitants of a settlement, were forced to leave their homes and go elsewhere in search of a crust of bread... What followed--the period of the NEP, the New Economic Policy---confused people's ideas still more. For whereas the preceding years had let loose the brutish instincts of the starving people, now the instincts of those were roused who scraped together the money which but yesterday had been utterly worthless and so enjoyed a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown in Soviet Russia. The demand for women who had fallen on evil days increased from day to day. Restaurants, cafes, and taverns flaunted themselves again, and wine was sold once more. There was nothing to bridle the human instincts which had at least been repressed in the days of war , communism by a stern military regime. The number of divorces and abuses of the law increased vastly even in the country. And so that 'free love' which has so often been misunderstood, as well as the misunderstanding or misinterpretation of revolutionary forms, began to degenerate into excesses."

"Men who spent seven years at the front and then at home, the ruthless storm troops of the regime who quailed at nothing, will today cover their eyes when the scenes of the civil war are conjured up before them by questions. They must have been appalling beyond all measure, incomparably worse then the scenes of the external war. The infernal cruelty of man's hate

of man, compatriot of compatriot, neighbour of neighb ur, the beastiality on both sides induced by familiarity with murder, which must eventually have become for many an indifferent habit, a mechanical exercise of eyes and hands; and this piled upon the misery intensified to the utmost degree. Villages and industrial works converted into fortresses, defended by men and even women, pausing in the intervals of fighting to manufacture the articles of peace; and these manufactures always being claimed first of all, and often simply commandeered, for the fighting troops of the side which, in the changing fortunes of civil war, was uppermost for the time being---this is what the economic system must have looked like over a great portion of the country."

42-18-50

All this I realized and allowed for, but when Trotsky was exiled into Siberia in 1927, I was genuinely alarmed. I did not expect any superhuman unanimity among leaders in the Soviet Union. In so vast an undertaking there was bound to be strong and bitter differences of opinion.

"There ensued what must seem surprising to those who believe that the U.S.S.R. lies groaning under a peremptory dictatorship, namely, three years of incessant public controversy. This took various forms. There were repeated debates in the principal legislative organs, such as the Central Executive Committee (TSIK) of the All Union Congress of Soviets and the Central Committee of the Communist Party. There were hot arguments in many of the local Soviets, as well as in the local Party organs. There was a vast (Oppositionist) literature of books and pamphlets, not stopped by the censorship, and published, indeed, by the state publishing houses, extending, as it stated by one who has gone through it, to literally thousands of printed pages." But with most folk I had been caught with Trotsky's brilliant qualities and thought of him as embodying the revolution next to Lenin himself. But it was extremely difficult to get at the fact from Russia, since

from the time Trotsky was expelled in 1929, his version of the controversy filled the press of the world. In book and periodical Trotsky was a free as Tito today to express his ideas of the Russian Revolution and of its preversion and imminent failure under Stalin.

On the heels of this came the trials and executions in the Soviet Union: the 14 Mensheviks in 1931 and their imprisonment; the British and Russian engineers in 1933 and their conviction and expulsion; the death of Gorki in 1936, followed by the Moscow trials of 1936 and 1937 with their mass executions. Many of my friends and acquaintances withdrew from the Russian cause or were silent. Max Eastman, Editor of the Masses, which I had so admired, became a thick and thin follower of Trotsky. John Haynes Holmes became silent and liberal, public opinion in America became increasingly anti-Russian. But I kept still and withheld judgment. I still believed in the country I had visited in 1926 and so greatly inspired me. I therefore waited for the facts.

42-18-51

This was the story of the years from 1927 to 1937 as the Union of Soviet Republics tell it. I make no excuse for accepting Russia's own version of these days, not simply because she has a right to be heard; but because to my mind in every essential particular, I am convinced that this is the truth.

From 1920, when Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy, Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev led an opposition group designed to remove Lenin from leadership. The Party in 1921, repudiated this movement and warned Trotsky. In 1922, Stalin was elected as General Secretary. Immediately the Trotsky group went underground and adopted a secret organizing method devised earlier by the British spy, Reilly. It soon had coeds and pas words and began to penetrate various governmental departments including the army.

A friend of Trotsky became Soviet ambassador to Germany and approached

the powerful Reichswehr for support. As a result, between 1923 and 1930, 250,000 gold marks annually was furnished by the Germans to replace Lenin by Trotsky as head of the Soviet State. The bribe amounted in the end to a half million dollars. Thus supported by funds, Trotsky at the death of Lenin in 1924 made his bid for power. At the Party Congress in May, he forced the question to a vote, and was unanimously defeated by the vote of the 748 delegates.

42-18-52

Trotsky immediately prepared for armed revolt. Through Winston Churchill and the spy Reilly, he invited Savinkov, a professional assassin and friend of Mussolini to come to Russia, and settled a close friend as ambassador to Great Britain. The Torgprom was set to lead an attack on the Soviets, and Trotsky set September 27, the 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, for a revolt. It failed; Trotsky was exiled to Alma Ata a city of over 200,000 persons in Southern Kazak in a climate not extreme and where he was furnished a house for his family and personal freedom for writing and correspondence. He himself said that in seven months of 1928 he received 1000 pieces of political mail and 700 telegrams and sent 800 letters and 500 telegrams. He was visited by a government official and warned. He refused to heed and in January 1929, was ordered out of the Soviet Union, to the Turkish Island of Prinkipo in the Sea of Marmora, where once Woodrow Wilson planned a Peace Congress. He immediately began in Turkey, France, Norway and Mexico during the next eleven years, a world war against the Soviets which nearly deprived Russia of all liberal sympathy and convinced the reaction that communism was doomed.

He arrived in Turkey in state with an armed bodyguard and was greeted by the press of the world. Meantime the Torgprom in Paris prepared to stop Stalin's proposed Five Year Plan of Russian industrialization. Poincare and Briand were sympathetic and an attack on Russia was planed for 1929 or 30.

A French staff was ready with soldires from Poland, Rumania and Finalnd; Wrangel's White Russian Army of 100,000 and Krasnov's Cossacks were to be prepared ; British munitions makers were conferred with and money was raised for sabotage in Russian industries.

But all this movement was slowed up by the financial crash in Europe although in China in 1931, Japan began her foreward movement by invading Manchuria. No real study of the extraordinary personality of Leon Trotsky has yet been undertaken. He was convinced of his mission to lead the world to communism. To his ego-centric mind, he was not betraying Russia but leading it to head world revolution; he was not selling himself to the Germans but deceiving the dull Teutons into delivering themselves into his powe; he was not surrendering to capitalism but inducing capitalism to help him establish communism. It all worked back to his fanaticalimlieffin his own wisdom and cunning and it all made him one of the great traitors of history.

42-18-53

He began with "My Life", a fictionalized account of his career as the real leader of the Russian Revolution. This was followed by four other books and a stream of articles, which found world circulation, as grist in the mill of reaction and threw confusion into the ranks of the friends of Russia. The campaign raged through the Great Depression, confusing the thinking of liberals and running consecutively with Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. Trotsky's son, settled in Germany got into connection with the German techinicians and engineers working in Russia and with the German spy service. Sabotage on the new Russian industrial was organized. Secret terrorist cells, composed of all the varieties of enemies of the revolution spread.

In 1933, when Hitler came to power in Germany, Trotsky moved to France with the blessing of Deladier, and got in touch with the Nazis through Hess and Rosenberg and with soldiers like Tukhachevsky in Russia back of Trotsky

began to gat er an extraordinary aggregation of czarists, reactionaries, Fascists, liberals and dissident radicals.

In Russia dangerous evidences os this world plot began to appear, strengthened by the success of the Russian Five-Year Plan and the increasing prosperity of the Soviets in the midst of the industrial crisis elsewhere. The next year Japan was drawn in, and things began to happen in Russia. In the coal mines of Siberia, accidents became common and an engineer who reported this was found dead. Molotov, then chairman of Commissars was nearly killed. Trotsky gave orders for the assassination of Stalin, Voroshilov, the Commissor for War and Kirov; several attempts miscarried, but Kirov one of Stalin's closest co-workers was murdered in December, 1934. Several arrests were made and Zinoviev and Kamenev imprisoned, but the real conspiracy was not unearthed. Then came a series of fiendishly clever murders by physicians collaboration, culminating in the death of Gorki in June, 1936. A German-Japanese attack on Russia followed in 1935. In October of that year, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia; sabotage efforts, directed by Germans and Japanese in co-operation with Trotskyites spreading in many parts of Russia, in mines, railroads, power plants and construction jobs. In June, 1935, Leon Blum's Popular Front government forced Trotsky to flee to Norway where he settled near Oslo, and near Major Vidun Quisling, who also was attacking Russia. Trotsky was now impatient. He ordered Radek to cooperate with the Japanese and Germans, proposed territorial concessions to Germany and the entrance of capital from Germany and Japan for exploitation. In return Trotsky had "an absolutely definite agreement with Hitler to establish the Trotskyites in power in Russia. He said war would come in 1937.

The Soviet Government was aware of the conspiracy but it had long and carefully gathered its case. In 1930, eight members of the industrial

42-18-54

party were arrested for conspiracy and sent to prison. Next year, 14 former Menscheviks were accused of sabotage and received 500,000 rubles from the Torgprom and other sources. They were all found guilty and imprisoned. Then in 1933, six British and ten Russian engineers were arrested and charged with sabotage for the British Intelligence Service. The Russians with one exception were all found guilty and sentenced to prison terms. One British subject was acquitted and the other five found guilty.

In the Summer of 1936 the Soviets began to strike back and strike hard. In August by re-trying Zinoviev and Kamenev with new evidence, they started the first of the celebrated Moscow trials and sentenced 16 to be shot. They then arrested Radek and three others and removed Yagoda. In January, 1937, they sentenced Radek and three others to be imprisoned and thirteen to be shot. Later they tried Tukhachevsky, sentenced him and seven generals to be shot. And finally in the last of the Moscow trials, they shot Yagoda and eighteen others and imprisoned three. The trials were fair and the testimony overwhelming. The American Ambassador wrote to the Secretary of State: "I talked to many, if not all, of the members of the Diplomatic Corps here and, with possibly one exception, they are all of the opinion that the proceedings established clearly the existence of a political plot and conspiracy to overthrow the government. But America and the Western world were given the idea that all this was simply Communistic brutality.

This judgment was bolstered by the final efforts of Trotsky. Forced to leave Norway in 1936, he flet to Mexico, and from there spread world-wide propaganda. He enlisted wide American sympathy and cooperation, and was welcomed to the best magazines and periodicals. A Committee of Defense, with prominent names was formed but the hearings produced nothing but Trotsky's own testimony. He tried to enter the United States and testify

before the Dies Un-American Committee, but did not succeed. He was killed by a colleague in 1939 in a dispute over a woman. The Soviet Union was naturally held responsible for this crime.

Meantime in the very year, 1929, when industry crashed headlong in the United States, the Soviet Union began its Second Revolution under the leadership of Stalin. The first revolution of 1917, was the well-known pattern of revolt against tyranny, feudalism and exploiting capital which first called to power the liberal republican regime of Kerensky after the attempted yielding and reaction of the Czar. Automatically revolt of workers and peasants followed, and then Lenin took hold. War Communism followed not by plan but in the absence of plan. Lenin epplained that dire necessity, war and destruction imposed this preliminary socialism on the Bolsheviks in 1920, with nationalization of industry, socialization of farming and lifting of taxes. This three years' episode of War Communism has been looked at in tow ways. It has been described as if it had all been part of a deliberate plan to establish a Communistic state. Lenin, on the other hand, as plainly appears from his numerous publications during 1917, had contemplated a lengthy period of transition, the various stages of which he could not foresee, and which he imagined would have to take the form of a whole series of economic experiments. In 1921, he explained--to use the words of an able German investigator--that "it was only dire necessity, war and wholesale destruction that had imposed this war-time communism upon the Bolsheviks. It had consisted in the fact that all the surplus, and sometimes a portion of the necessary, foodstuffs were taken from the peasants in order to supply the army and the workers--.... This military communism was a provisional measure, because in their then desperate plight the Bolsheviks could shrink from no measures, however estreme; half starved and worse than half starved, they had to hold

42-18-52

their ground at all costs and keep alive the workers and peasants."

Fortunately for the Bolsheviks, just when the people, as it now seems, were at their last gasp, the foriegn intervention came to an end. The year 1920 was the year in which War Communism reached its culmination. "That year," it has been said, "will live long in the memory of all Russians who lived through it as the coldest, hungriest and most dreadful year of the revolution." Then in the spring of 1921, came the worst famine in Russian history involving 43 millions of folk in half Russia. The death rate was enormous, peasant revolt was followed by military mutiny. Immediately, Lenin took his one step back in order to make two steps forward. His plans were almost fatally hindered by foreign invasion, civil war and the Trotsky betrayal. Lenin died, but his plans lived on to be implemented by Stalin.

Stalin realized even better than Lenin that the objects and ideals of the city worker and the rural peasant did not agree. He climbed no new heights of theory and dug no subtle cellars of logic. He himself was a son of a Russian slave of the soil and he saw that distribution of land among the peasants even the State held title would not socialize farming. On the contrary there began forming a new agrarian capitalism with its claws on hoarded food and without a steady and growing food supply, Russia was doomed and her industrialization and socialization would be impossible.

42-18.57

The Russian farmers were composed of poor tenants on tiny holdings; small farmers and well-to-do Kulaks. The first could be attracted by state conducted cooperative farms; and also some of the farmers; but the Kulaks had the mentality of capitalists, enforced by ignorance and custom. The opportunity to cheat and coerce the poor peasant was broad and continuous. Stalin knew the Kulak his fathers had been their slaves for generations. He did not hesitate. He broke their power by savage attack. This revolution was

more radical than in 1917, and Stalin knew it. "He walked the Giant's Causeway almost without halt or rest. Behind him were tramping the myriads of weary, and bleeding Russian feet."

In 1928, the war began to break the power of the Kulak whose characteristic was described in 1895, as "the hard unflinching cruelty of a thoroughly uneducated man who has made his way from poverty to wealth and has come to consider money-making by whatever means as the only pursuit to which a rational being should devote himself. " There were a million such Kulak families in Russia in 1928, out of 25 million peasant families, and the State proceded to break their power. The proceeding involved force and cruelty. The Kulaks reduced agricultural output, stirred up revolt and slaughtered animals, so as to bring a grace crisis in 1928 to 1932. But the state persisted. Large numbers were banished to Siberia and the struggle was won by 1934.

42-18-58

"Strong must have been the faith and resolute the will of the men who, in the interests of what seemed to them the public good, could take so momentous a decision." We may well ask and seriously ponder whether or not the Russian Revolution might not have been carried through with less blood and cruelty, with less appeal to brute force. We may earnestly believe that with all the possible gain form the efforts of Lenin and Stalin, most of it might not have been accomplished at lower cost to the decent instincts of mankind. But Russia answers and has right to answer that this revolution cost less in life and decency than the French Revolution, than the Protestant Reformation and than the English Civil War; that the chief guild for the high cost of communism was not the fault of Russia but of Europe and America which silently condoned the slavery of Russians for centuries and then at fabulous cost tried for twenty-five years to re-inslave them to the degenerate Czars and filthy priesthood. If the cost of revolution was excessive

and revolting the fault is certainly not to rest on Russia alone. For a people who have murdered, raped and crippled so many billions over the whole world for so many centuries to suddenly get sympathetic and mealy-mouthed over thieves, liars and criminals, does much more credit to their hearts than heads.

We must remember that this problem of the farmer in modern life has been neglected to our cost. Here are folk who in every land have been physically by-passed by science, education and technique; they have in all lands been natural victims of exploitation and propaganda and in the automatic world market have been deprived of a decent income. In defence their leaders climbing ruthlessly to the top have enslaved their workers and made common cause with the urban industry. This has stopped democracy in France, Germany, Britain and America.

42-18-59

In the Soviet Union, fol owing the liquidation of the Kulaks began a Five Year Plan (1928-1932) of industrialization which included collective farms and the development of heavy industry in coal, oil, electricity, blast furnaces, automobiles and machines. Coincident with this came a gigantic effort to send the millions of Russian illiterates to school. On a scale never before seen in this world, Russia in a generation turned millions of illiterates into a nation with 90 per cent of literacy. It was a gesture which proved to the world that whatever mistakes Russia might make in the future they would not be due to ignorance. The success of this effort hurried the Torgprom, into planned attack on Russia in 1929 or 30. But the financial crisis spreading over the world, stopped these preparations while the Russians proceeded into a second Five Years Plan from 1933 to 1938 devoted to the making of consumers goods and calculated to meet the sacrifice and unrest of carrying out the development of heavy industry.

Thus between 1917 and 1935, Russia carried through the three revolutions which took the attention of Western Europe from 1500 to 1900, the Reformation

of religion; the control of industry and agriculture; and the authority of the mass of the people in the government of the State. No one can compute the sum of human suffering caused by this triple revolution over so vast an area, in so brief a time, amid the most embittered civil war, supported by half a dozen foreign armies actually invading soviet territory.

42-18-60

The total cost was less than Western Europe paid. Whether the result was better or not Time must tell. Meantime Western Europe and America went down into industrial collapse. The Japanese army occupied Manchuria to "save China from Bolshevism in 1931. That sameyear, Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, wrote to M.Moret, Governor of the Bank of France: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the Capitalistic system through the civilized world will be wrecked within a year."

CHAPTER V

1936 (1) XIX

I Gird the Globe

What happened to the European world in the third decade of the Twenti eth Century? A system of human culture, especially its pattern of industri al organization collapsed. Some argue that this collpase was ~~complete~~ definitive and due to inherent contradictions and weaknesses; others contend that t the breakdown was a temporary war casualty and already on the way to recovery. However that may be, the question still is, just what happened?

Nineteenth century civilization in Europe rested on four inst itutions: 1. Peaceful understanding between the Great Powers; 2. the intern ational gold standard 3. The self-adjusting world market 4 ~~Free economic~~ Free individual initiative in industry. Under this syatem mankind was red duced to regular labor, natural resources were linked to land and ~~Society~~ ~~or~~ the mass of men ~~enslaved~~ controlled by the automatic world market, while the hostility of the Great Powers was unexcelled In the second decade of this century the Great Powers went to war; in the third decade society, that masses of human beings all over the world, broke up the world market, the Gold Standard became unworkableand free individual initiative in industry began to give place to planned economy.

37-11-2

The Hundred Years Peace, 1815 to 1915, was an era of almost contin uous war; but war, chiefly between European countries and other parts of the world which ~~it~~ Europe gradually reduced to subjection, either through political control by military force, or industrial control by investment and confidence agreement to as to the distribution of goods and services. The peace between the Great Powers rested on ~~agree-~~ co-operation ~~ment as to~~ in establishment of political domination over the productive parts of the earth and the price levels in accord with which the wealth of the world was distributed. The real ~~court of appeal and compromise~~ bank between politics & industry in this delicat and world wide individual arrangement was High Finance, ~~that super-legal set of banks and financial organizations which~~ regulated the fixed prices and ~~and~~ exchan change of wealth the world over. It rested on legal foundations through ~~in~~ nat ional banking institutions and ministries of finance; but it transcended

ded these in the shape of private individuals and banks and organizations which formed a sort of super state.

After avoiding by conference and concession, and by balancing the political powers against each other through constant armies and navies and preparedness for war, suddnely in August, 1914, all agreement snapped and the First World War ensued. The underlying cause was the dissatisfaction of Germany, Italy and Japan with the current distribution of wealth and control of land. The result however was far more revolutionary than anyone had dreamed: Japan emerged as a world power demanding to be consulted hereafter in all world agreements, particularly in economic matters affecting Asia: socialist revolution in Russia and civil war in China; unrest in Indiaand the beginnings of disturbance in Africa; in other parts of the world, dissatisfaction with the prices of materials and wages of labor. The result was that the self-adjusting world market ceased to function widely and individual initiative in trade and industry had to rely increasingly on social controls of the state. The gold standard was dropped since no available hoard of gold sufficed tomeet the prices demanded in the absence of regulated barter.

Desperate effort was made after the Peace of Versailles to restore the old economy. The Balance of Power was replaced by the League of Nations; trade was pushed by costly effort to restore Russia to the world market and keep China and India from leaving; but in vain: the United States muddled efforts by refusing to join the United Nations, demanding payment for war debts and raising her tarif to prevent such payment and hoarding fatally scarce gold. By herculean effort, Great Britain restored the gold standard in 1925 and France, Belgium and Italy followed in 1926; but six years later the gold standard was dropped by Britain, and in a few years by the world. The magnificent edifice raised by the Industrial Revolution and based on American slavery in America, fell in ruins.

After my return from Russia in 1926, my interest in all this w

But the world became increasingly dissatisfied with the distribution of wealth and power. This was not simply the natural didsattisfaction of the submerged proples, but increasingly of a land like Japan who wanted to sit in the world's councils: but of Gremany and Italy which wanted colonies to exploit . Compromises with apparent sucess wer made from I900 on, but ~~suddenly in August, I9I4, understandings and promises broke and~~

centered in the plight of the colonies. I had hoped that the new League of Nations would begin the solution of the colonial question. The Mandates commission which I tried to influence promised a beginning, but a small one as it was under control of colonial ministries and subservient to world industry and commerce. The Great Depression found me teaching at Atlanta and casting about for new ways in which I could help by thought and pen the emancipation of black folk. The Reign of Roosevelt and his ~~socialist effort called the~~ New Deal was bringing the social power of government to the rescue of private initiative which had landed banks and other industries in bankrupcy. To me this seemed a step toward the socialism in which I believed, and I was especially pleased at the WPA and other efforts to help artists, writers and actors to get ~~chances~~ openings which profit ~~mad~~ mad private enterprise denied them.

37-11-4

But the question of colonies, especially in Africa still irked me. In 1934 therefor, as Hitler rose to power, I approached the Karl Schurtz Foundation with a proposition, which I thought might interest the new ~~masters~~ democracy of Germany: I asked for a fellowship to enable me to

[redacted]

~~July 15, 1933~~ 9 months this

My primary object in this plan is to influence public opinion in the United States and public opinion in Germany so that together in harmony and in mutual appreciation, they can bring their best thought and action to bear on the problem of Africa and the Africans. I would hope by stimulating this alliance of thought, to broaden the provincial outlook of Americans on foreign affairs, and at the same time, make them realize that the Negro problem is a problem of international politics; and that the

Wider and more systematic exploitation of colonial peoples to restore the economy of Europe and appease white working classs became a wprld obsession. My Pan-African movement was quietly stymied; I sought a meeting in French Africa in 1930, but was polightly rebuffed bythe colonial ministry.

[redacted]

CHAPTER V

I GIRD THE GLOBE

It is not until after the event--often long after--that wise men can evaluate the contemporary scene. I realized this in the Desperate Decade from 1926 to 1936. We were passing through one of the periods of Boom and Bust, which Marxian philosophy claimed was the inescapable destiny of the Capitalist system. I had lived through some seven depressions; that of 1873, I remembered, because of the huge silver dollar which my uncle gave me as a child and which was my first sight of real money. During the depression of 1893, I was abroad and ~~those~~ that of ~~1903 and~~ 1907 found me teaching and served to keep my salary at $1200 a year or less. ~~After that I noticed nothing until the after-war boom in the twenties.~~ I now realize how differently business expansion and depression affect social classes; the rich and well-to-do already comfortable get unneeded income, resulting in luxuries and power; but the lowest class of laborers living below decent standards begin to get necessities when suddenly at the first sign of depression they are plunged into utter poverty.

I saw some such result in 1925 when the income of my magazine began to decline; around me was apparent prosperity, but Negroes were beginning to lose jobs. I foresaw a time when the Crisis would not pay its way and this came with the crash of 1929. Two alternatives faced me: to continue to edit a subsidized periodical, in which case the givers of the subsidy would dictate the policy; or to take this opportunity to change my life work from propaganda back to learning and teaching which had long seemed my real vocation.

Especially at this time, 1926 to 1936, I was eager to know much better than I did, just what "drastic measures" were being taken in high places, to save the system of culture into which I had been born. Especially I wanted to learn, not only what was being done, but how these plans would

affect the Negro peoples, not simply in the United States but in Africa; and I wanted to know what part Russia and Communism would play in the coming change.

At the same time then I was planning to give up publishing and editing the Crisis and returning to teaching in Atlanta; while I was writing my interpretation of Reconstruction, I was seeking also a chance to spend some time in Europe to see at first hand was happening. I had no funds of my own to spend for such an investigation; my salary for the decade was $5000; but I had a wife and child and must save a little for the future. No institution was prepared to finance me, especially as I could not guarantee to what conclusions I might come. I did however center on Germany as the key area for study, because I knew its language, people and culture best; and because, I was convinced that Germany, was a critical point where the fate of modern culture would be settled. From Germany my observations could extend to Russia and then I had a dream that by some legerdemain I might even view Asia.

41-9-5

I started by getting in touch with the Karl Schurz Foundation which was furthering German American Friendship. I asked in 1931 opportunity to go to Germany and make contact with those organizations who in the past and ~~at present are~~ were interested in German colonies, particularly in Africa, and who represent in 1932 the liberal and progressive spirit. The Board declined saying: "We realize that you are in a position to use such a study as you propose m making,... However, our most effective contribution to the welfare of the American people seems to lie in other directions." But they had under their administration, the Oberlaender Trust which offered fellowships for study in Germany and the Secretary wrote me in 1934 suggesting that I might make

Copy only heads requested

9

a study of Black troops in Germany; I eagerly assented, but nothing more was said, until I called on the Secretary in Philadelphia. ~~As a result~~ On his advice, in 1935, I asked to "investigate in Germany and Austria the relation of education to industry."

As a result of this request, I was granted a ~~sum of~~ $1600 for six months study in Germany during the year 1936. By teaching in summer school at Atlanta, I arranged a semester's leave of absence with pay in the Fall and I planned to stay four or five month's in Germany and the balance of the leave in Russia and if possible ~~in~~ To return by Japan and China.

11-9-36

~~I knew as I left America in June, 1936~~ Little did he dream of a voyage of, what had happened to the world. European culture in the Nineteenth Century had rested on four institutions:

1. Peace between the Great Powers
2. A world market regulated by the international demands of trade
3. A gold standard ~~of~~ for prices regulated by international High Finance
4. ~~Wide freedom of~~ Free individual initiative in industry for the white world.

For about a hundred years, 1815, to 1915, peace among the leading European powers was fairly well kept; or if broken, patched up before trade and industry suffered. ~~Wars in the rest of the world~~, continued incessantly for colonial empire, thus linking imperial Europe and eventually North America in world domination of the darker peoples of the earth.

However as this European consortium became increasingly tightened and perfected, three nations, frozen out of its greater profits, began more and more peremptorily to demand share of colonial areas and voice in High Finance.. These were Germany, Italy and Japan, ~~two of which~~ nations ~~I proposed to visit.~~

The result was the First World War, with Germany and Italy fighting for colonies against the great colonial powers and the United States; and these allies securing ~~with~~

the cooperation of Japan whose price was recognition as the equal of dominant white European powers. This war disrupted the industrial organization on which the Ninteenth Century rested; the world market and the gold standard ceased to function and Russia came forwardto challenge free industry by planned economy and the raising of workers incomes. After the war, desperate effort was made from 1918 to 1929 to restore the world market and the gold standard; and to resist Communism in Russia. It was the irony of fate that just as Western Europe was practically united to overthrow Russia by force of arms, the system of culture which had lifted the nations to world dominance during the 19th century, built on conquest of India and Negro slavery in America, the Sugar empire and cotton kingdom and the Industrial Revolution, crashed in unprecedented ruin.

None in Europe, however, doubted but what the collapse was temporary, caused by war and destruction and capable of restoration within a reasonable time. From 1929 to 1939, every effort was made to accomplish such restoration. But in Italy and Germany the methods adduced were disconcerting to Britain, the United States and France; since they were frankly socialistic in method and propaganda, although the object of both Fascists and Nazis was to keep the forces of capitalism in power. Western Europe and America naturally did not object to the objects of this socialism; both Mussolini and Hitler received wide praise for the way in which they held labor in check and protected capital; but their methods of accomplishing this involved not only abolition of democratic controls of almost every sort coupled with such immense expenditure for social ends like roads, education, housing and recreation, and such ~~immmmxxexpenditurxsxfxxxxx~~ military and police preparedness as would in the end make severe inroads on profits. Efforts to accumodate these diverse points of view filled the decade and divided the opposition. Those who believed democracy consistent with capitalism, were aghast at the dictatorship

41-9-37

of the Fascists but attracted by their growing concentration of Fascists on the conquest of Russia. While the Nazis were torn by greed for the resources of Russia and hatred of the colonial monopoly of France and England.

In the midst of this embittered calm which was prelude to another and even more horrible world war, I returned to Germany after a lapse of forty tragic years since I first saw the Rhine and walked the Unter den Linden. I had strong affection for Germany, because in the days of my Sturm und Drang, this was the land where I first met white folk who treated me as a human being. At the time It bolstered my faith in the world and gave me strength to face and fight its wrongs. I went again to Eisenach and the Wartburg; I went to Berlin and remembered Schmoller, Wagner and Max Weber; I did not forget the hugs and stuttering Von Treitschke in the halls of the University. But all was changed.

41-9-38

The plan for restoration of European economy was ~~thus~~ based largely on the restoration and development of colonial imperialism. But this could not apply to Germany. Even if Germany recovered her lost colonies-- and this she proposed to do-- she would still not have space and resources to support her home economy. Only larger colonies torn from England and France could do this and such a plan was costly even if anyway possible. But there was another possibility and that was occupation and exploitation of the Russian Heartland. This was doubly attractive, because by such a venture the demands of German labor could be met and the menace of Communism destroyed forever. The lure of this program was all the greater because of the economic history of Germany since the First World war. Wealth and power in western Europe had been shaken but not overthrown. In Germany it had been shattered.

41-9-6

It was in Germany during the visit that I saw in the German Museum of Science and Technology, perhaps the best orderly and systematic outline of modern technique, which a person may view. It was located at Munich, with 70,000 exhibits, extending through nine miles of rooms. For a mere glimpse of it, I spent four days just walking through. There are 73 rooms devoted to geology, mining and mettalurgy, with a complete coal mine five stories deep; there are 30 rooms devoted to transportation; 21 rooms to clocks, mechanics and electricity; 10 rooms to sound and music; in the chemistry rooms one can traverse four centuries in an hour; all the wood products of the world are here. From the three floors devoted to these materials we ascend to the three planetariums illustrating the heavens and the whole top floor of textiles and agriculture. This technique is the foundation of the power on which Europe has directed her world dominion. And on this rests the problem of income as I saw it in 1936.

What one notes in the great culture-lands today is the number of people with large incomes who do not work. According to European custom, they are called gentlemen and their condition is a mark of distinction. Perhaps more than in any other country England has an extraordinary number of people who live on large incomes---incomes derived by investments made by their forebears in the United Kingdom, on the continent of Europe, or in the United States and South America, in Africa and in India. These incomes give them leisure, a chance to enjoy what the English call comfort. There is, on the whole, not such comfort as English comfort; no such catering to the fulfillment of most human wants. You can see it in the stores of Regent Street and Bond Street. You can see it in the price of ~~certain~~ theater tickets. You can see it in those silent walled houses right in the midst of London, with servants, and gardens, trees, grass and flowers.

Something of the same thing you can see in France. There is great wealth

~~in France~~ and a scale of expenditures which the crisis ~~has~~ altered to be sure, but ~~has~~ did not in general reduced, although it has made vast ~~reductions~~ changes in individual cases. There is luxury in eating and in living, in enjoyment, particularly in art and art expression of all sorts.

Now all this does not mean, in the ordinary sense, theft and cheating, and innate deviltry, so far as the present possessors of these incomes are concerned. Of course, if we trace them back to the ways in which this wealth was originally gathered and its legal possession made sure, we come straight in contact with murder and ~~cheating~~ robbery in colonies, with starvation wages in industry, with chicanery in the manipulation of investments; and yet on this there may easily come, even in the majority of cases, honest and cultivated men and women inheriting large incomes, being themselves guilty of no wrongdoing, and wishing no one ill; and sustaining by their actions and their thinking the best traditions of modern civilization. It is this paradox that is the problem of income today throughout the world.

41-9-2

There were three points of view in Europe: the British which was to restore the industrial system of the 19th century by keeping her colonial empire, and increasing the profits made there on cheap labor and raw materials but yielding larger share of this profit to home labor, so as to temper their ~~rising~~ demands. The sale of British manufactures to the rest of the world would return to normal if Britain could continue to undersell competitors.

In the case of Italy, Britain had egged the Italians on when the Black Mahdi drove the English out of the Sudan and Italy attempted to annex Ethiopia. She was soundly thrashed at Adua, but was offered by England a free hand in 1906 to try again as price of her entrance on the side of the Allies into the First World War. The Congress of Versailles refused to honor this promise and when Mussolini saw his opportunity he invaded Ethiopia as the

one way to restore Italian economy by making her a colonial power. I was in London when Anthony Eden stood before the House of Commons and announced Englands' decision not to oppose Italy. This defied the League of Nations, but it increased the imperial power of colonialism and might help save the economy of the British Empire.

Belgium is a third case illustrating the plight of Europe in 1936. I stopped in Belgium to see Tervourien again. I saw it in 1921, at the second Pan-African Congress. It is perhaps the greatest single collection of Africana in the world. Berlin and London have valuable collections, and even the one in Dresden, which I saw is better than anything we have in America. But this whole museum, with its beautiful building and magnificent park, sets its own false note when it begins, in its first room with an exhibit of the exploitable riches of Africa. The Congo, fourteen times the size of Belgium, has from the first been and still is regarded as primarily a profitable investment for Belgian and European capital. The worst outrages of capitalism have been curbed at the demand of humanity the world over. Missions are at work and restraining laws have been enacted. But the chief end of the Belgian Congo is today as it was under Leopold: to increase the private fortunes of Belgian capitalists. And if Belgian labor is today in a sorry plight, it is because in the day when Socialists ruled Belgium, they could not see that the cause of the black slave in the Congo was one with that of his white fellow in Belgium. I talked of this to Emil Vandervelde before the war and after, in America and Europe. His reply was to cite the new laws to curb capital in Africa. But what are such laws when they are dictated by investors in the interest of their own incomes?

And consider the human beings whose well-being Belgium is neglecting:

41-9-1

magnificent physical specimens, as the great museum at Tervourien attests. Men of tasts and skill. Men with a history, capable of all human advancement. Yet in 1936 not a single black man of Congo was attending a Belgian University; not a single Congolese had a legal right to an acre of his own soil, and not a single one had any political power to express his own will or dispose of the immense annual wealth created by his labor.

Out of Congo is coming increasing tons of copper and tin, together with oils, ivory, cotton and all fibres. The wealth of Belgium is primarily the wealth of black Congo, and that wealth is being used to curb the labor movement in Belgium and everywhere else it can. It is no answer for Belgium to point to its mission schools and hospitals, or even to its black priests and converts. Religion in the Congo, all unconscious of the function forced on it by capitalism, is making an humble docile class of profitable black labor to underbid white labor everywhere.

41-9-3

The German state, before the First World War, became partner in great industries like steel, chemicals, ship-building, transportation and communications, and Germany spent more for research in industry than any other country. Over this state ruled the landed aristocracy, through the managers and engineers who formed perhaps the most powerful trade union in the world. Such fighting industrial combines, backed by the state, were necessary if Germany was to enter modern industry in competition with England and France. She therefore entered ~~industrial~~ commercial combinations, cartels, export unions and finance consortiums. The First World War was fought to extend these industraial forays into the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world, dominated by Britain and France. Defeat was revolution.

42-18-76

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF ROOSEVELT

I am an American. My forefathere have been Americans for three hundred years. They have served America honestly and unstintingly. I do not know one of them who has been convicted of crime, although my knowledge is by no means exhaustive. With temporary exceptions, all of us have lived our lives in this land, mostly in New England and New York, often in the West and South. We have not greatly prospered--none have been rich, few have been paupers, few have attained exceptional notoriety.

Assembling the sixteen of my great grand-parents, so as to avoid recent race it would appear from what I can learn, which is not too much, that nine of them were black Africans; and seven European whites. Of these whites, two were French, two other of Latin American descent, one Dutch, and one may have been a New England Puritan, although I trust not. Of white folk connected with my ancestry, I know little. Two were Huguenots probably honest artisans fleeing from persecution and poverty, another was probably a stodgy farmer, of the new aristocratic type; a third possibly a commercial trader; of the others I know nothing.

The Mulatto Du Boises' were eminently respectable folk; I remember my grave gray, unsmiling grandfather as one who rather overdid the respectability line and caused revolt in my handsome, gay and irresponsible father. My calm and even-tempered mother helped to balance the brood. Now the black Burghardts were different--loud and lusty; frinkers of hard cider and whiskey, and never avoiding a good fight. All these forebears served, as farmers, laborers, servants and soldiers, their country and their gods.

To describe my feelings toward the United States as Love would not be English. France from yough I have theoretically loved; not for her blamelessness, but because in fifty years of visiting her soil, I have always met sympathy and courtesy without sueing for it. Despite finer

souls, some of whom I have known, I have always disliked the British, for their intolerable assumptions of superiority to everybody, their snobbery and cold hypocrisy. I cannot forget their contribution to the s lave trade and slavery of my folk.

With 19th century Germany, I felt a kinship second only to that which bound me to Negroes. In part this was the accident of being, in my critical young manhood thrown in close contact with the best of pre-war Germany and h thus having revealed to me a white folk different to any I had ever before met.

On the other hand, America has always to my mind been associated with repression if not insult. Not that all or even most of my American contacts and experiences involved such treatment. On the contrary I have usually lived a normal American life, without hunger, with adequate clother and shelter and with unusual opportunities for education. With this, however and inextri[illegible]ably and continuously interwined with it, went inhibitions pin-pricks and open insults which gew and swelled in my s uld to proportions far beyond their intrinsic worth: where could I eat? Was I among the "Pulbic" in[illegible]ted? Was it worth while entering this competition? Was the Harvard Glee Club jair in judging my voice? Was the Pullman sleeper really sold out? All these and a hundred more incidents, all my life I was trained to ask and expect. Often, probably most times, there was no discrimination nor unfair-ness; but my fatherland conditioned me for a half century to e pect this and despite reason and philosophy, I hurtured hate for the nation for this unavoidable cast of mind.

42-18-77

Then beyond myself, I saw and knew what America did to less fortunate Negrees than myself. I searched for and read details of every lynching and died horribly with the victim. I vividly imagined what I did not see or even hear of. I was soon clothed with a spirital provincialism, an inner

withdrawal and antagonism, beyond reason and experience.

Thus to me, my native land spelled not affection, but duty. This is my native land. I shall never live elsewhere. I could not if I would. I would not if I could.. Porbably nowhere else [redacted] I have received more id as much, in inspiration and opportunity. Had I been born in Africa, in 1868, I would have grown up to be slave of European or of American investors. If I had been born in England, I would have had less chance than in the United States. In France, I would have had more; but I would have been cut off from the Negro people or never know them or their problems. That would mean that the plight of the poor and ignorant and sick of the wor[redacted], would probably not have touched me at all or centainly not as deeply and intimately as it had to penetrate the sould of an American Negro.

42-18-72

That is why I spurned the well-meant advice of George Foster Peabody, that great and liberal white Georgian. "You're right in your fight and your demands," he said, "But you can never win equality in this land. Your struggle is in vain. Why do you not go to France and live?" I answered in my bre[redacted]: all right them I'll lose. I'd rather lose fighting here than win in Europe. And why? Because this nation belonged to me even I never had belonged to this nation. And no God-damned Southerner nor cowardly northern Copperhead nor servile white folks' [redacted]gger was going to stop my [redacted] for the absolute freedom and equality of Black Folk in America.

But I am not so narrow as to think of the United States solely from the interests of me and my people. I know what America has meant to the world Here for the first in modern days, Liberty and Equality blossomed to real flower; here Democracy received a trying-out like nothing Europe or Asia ever saw. Here on vaster scale than elsewhere ever, myriads of men--aye and of women

of differing nationalities and capacity have lived together in peace and happiness, and worked as they chose and thought as they wished. America is triumph and accomplishment for more men than ever anywhere before. It only happens that my fate has been not to be regarded as a fellow human being by most honest Americans and not treated as such; I will not forget or understate what America has meant to white folk; and too I will not bear false witness as to me and mine, either by lauding my slavery or thanking Lincoln for emancipation. I have said and will always continue to say while I speak that the treatment of Negroes in this land, past and now, shames and besmirches the escutcheon of a great and might nation whose son despite this it is my privilege to be.

42-18-29

The experience has narrowed my vision and made me provincial. I have seen Irishmen crawling out of the filth of their bogs to step in my face and crow; hill-billies and crackers from Alabama and Arkansas could spit on me to the applause of thousands; German peasants newly free could insult me and Italians and Slovaks and a thousand others could not only deprive me of a living but depend on white American mobs and police to jail or even lynch me for protesting.

When in season and out I protest, it is pointed out with perfect truth that in America, I have received food and clothes, adequate shelter, education far beyond my fellows, black and white, and no little honor and appreciation. I still maintain that my treatment in America has been exceptional and not characteristic. That my fate was not due to my desert but to lucky chance more often than to philanthropy. Had I been born on a Mississippi plantation instead of in a New England village; had not liberalism

at Harvard in the last decade of the 19th century cracked up doors to a few students from beyond Back Bay; if Rutherford Hayes, perhaps with some qualms at his role in Reconstruction not given me a Slater Fund Fellowship against the advice of respectable America, I might now lie buried as deep as thousands of unknown black boys of quite equal [redacted]ts.

42-113-80

This land is at fault and grievously gu[redacted]ty for not doing for thousands of worthy Negroes what she has inadvertedly done for me and for utterly discouraging black boys and girls less stubborn and lucky than I, to reach for stars instead of being content in the gutter. Only a few years ago a professor at Bowdin protested against sending a brilliant black student to Harvard on fellowhsip, lest "he become bitter like Du Bois". And when Harvard gave him a doctorate and used his thesis as a classroom text, the head of his department said confidentially to a friend of mine: "We'd keep him here if he wasn't a nigger!" Far more important than this, I contend that the United States is suppressing her millions of black folk has ruined the ideals of liberty, equality and democracy for the mass of her white citizens and for the world. No double standard o[redacted] decency can bring the millenium.

My reasoning may be strained; but whether the reader agrees or not, I am sure he can understand the impact which Russia had upon me in 1926. I was not naive enough to think I had visited Utopia. On the contrary I knew quite well that I had had but a brief glance at small part of a vast land and of a desperately complicated problem. I boasted to my intimates that I was at the time the one American who had been a mo[redacted]h in Russia and had not written a book about it.

If I may quote a sour-mouthed old virago, whom the New York Board of

Education insists on keeping to teach "niggers" and Jews their places, I have most of my advantages in America by insisting "on being where I wan not wanted."

There have, to be sure, been times when pushing in, I have found courtesy and welcome, but not usually. Why then over long years and with bitten lips have I continued tp push? Because I wanted the opportunities of Harvard; because I wanted to hear the Ring of the Nibelungs; because I was tired and hungry; otherwise, believe me, I would have been as absent always as I was sometimes.

42-18-81

I cannot avoid being surprised when a white American treats me with courtesy. This is unfair to white folk, because usually they are reasonably polite. But because of memories of a long past and beacuse at times, somewhere, I can be sure of more or less direct insult,--it is this sort of thing that makes living in the United States no unalloyed joy for black folk.

I an thus at once look on the United States as an outsider and continuous visitor, unintegrated into its culture and yet knowing and sharing it. I can see as few others can, they way in which the presence of a depressed class of human beings has distorted and still distorts the social development. My emotional sympathy with this group will doubtless exaggerate its influence, and for this margin of error the reader must make allowance. Nevertheless my total view is worth setting down.

When the free land and resources of America were thrown open to Europe, they became in part a gift to the landless poor of Europe and a gateway to freedom of speech, freedom of belief, and freedom from want and fear. But the presence of Indians and Negroes as low paid labor, depressed by slavery and caste, also made this continent a boon to producers of basic material in the world-wide demand, which were exchanged into capital goods and became the foundation of a new capitalism out of which developed an Industrial Revolution.

Thus both individual freedom and exploitation of labor developed side by side in America and were confused in world thought as differing aspects of the same expanding culture. This was possible because Negroes came to be regarded as not human in the same sense as whites , and as thus presenting no challenge to humanity or religion. When modern capitalism, built on the slave trade and slavery began to raise Europe to Wealth and Power, the white workers of both Europe and America, began also to feel the pinch of poverty in the midst of progress and struck back in an organized movement of laborers, which gained them political power and elementary education; and in America developed into an attempt to limit the area of slave labor and especially to keep from the slave system the vast free land acreage of the West.

Economic power in the United States opposed this with an attempt to preserve slave labor and the cotton and sugar which it used, and extend its area not only in this country but also to the Southwest and the Caribbean area. This aroused an organized anti-slavery movement, helped by fugitive slaves, and white laborers, in the north who sought to get rid od slave competition. Civil War ensued, which resulted in victory for the North, when the Southern slaves, encour ged by the North, began to desert the plantation and even to enter the ranks of the Northern armies as soldiers.

42-13-82

Dilemma thereupon faced the nation. It had not at first fought to free the slaves, but to prevent the spread of slave labor in competition with free labor. It accepted slave help to win the war and emancipation as a war measure. Now it was faced with 4,000,000 poor and ignorant freedmen. What was to be done? Both Philanthropy and decency demand d for these victims of 250 years of expolitation and degradation, a system of adequate unemployment with decent wages, civil right; a minimum of land and tools and education. An attempt was made toward this, first in education by the more democratic

churches and then a government bureau was proposed, in whose charge the freedmen and white refugees were to be placed and trained for full citizenship. This was a great start toward dreal democracy in the United States, without color caste and with full economic opportunity. It was stopped and frustrated by Threat and Compromise: by the threat of forcing the former economic and social rulers of the South immediately to share political and economic power with Negroes or to make alliance with the Industrial leaders of the North. If the South had regarded Negroes as human; if it had seen abolition as a benefit instead of as a threat; it would have consented to build a New South on equality, democracy and education. This effort the nation should have helped generously, considering the losses and distress of war. But no substantial part of the South would consider this for a moment. Thw whole training of the South for centuries had been toward aristocracy and slavery. The overwhelming majority wanted past conditions restored as nearly and completely as possible. They envied the rich North. They hated "Niggers."

42-1B-83

But by 1885, the United States entered upon its fabulous modern career of the greatest industrial nation on earth. Business enterprise was free of practically all moral, conventional and religious restraints. Americans lied, stole, murdered, lynched and mobbed. Their untrammeled exploits became world legends. But wages rose, comforts multiplied and the national standard of living increased. The poor boy who rose from poverty to wealth beyond the dreams of averice by any sort of cheating and lying he could use; the errand boy who came to rule andempire of business assisted by violence and murder; the industry which extended over the nation and reached Europe and Asia by high-jacking and deception; the technique which performed miracles unheard and undreamed of for manufacturing millionaires; this was America. This was white supremacy.

Big Business consolidated its power in the last quarter of the 19th

The industrial leaders of the North were equally indifferent or even immune to democracy. They had come out of the war with wealth, monopoly and privilege. Protected by tariff legislation, ships and railroads, new machinery and the latest technique, the North stood tip-toe on the vastest expansion of industry the world had known. The white South, both former masters and ambitious poor whites were asked to promist not to touch the tariff, not to scale the national debt, and to give the nation control of industry, without state interference. In return for this, the South was tacitly assured that they could treat black labor as slave in almost everything but name. This bargain was consumated in 1876, after a hectic decade of struggle when the temporarily enfranchised Negroes put up a tragic and hopeless struggle to enter modern democracy as free men, despite their handicap of ignorance and poverty. Their effort did not wholly fail. It succeeded in many ways. This success doomed it.

42-18-84

White American labor, war-weary and confused accepted this compromise, convinced that Negroes were not their equals and failing to realize how this exploited minority would help to keep down their wage. To the disfranchised Negro was added 1861 -1900, 14 million white immigrants who flooded the labor market, lowered wage and living standards and precipitated a new civil war of labor and capital. In 1877, the white world looked on complacently, drugged by the upswing of capitalism the world over, now developing into colonial imperialsim, and rationalizing its Progress on the theory of inferior races working for the comfort and luxury of white Europe. This was exactly what British and French aristocracy and plutarchy wanted before the Civil War and were about to achieve when emancipation threatened to upset their plans. Now with new and triumphant industry in America all this was accomplished and the American Negroes kept in slavery in all but name, so as to encourage no ambitions among the dark serf of Africa and Asia.

century under Rockefeller, Carnegie, Frick and Hill, all of whom were reckless, able and unscrupulous. In opposition to them arose the trade union movement/ By 1894, Industry became a fight of everybody for himself, with monopoly of the necessaries of life as the prizes. Millions of property was transferred from the possession of the many to that of the few without the knowledge of the many nor their consent; without compensation and by falsehood and in violation of law. "Every great fortune that rolled out of the 19th century was rooted in fraud." "In their absorbing passion for the accumulation of wealth," says David Saville Muzzey, "men were plundering the resources of the country like burglars looting a palace."

42-18-85

Meantime, in this same America free individual enterprise was reaching its practical limits. Cutthroat competition, anarch of method, aim and plan was throwing business into industrial chaos. Fortunes were mounting, millionaires multiplying, but the total economy was not safe. Here was a chance for the socialist theories of Europe to be applied and our own dreamers like Henry George began to point this out. But the United States turned to another direction. Through private planning and volunteer combinations, industrial effort continued to be centralized and competition limited. This put curbs on individual initiative. The vaunted American freedom was disappearing and liberals complained. But Business answered that this was in the nature of modern industry and social laws. To which the logical reply was that the State, the legal expression of the Public Will was the natural organ to take over such private industry as could not be conducted efficiently by separate individuals.

To this answer, America would not listen. In 1894, there were already over 400 combinations to monopolize the necessaries of life. The census of 1900 showed that 185 of the combinations with three billions of capital controlled one-third of the manufacturing resources of the nation; by 1908

there were 10,000 combinations with 31 billions of capital. Huge corporations replaced individual enterprise and business increased to vast dimensions. But in such integration, there was not only no democratic control, but as one millionaire said, it was personal or oligarchic rule by divine right, at the hands of those men "to hwom God in his wisdom had entrusted this wealth."

But these corporations, to function properly and completely, had to have certain functions of government: police power, court injunctions, eminent domain in acquiring land and other property, control of money and credit and fixing of wages and profits. To attain such powers, the corporation went into politics: first to prevent democratic government from exercising these functions against monopoly businesses; next to control their exercise by the representatives of industry.

It was not so much government taking overprivate enterprise as private enterprise taking over the functions of government. In Wilson's administration, automobile interests secured $240,000,000 of public funds to promote road-building. Soon the United States had the most elaborate system of roads in the world, ostensibly for the farmers but really for an infant industry set on its feet at public expense. The airplane industry was financed by government funds. The pioneer or investors like the Wrights got next to nothing while financiers reaped fortunes. The same was true of shipping, railroads, radio and other industries. "Pioneering don't pay", said Andrew Carnegie. In many industries which individuals cannot develope, corporations are brought in and become more powerful than the state. Thus United States Steel, United States Rubber and General Motors take over the name and many of the functions of government and yet make profit as private individuals. In some cases, the private corporation or even individuals can perform functions of a public nature which the state is unable to perform; as when the Rockerfellers provide

42-1B-86

a site for the United Nations; or when the Fords televise their proceedings. These may be public spirited acts, but they are public functions and it is a question if wealth should be allowed to accumulate under private control so as to perform work which the Government under democratic control cannot do.

The methods of accumulating private wealth is illustrated by the Tobacco Turst in 1900, 24,000 employees produced 53 billion cigarettes; in 1931, 20,000 employees made 117 billion, but had their average earnings cut from $853 to $613. Meantime the price of tobacco to the farmers dropped from 32¢ to 8¢. while the owners received earnings which increased from 10% on their capital to 25%. The president in 1931 got $16,000 a week; his workers got less than $14.00.

42-18-87

In the case of stealing of Government oil at teapot dome, private wealth by bribing public officials got oil of incalculable value for almost nothing. and in these and analogous cases, this control of industry was effected not by persons investing their own resources, but by the control which banks exercise over these resources. As Justice Brandice said, such control of other peoples money made for recklessness, speculation and the reaping of enormous profits, which the real owners of capital did not share.

Elections we e controlled. Law makers were bribed and even elections of presidents bought, as in the Bryan-McKinley contest. World War burst on this development. We tried at first to stand aside and use the war for profit. Then when we had to enter, we let business profit by handling army funds; in the purchase of lands and materials and in shipping; until the South especially became rich through international disaster.

Of the causes of the First World War, President Wilson said: "The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and

the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred, was hot successful commercial and industrial rivalry."

The cost of the war to us was $35 billion dollars, while the net corporation profits covering this time were $38 billions. Following the war, came a hectic spurt of business, a pause in 1920 and then a wild rush of speculation from 1922 to 1929. Banks and corporations poured supplus cash into the money market and contributed heavily to the campaign of 1920 and 1924 and 1928 which put Harding, Cooledge and Hoover in the White House. Then came the day of reckoning. Black panic engulfed the nation on October 29, 1929; 16 million shares in corporations changed hands in five hours, dragging down million of paper profits. Millionaires became paupers, captains of industry committed suicide and the world stared at the worst depression in modern days.

42-18-88

At the helm of state was the easy going Harding, the [illegible] Cooledge and at the crash, Herbert Hoover. Hoover for 20 years had been a promoter and investor for Britain in Asia, Africa and Australia. He had heavy investments in Russian oil and lumber before the Revolution. In some years he drew salaries aggregation $100,000 a year. As food commissioner during and after the war he helped the war against Russia. As Secretary of Commerce he helped nullify the laws against trusts by furnishing government data to help corporations set prices, which gained him the Presidency, with the help of prejudice against Catholics. As President, he drove the veterans out of Washington, signed the highst tariff in history against the advice of the economists, and when the crisis broke, refused the demands of Congress for aid to the unemployed.

Thus as Capitalism collapsed throughout Europe, our business stood almost competely under control of trusts, international trade was stopped by tariffs, the whole of our banking system stood still, the gold standard began to totter

and ten million American workers were unemployed and facing starvation. Hoover was firm and stubborn. This was but a temporary upset. Our economy was fundamentally sound. "Prosperity was just around the corner." Capital needed temporary help and capital once on its feet would take care of labor.

Then in 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president of the United States and remained in that position until his death in 1945; 12 pregnant years for the world and years of revolution for America. In the first five years of his rule Roosevelt recognized Russia; put the government in charge of banks; rescued the farmers from bankruptcy by restricting crops, paying bonuses and financing mortgages; giving funds to the banks and insuring depositors; helped build homes and secured five billion dollars for individual releaf of the unemployed. He even sought and encouraged art and literature.

42-13-89

But he did not simply restore business to its former power: he devalued gold as a standard of value; regul ted the sale of stocks and recognised the right of labor to bargain for wages and conditions of work. He started the Tennessee Valley Authority, a government attempt at soil conservation, manufacture, and industrial control in a vast series of river valleys. Above all he tried to regulate all business under a series of codes, with wage floors, standards of conduct and wide voluntary cooperation with government supervision in the background. He even reconstructed the tax system so as to prevent "unjust concentration of wealth and economic power." He established minimum wage in many industries, enacted national social security and national control of communications.

All this was socialism no matter what defination of socialism might be chosen. It was the assertion of the supremacy of government in the conduct of industry and of the right to use in industrial decisions the same democratic procedures used in other political activities. Industry submitted to this at first because of panic and the tottering of all security. Then it began

to fight back against the "Red in the White House." The Supreme Court, long appointed by and representative of business interests, threw out his attempt to regulate industry by codes, emasculated his attempt to refinance farm mortagages and stopped the stabilizing of the bituminous coal industry. Roosevelt attempted to curtail the reaction of these "nine old men" but failed Death and age helped him out. He returned to his efforts to help labor and raise wages, when war loomed in Europe and the United States was again swept not only into world conflict but indeed into world government to an extent which would have driven Washington into hysterics.

Who was this man Roosevelt and what did he try to do? He was not like Hoover a business man and industrial promoter; he was not a New England farmer, slave of convention like Cooledge, a conventional New England farmer. He was a politician but of higher type than Harding or Truman. He was a man of manners and training, with some knowledge of literature, polite society and sports. He was a man of inherited wealth, but not a business man; he enjoyed an unearned income but couldnot conceive making money as a main object of life. He said bluntly: "Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed , through their own stubborness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupul us money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men...

"The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit."

42-13-90

More than most men, his mind was free of economic trammels for he had never earned a living and his training lift him open to new ideas, attitudes and conceptions.

Especially was he willing to learn and take counsel, he called in teachers: he called experts in the social sciences; he called in expreineced business men; he consulted administrators. But especially he relied on men who at first hand knew human beings and their ways and present plight. Thus he secured the experience, hard work and loyalty of Harry Hopkins who supplied the socialist twist to his policies especially for the first five years. For Roosevelt was no theortetical socialist. But he knew that industry was respnsible for much of the muddle which he was called on to solve. He had herd that strong word of his cousin Teddy at Ossawatomie in 1910: "We grudge no man a fortune in civil life if it is honorably obtained and well used. It is not enough that it should have been gained without doing damage to the country. We should permit it to be gained only so long as the gaining represents benefits to the community. This, I know, implies a policy of far more active government interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in govenrmental control is necessary..."

42-18-91

He turned to science for guidance, but science failed him. Sociology in the United States has not yet taken itself seriously; with Harvard it long hesitated even to call itself a science. I, modestly regarded itself as a collection of miscellaneous facts about human beings arranged in statistic tables or mathematical formulai; but a real science of human conduct was simpy beyond the conception of most teachers of soiiol gy. Human action was viewed therefore either as pure chance or the result of undiscovered or undiscocered law. When therefore Professor Sprague of Harvard was aksed for

guidance in currency reform, he could only say what would happen if men acted according to certain convention , but now men would act, he did not knw. Indeed it wa the firm belief of America that human action was so unpredictable that planning for the tuture on any national scale wasfutile, and every actio must be guidd by individual and local trial and error. Yet most men knew that this attiude was unrealistic and forced on the country by selfish business intrests. This land should and could know accurately the income of all citizensand its source and kine; it could know what taxes each person pays forthe uspport of government; it could know price levels and changes; costs of processing; porpperty and ownership and rents; ownetship of of corporations with income and expense, salaries and dividentds. We could measure sickness and death, education and occupation far more accurately than our hit and miss census methods now accomplosh. With this body of knowledge and a mass of ther data concerning life and deeds of men, we could act and legislate wigh accuracy and not by guess work without infringing any privacy to which men have any essertial right.

42-18-92

But no; we prefer to guess and grope about the distribution of wealth ; about extortion and gambling; about proverty and disease, rather than know the truth and stop stealing and exploitation.

This Roosevelt soon found out and turned from non-existent scientific knowledge to man to man and da to tay experience. He called to council, a gangling Westerner whohad studed sociology under Macey and than gone into social work. He had studied pwerty and charity on the East Side of New York. He lived in social settements, the great Nintteenth centrry effort to know how the other half lived and do something about it. He voted the Socialist ticket. He went to Lillian Walds settlement where I also went. But we never met. There was a great wall between us and his settlement was

"for white folk only". But Roosevelt found him and used him and secured his utter confidence. He found other unof ficial helpers like Howe and trouble shooters like Walker. Then he turned to work after that straight hitting inaugural speech.

He had to consider the banks; the farms, the Home owners, the gold standard; the unemployed; labor unions; stock sales; the recognition of Russia; the Railroads; Motor carriers; the Tax on wealth; Federal control of Communications; Housing; aand Labor troubles mimimun wage and finally war in Europe.

But neither Roosevelt nor his advisers had any overall conception of the ~~enormous~~ ecomocic status of the world and its developemtnt and cure. They had never paid attention to Karl Marx, St. Simon, Fouinor, Robett Owen or Louis Blanc. They had assimilated the American obsession that normal life is industry and all esle unimportant, extraneous to real living. When therefore Business failed the one dutry was to resotore it, rehabilitate it. That the system of industry which the 19th century had raised to world rule had itself collapesed not only on account of world war, but perhaps from subtler reasons. Whether the former industrial set-up could be restored or how it could be imporved or whether it must be replaced--there was certainly questions which all and each called for study and examination. There is no indication that in the United States or in the councils of the government or in the world of science, any such attitude was contemplated. Without hesitation or inquiry it was assumed that the only problem before America was how Industry could most quickly be restored to its former stature and functions. And the reason for this unrealistic and unscientific state of mind was the extent to which the United States was ruled, directed and schooled by organized industry.

42-18-93

Despite this, in the effort to restore industry to its former stature;

and functions. And the reason for this unrealistic and unscientific state of mind was the extent to which the United Staes was ruled , rireced, and schooled by organized industry.

Despite this, in the effort to restore industry to its former stature; in the pragmatic efforts to relieve poverty, reduce unemployment, rescue farmers and home-owners and maintain credit, the goernnment had to take steps toward socialism, even while restoring Business. The government took over control of the banks, when every bank in the land was closed. Here was the opportunity and duty to assume national control of banking, which was following the clear trend of scientific thought. Government ontrol of money, credit and distribu ion of capital was spreading in the world and after the war seemed to most thinkers, even to those who were not socilss'ic as imperative as the postal service,

42-1B-94

Instead of that, the Roosevelt regime poured capit l into private hands as a longtime loan/or a gift and made but hesitant begin ings at comrlete control This was done by ciing governmental power to indust y through the Federal Reserve Board who were private bankers with pu lic power. The security Exchange Act to regula te stock selling was put under the control of a man wh had been foremeost in arranging stoci pools . The attempt to rescue the farmers from bankruptcy followed n part the American isndutrial pattern, which was to raise prices by articfical scarcity. Thus in a hu gry and naked world, we had the extraordinary spectacloe of food being dest oyed and the production of necessary materials curtailed. Yet for a hundred years it had been k own that the earh could provide tof the wants of men, if reasonably distributed. A national survey in 1934, when therewere 12 million u employed and nearly 20 million on relief, reported that there could be plenty for all. But as Roosevelt groped toward that ideal, in that same year, the superintendent of schools of Gary, Indiana, that Steel Trust Town,

made headlines and secured investigation by Congress when he declared that certain members of the "brain trust" had confessed to him that they aimed at overthrowing our government and establishing Communism in this country. The real underlying effort was to transfer some of the swollen income of industry to the persons who raised basic materials. Big Busniess was ever concerned to prevent abundance of goods from flooding the marker. The New Deal souhg to bring agriculture into this program, because the farmers during the war had so increased production that now farm prices were about to collapse. To do this directly by taxation on business was opposed by Industry, but since it must be done, it was accompli shed by destruction of food and bonus. But the bonuses instead of reaching the dirt farmer, quite often reached only the Junker land monopoly which was applying capitalist methods to farming and r ducing the dirt farmer to tenancy. The attempt to go further and help the small farmer with his mort was sabotaged largely by the Supreme Court.

42-18-95

The most startling measure of the New Deal, was the National Recovery Act, by which the government tried to assume a direct control over the entire business of the country. It did not directly take over industries, but invited representatives to Washington to work out "codes" of fair dealing to be followed. Industries which refused might be put under a "blanket code"; those which violated the code would have the Blue Eagle, symbol of cooperation, taken away. By the end of Roosevelt's first year nearly 400 odes had been drawn up, and 90 per cent of the industrialists of the country were supporting the N.R.A. The terms fixed minimum wages, prescribed hours of labor, abolished sweat-shop and child labor in various industries, and required business men to submit to the examination of their books by government inspectors.

By his craft control, the skilled worker had been able to raise wages until he could live like the petty bourgeois. "He came to share the outlook of the middle classes politically, socially and culturally. He bitterly opposed every expression of class consciousness within the ranks of labor. Red-baiting became his favorite sport."

42-13-96

The New Deal marked a departure in the history of American labor. Until now American labor has clung to its laissez-faire objection to government interference in its business. With one sweep the N.I.R.A. turned it into a semi-public trade unionism. One section of the N.R.A. strengthened organized labor by forbidding employers to discharge men for belonging to a union "of their own choosing." This abolished the "open shop"; nor could the employees be forced to join the "company unions controlled by the employers. The terms of the act were resisted by some manufacturers, under the pressure of public opinion and the threats of General Johnson. Before this act had been thoroughly tried out the Supreme Court outlawed its main feature.

Unemployment was too critical and explosive a matter to be handled entirely by Industry. Here naked socialism entered despite furious opposition. Under Harry Hopkins, 20,000,000 million independent, free Americans received million dollars in doles and were thus raised from poverty, despair and crime. It was an astonishing performance for America and to many seemed the end of the world. Why should a rich land, where everybody was free to initiate enterprise and accumulate wealth, resort to charity in order to survive? The plain answer was that millions of Americans were not free, could not earn a living, and faced starvation; that millions more Americans dependent on the spendings of the presently unemployed faced analogous disaster. The country had no time even to enquire into the real causes of this situation before they must feed the hungry and make work for the idle.

In October, 1933, Hopkins knew that with winter coming on the unemployment problem was bound to become more desperate and that the only solution was a huge work program. Thus by his advice the CWA succeeded state and local programs of relief, and was operated and 90% supported by federal funds. This aroused keen fears of socialism among many. It was one of the broadest programs ever instituted by the United States Government and sought to provide individual work as near as possible to previous employment with pay prevailing wages with a minimum of thirty cents an hour.

The winter of 1933-4 was a terrible [redacted] with severe cold, and later floods and hurricanes. Suffereing was wide spread and the initial appropriation of $400 millions was supplemented by $950 millions to sustain 20,000,00 in distress. In three and a half months the CWA built or improves 40,000 schools; laid 12,000,000 feet of sewer pipr; built 469 airports and improved 529 others; built or improved 255,000 miles of road; employed 50,000 teachers to teach adults open rural schools; built or improved 3,700 playgrounds and athletic fields. Among the 4,264,000 for whom work was found were 3,000 writers and artists. It will take the nation long to realise what was done for American culture by this great gesture before it was sabotahed by organized industry. Indeed under present restrictions the truth may never be known. Borglum the sculptor wrote: "You have the only department that is free to help the creative impulses of the Nation, all other aids take on the character of hard business." This part of the program brought the most bitter criticism and was the first to be dropped.

42-113-97

With the passage of the omnibs work relief bill, there appeared three divisions of the relief program, a general clearing house, the PWA under Ickes, designed to help private enterprise by pump priming; and the WPA under Hopkins, designed to furnish work, regarless of its commercial value; this

program eventually cost $10 billion dollars.

The enemies of the New Deal pounced on the WPA, as a matter of hand-outs to Pan-Handlers; only Roosevelt's popularity saved it; it rescued not only 20,000,000 needy but the manufacturers, shop-keepers and landlords, dependent on them. Desperate effort was made in to defeat Roosevelt by calling him "Bolshevik" and "Communist"; but the president's triumph was tremendous. Hopkins said : I have never liked poverty. I have never believed that with our capitalistic system people have to be poor. I think it is an outrage that we should permit hundreds and hundreds of people to be ill clad, to live in miserable homes, not to have enough to eat; not to be ablt to send their children to school for the only reason that they are poor. I don't believe ever again in America are we going to permit the things to ahppen that have happened in the past to people. We are never going back again, in my opinion, to the days of putting the old people in the alms houses, when a decent dignified pension at home will keep them there. We are coming to the day when we are going to have decent houses for the poor, when there is genuine and real security for everybody. I have gone all over the moral hurdles that epople are poor because they are bad. I don'g believe it. A system of Government on that basis is fallacious."

42-18-98

With private banking now back in power, the currency was re-valued and the wild sale of stocks curbed by the Securities Exchange Act which the banks controlled. Then the plight of the labor unions demanded attention. Their right to Bargain long recognized by all civilized lands was at last conceded by this nation and it was admitt d that coal mines might be run without m machine guns and Pinkerton dectetives. Court Injunctions were curbed in order to induce labor unions not to use their political power and form a real labor party. Then next the dole, came the greatest triumph of Roosevelt's

involuntary socialism, in the T.V.A. This perfectly clear case of government duty in an area of economic endeavor where private enterprise could not enter save with powers of government, had been championed in vain for years by George Norris. It at last was forced through Congress amid the bitter opposition of Industry. For Industry knew that this was the entering wedge for similar projects covering the river system of the whole country and destined to break the private monopoly of public wealth in agriculture, forestry and power control. Franklin Roosevelt deserves credit for this consumation of the life work and fine vision of George Norris.

42-18-99

The President said: "It is clear, that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential public usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends mere power development: it enters the wide fields of flood control, soicl erosion, afforestation, elimination from Agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry. In short, this power development of war days leads logically to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many States and the future lives and welfare of millions. It touches and gives life to all forms of human concern."

From here Roosevelt went forward to curbing the "unjust concentration of wealth and economic power" by surtaxes on income. This was the most dangerous invasion on the inner control of the nation by monopoly which the President dared. It caused his election to a second term by overwhelming vote of 27 to 16 million votes and an almost unanimous electoral vote. The inner circles of industry were in panic at the spectre of socialism while Roosevelt move to control the Supreme Court and establish minimum wages in industry.

In all his efforts Roosevelt was hampered by Congressional opposition

in the control of wealth. But neither he nor his followers realized just how this opposition got its strength. It was not mainly in the controlled voting of the East and Middle West, but in the utter suppression of democracy in the South. Here the withheld voting power of the Negroes was not eliminated, but was exercised by the white majority; and not by white laborers but by capitalists and employers. Here then could be sent to Congress and kept there to inherit the most powerful committee assignments, the most reactionary defenders of wealth and monopoly. This hard immovable core of opposition could not be met by democratic methods of reason and appeal.

42-1B-100

The plight of the Negroes themselves aggravated the unemployment situation by furnishing a mass of labor which had to accept wage at any level offered. New techniques, new enterprises, mass production, impersonal ownership and control have largely displaced the skilled Negro worker, in tobacco manufacturing, in iron and steel, in lumbering and mining, and in transportation, and have confined their common labor and domestic service to the lowest paid and worst conditioned varieties. In the new textile, chemical and other manufactures, Negroes were nearly excluded. [redacted] as slavery excluded the poor white from paying agriculture, so freedom excluded the poor Negro from rising and expanding manufacture. On the other hand, the world-wide fall of agriculture carried the mass of black farmers more and more to the level of landless tenants and peons, despite heroic help and brave endeavor among the few.

The world war and its wild aftermath, seemed for a moment to open a new door; two million black workers rushed North to work in iron and stell, make automobiles and pact meat, build houses and do the heavy toil in factories. They met, first the closed trade union which pressed them to the wall, and into the low wage gutter; denied them homes and mobbed them; and then the Depression met them.

42-1B-101

In the Depression, Negro workers, like white workers, have lost their jobs; have had mortgages foreclosed on their farm and home; have used up their small savings. But in the case of the Negro worker, everything was worse in larger or smaller degree; the loss was greater and more permanent; technological displacement begun before the depression was accellerated. The unemployment and fall in wage, struck black men sooner, lasted longer, and went to lower levels. In the rural South their education almost ceased, while Southern city schools were crowded to suffocation.

Above all, in the Negro's case, local and Federal relief helped him last. It was easily explicable human nature that the unemployed white man, and starving white child should be relieved first by local authorities who regarded them as fellowmen, and regarded Negroes as sub-human. Moreover, it might happen that while the white worker was given more than relief and helped to his feet, the black worker was pauperized by being just kept from starvation; and even when finally plans are making for national rehabilitation, and the re-building of the whole industrial system, such plans called for decisions as to the Negro's future and his relations to industry and culture in this country which the country was not prepared to make, and therefore refused to consider.

The basic problem of the "New Deal " was whether to make its objective an effort to "restore" former "prosperity" or some more fundamental change in the essential economic structure of the nation to bring greter stability and economic justice. If it was the first, there was not much hope for the Negro. He simply could look forward to being "restored" to a situation in which his propects for economic development were growing less and less. If Southern agriculture was to be put on its feet again by government aid, the Negro would remain mainly the tenant farmer and exploited casusl laborer.

If the great industries were to be similarly "restored," the Negro would still be the reservoir of unskilled labor with uncertain employment and low wage. And the restoration of banking and credit would mean comparatively little to a poverty stricken horde of laborers.

On the other hand, if the relation of industry to labor in general was to be overhauled and readjusted, if the whole relation of the farming industry to the other industry of the land was to be carefully readjusted with regard to prices, methods, machines and markets; if unempl yment was to be eradicated by shorter hours, mimimum wage, the forbidding of child labor and the arrangement of old-age security, if these and similar measures were going to change radically the basis of American life, then the American Negro barring gross discrimination, was going to have with a "New Deal" a new change to improve his condition . And only so. Wages was supposed to overblance the increased cost of production. But the first blow to Negroes came when farm laborers and domestics were not included under the protection of the codes drawn up under this act. Thus three million Negro workers, more than half of the total who must work for their livelihood, were not covered by the industrial codes. These three million are the backbone of the Negro consumer market. For them an immediate rise in prices will mean additional insecurity and suffering. Furthermore, in certain a reas where uniform minimum wages have been established for black and white workers, employers have replaced Negroes with whites rather than pay them the same wages.

42-18-102

A colored investigator's report on a visit of 200 textile mills in November, 1933, concluded that there was equally as much Negro unemployment due to labor discrimination as to poor business conditions. Whites had replaced Negroes in many cases, and no mill work and very little domestic work was available for Negro women. The local relief funds were small and

the distributors local whites; with many relief agencies supplying the needs of the white families before attempting to care for Negro families, and everywhere a grave differential in the relief allowances between whites and Negroes.

In the lumber industry, 23 cents an hour was the code wage established for the Southern branch of the industry where Negro labor was largely used and 40 cents an hour for the North and West, manned by white labor. In the Steel code, the minimum wages previously paid Negroes in Alabama was adopted and many employers started a drive for differential wages for Negroes generally. Where these were not granted, there were considerable numbers of Negroes discharged rather than pay them the same wage. In addition then to the legislated inequalities of many of the N.R.A. Codes, Negro labor was subjected to ingenious discriminations permitted by their loop-holes. As Kelly Miller said "The Negro suffers not so much from the enactment of law as from its unfair immediate administration."

42-18-103

A white Southerner, writing the the NASHVILLE DAILY TENNESSEAN declared in October, 1933, that the Negroes of Nashville and other Southern cities "were not being benefited by the N.R.A. but on the whole were sustaining an economic set-back." Extreme examples may be cited where in one county of Georgia, where 300 Negroes who were receiving 50 cents a day were discharged when a code fixed wages at 30 cents an hour. In Birmingham, Alabama, white retail grocers drew up a code of their own of $6.00 a week for Negro porters and delivery boys. In Arkansas, white farmers sent their sons to the C.C.C. camps where they received $30 a month and replaced them with Negroes at $10 and $15 a month.

This is a typical picture of what the Negro got economically under the major effort of the New Deal to raise the average worker out of the depression.

Thus the New Deal not only met opposition of concentrated wealth based on Negro disfranchisement, but also increased the opposition of white labor by increasing or failing greatly to decrease the number of poor and unemployed Negroes whose plight threatened the white standard of living. The result was violence and race riots.

Instead of decreasing in wealth and power during the crisis of 1929-33, America's sixty richest families were strengthened while masses of citizens were reduced to beggary. And even though many people have since been lifted from extreme low economic levels by some restoration of employment, the basic inequalities, issuing from no fundamental differences in skill or merit, remain as great as ever. Paralleling re-employment, which reduced the aggregate of joblessness from about twenty million in 1932 to about ten million in 1937, fantastic dividend and interest payments have been automatically returned to the top income group of not more than six thousand adults.

The United States has not only nurtured the wealthiest class history has ever known, but it has also spawned an immense, possibly permanent, army of paupers--the unemployed. One expects to find millions of impoverished in backward economics such as India, China, Japan, or Czarist Russia. In the advanced economic and cultural enviroment of North America, with all its natural resources, the phenomenon is tragically absurd.

Fewer than twenty per cent of the people possess nearly everything while nealy eighty per cent own practically nothing except chattels. Wealth itself has become monopolized.

Of 1,300,000 Americans who died in 1933, Lundberg says only ten thousand or .77 of one per cent, left taxable estates of $50,000 or more. There were 43,000,000 persons gainfully employed in the country in 1933 but only 3,600,000 could be taxed effectively despite a lowering of the tax base

42-18-104

to $1000.

The President said in his second inaugural address: "I see one third of a nation, ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished". The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Natuional Resources Committee showed, in depression years, that nearly one-third of all American incomes were under $750 a year and nearly a half under $1,000. Since then the national income, in dollars, has increased even though the dollar has decreased in value and yet eight million American families andindividuals in 1948 reeceived cash incomes of less than $1,000. THE NEW YORK TIMES, admits "relatively few of our population can save enough during the ost useful working years to sustain them during the years when they are too old or too feeble to work."

42-18-105

The resistence of Big Busniess to the Roosevelt New Deal was unremitting in 1944, Aubrey Williams said: "the fight against the Security and Exhange Commission which required them to 'tell the truth about what they were selling;' the Wages and Hours Act which provided a living wage; and the Labor Standards Act which prevented them from throwing a man into jail for asking his fellow worker to join a union." They don't like it, to destroy these and other laws enacted in behalf of the people, they have undertaken to poison the people against the pwoples government. They have marked for destruction:

The Wages and Hours Act
The Fair Labor Standards Act
The Fair Securities Exchange Act
The Fair Employment Practices Commission
The Federal Communications Commission
The Unemployment feature of the Social Security Act
The Farm Security Administration
The Production Credit Administration
The National Housing Administration
The Bank for Co-operatives
The Tennessee Valley Authority
The HOLC

It is not clear where this progress toward a welfare state would have ended, if the world had not again been plunged into war. Roosevelt was

42-18-106

aroused by the danger of the conquest of the British Empire by Hitler. It was this threat more than any conception of the place of the United States in international industry and trade that seemed behind his desire to enter war. Nor was his grasp of the international plight of industrial organization enlarged. Rather the world situation looked to him as primarily political.

All his education and social conditioning went toward his primary effort to save British culture. He forced the nation into virtual war before war was declared, furnishing battle craft and "lend-lease" of material to bolster the tottering empire. Russia entered but casually into his thought, although he had as one of his first official acts as president ended our silly refusal to recognize the Soviets. But in 1939, Russia seemed to Roosevelt negligible; he accepted the current American belief that the country was essaying an impossible economic experiment, doomed soon to inner collapse from starvation or revolution. Neither he nor the British made any real effort to make alliance with Russia.

"It is significant, also, that Mr. Roosevelt himself meant--or said he meant--by the New Deal, not 'a new social order' so much as the safeguard of the old against the malpractices of evil men. And with all Mr. Roosevelt's remarkable and courageous experiments, with all his amazing hold upon public opinion, it was tragically evident, after his death, that if he had influenced the ordinary man's conception of Americanism, he had been unable so totransform it that there was any general perception of the need for a 'new social order.' His successor, President Truman, as well as his Republican opponents, returned, almost without knowing it, to the ideology of that Americanism from which, as they seemed to assume, the New Deal had ben simply a temporary deviation."

The chief Republican paper, THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, in April, 1934, declared that the administration's policies had been a sucsession of unrelated and hastily devised remedies and that "so far from producing a planned economy, the New Deal has produced an economic chaos, with no end in sight." It called for an end to extravagant spending, tinkering with the dollar, price and wage fixing, and "the mad effort to subject every industry to a code, whether suited to such regulation or not."

When Sumner Wells was sent to sound out Europe on peace, Russia was not included. Roosevelt did not feel that such a visit would be of any use and regarded Russia as a certain victim of Hitler. He said that once in the early days of communism, "I recognized that many leaders in Russia were bringing education and better health and above all, better opportu ity to millions who had been kept in ignorance and serfdom under the imperial regime. I disliked the regimentation under communism. I abhorred the indiscrimin te killings of thousands of innocent victims. I heartily deprecated the banishment of religion."

42-18-107

Roosevelt did not at the time understand in the least the intricate problems that faced the Soviets or the situation which forced the war against Finland. Thus although both the British and Americans knew that Hitler was planning to attack Russia no plans were mentioned to secure Russia's help which was not regarded worth the effort. Churchill forcast the march of Hitler through the Balkans, Russia and even "to the gates of India."

Lend-lease was debated two months and was admitted as necessary to save Britain, Greece and China, open permission for the President to include other countries, especially Russia brought sharp opposition. There was a hard fight and compromise was suggested but the President was firm and got the power to extend lend-lease to the Soviets if Hitler or Japan attacked

her. Fortunately Hopkins was put in charge of lend-lease, where he eventually spent $60 billions of dollars.

Stalin in 1939, had no faith in the ability of Britain , France or the United States being able to stop Hitler. He hated Hitler but saw no way to keep Russia out of war save for a non-agression pact with the Nazis. Every effort has been made to obscure the role of Russia from 1933 to 1939. Yet the facts are clear: when the Nazi revolution came Russia tried to insure world peace. She joined the League of Nations, made mutual aid treaties with France and Czechoslovakia, urged sanctions against Mussolini in his attack on Ethiopia , aided the Spanish republic, helped China against Japan and asked for an international conference against Hitler after his seizure of Austria. Had this Russian initiative been followed, World War II, would never have occured.

47-18-108

But France and Britain refused because such a policy would have protected Russia and they wanted Hitler to conquer Russia and remove this menace to world capitalism which they had triedto eliminate since 1917. The United States also refused cooperation with Russia, although Roosevelt was dissatisfied by this attitude. He was hald back by Congress, the State Department and the Catholic Church.

Western Europe hoped that Hitler would leave it in peace while he attacked Russia. For this they were willing to give up the League of Nations, give Manchuria to Japan, let Germany re-arm and take Austria and Czechoslovakia and the Rhineland; give Ethiopia to Italy and Spain to Franco. Our own Bullitt said "It would be the wish of the democratic countries that armed conflict would break out in the East between the German Reich and Russia... Germany would be obliged to wage a long and weakening war." The Dodd Diary says that Britain, the Nazis and Bullitt favored dividing

the world, with Germany dominating all of Europe. Japan was to control Asia.

But in March 1939, Hitler made it clear that he proposed to attack the West before crushing Russia. Britain and France were dismayed but persisted in seaking to appease Hitler at the expense of Russia. Britain proposed a curious pact: that Russia should undertake "if desired" to fight Germany in case Germany attacked Poland or Romania; and this after Poland had refused to permit Russians on her soil. There was no suggestion that England would fight Germany if Germany attacked Russia, and naturally Russia refused such a commitment. A month later, Chamberlain, although refusing to visit Russia proposed a Soviet alliance but with no commitment, as to the future of the Baltic states which had for 20 years had been the spearhead for Western conquest of Russia.

42-113-109

He finally sent a minor official to Russia by slow boat, with power to agree only to "consultation" in case Russia was attacked. Roosevelt could take no action, but a member of the United States staff in Russia gave Germany every encouragement. Finally in July, Chamberlain agreed to a "military mission to Moscow" composed of men of no standing and no power. Because of Britain's refusal to make a treaty of mutual assistance, the Soviets determined to make alliance with Germany, if they could obtain defence of their own frontiers in Poland and the Baltic states. This was no agreement to share the loot of Poland, since Germany had already determined to take poland; this pact enabled Russia to seize so much of Poland ~~wx~~ as would ensure her own defense against Germany; nor was any other procedure possible, since neither Poland nor England would consent to Russia's defense of Poland.

Already in May, France and Britain knew that a German-Soviet treaty involving seizure of Poland, would follow failure to make a treaty between

Russia and the West. They refused to do this, and instead in January, 1940 Britain and France agreed to wage war themselves on Russia in Finland and the Soviet oilfields in the Southwest. They had a hundred thousand troops which Sweden refused passage in March; after the Soviets and Finland made peace, the French and British staffs continued to plan war against Russia in the Caucasus oil fields.

42-18-110

Meantime, in November, 1940, Russia tried to sound out Hitler in accord with his proposal of a more extended alliance, but already Hitler without knowledge of many of his trusted advisers had determined to fight Russia, in August. War began in June, 1941. While war is waging all thought of its cause is submerged in the all-out struggle to win. And when in addition the expenditures of war solve problems of unemployment and profit, then danger mounts with victory and is at the same time disguised.

This was the case of Roosevelt in the Second World War. His and the nation's attention was diverted from fundamental domestic problems to saving Great Britain and a personal devil called Hitler came to stand for all evil. But behind the phenomena of Hitler and Mussolini, lurked and festered basic problems analogouswhich were the worst counter-part of those which caused the crash of 1929 in America. The economic organization of the world had cracked widely if not permanently. In that world organization America had played an essential role, not less important because it was industrial rather than political. To recover from collapse effort on a world scale with world planning was essential. The United States attempted the impossible task of national and internal recovery, separate from world adjustment. On this theory the socialism of the New Deal was based and could at best have been but partially successful. But it was a forward step and was leading straight to international effort, first by tariff reduction and then by economy

planned for the world and not just for America. This tendency-Fascism halted by attempting the restoration of world economy not by fundamental change byt simply by changing the beneficiaries of the system; Germany and Italy were to share equally in the profits of colonialism and world trade. To intensify and integrate this demand both these lands effected a new internal distribution of wealth which was a national but not international socialism.

American recovery had no international aims and small national transfer of wealth. But there had appeared in Russia a new international socialism which both Fascism on the one side and the dictatorship of organized wealth, in the United States and Britain feared. After a world war to crush Russian Communism, failed because the organizations of world industry which it was protecting broke down, every effort was made to effect a modus vivendi between the German and British control of world trade. It would have been successful had not megalomania, approaching insanity, taken grip on Hitler. He began to conceive himself not as equal partner of the industrial giants--Britain France and the United States, but as concueror of Russia and master of the world. He accomplished recognition and full partership in world industry so easily during the years of industrial disaster that in 1939, he entered arrogantly on his vaster and more fantastic mission.

42-1B-111

He determined to conquer France and Britain in turn, and then ignoring the United States, crush Russia and with Japan to work his will in Asia. This wild dream could hate been stopped in its tracks by a combination of Britain, Russia and the United States. But both Britain and France discounted Russia: first they thought her weak and on the verge of collapse because of her planned economy; and second they feared that in case her socilism was successful it might spre d by example or force to the British empire and America.

Both Britain and the United States rebuffed Russia's frantic efforts to make alliance with them and forced her either to ally herself with Hitler or fight the world. The Western world was aghast when Hitler offered Russia the alliance which they had refused. They knew the truce was phoney and so did Russia; but Russia immediately moved to strengthen her western frontier in Polant while Hitler crushed France and had Britain gasping for breath, when the United States rescued her with arms and materials. Balked here Germany turned and attacked Russia. Here was the opportunity of the modern world; immediate and concerted efforts could have ecntained Hitler and Mussolini and united Europe could have held Japan in Asia. But this would have made Russia a co-partner with the erstwhile masters of the world. This, Britain, the United States nor France was prepared to consent to.

42-18-112

Roosevelt secured only neutrality between 1935 and 1937. In 1939, after Hitler had seised Poland and Czechoslovakia, and entered Austria and made alliance with Russia, Congress dropped the arms embargo. In January, 1941 Roosevelt demanded the Four Freedoms--Speech, Worship, Freedom from Want , Freedom fron Fear. In June France fell to Hitler and Mussolini joined to share the loot. Churchhill succeeded Chamberlain and the Battle of Britain began. Roosevelt transferred 50 destroyers to Britain in return for military bases. Congress voted 18 billions of dollars for aramament and established the draft. The November elections returned Roosevelt triumphantly to the White House and in March Lend-lease was authorized by Congress. By June, Hitler had turned on Russia and Roosevelt saw that lend-lease must go to her. He and Churchill met in Mid-Atlantic in August, and framed the Atlantic Charter. In the Spring, Roosevelt closed the German and Italian Consulates.

Suddenly in 1941, Japan began her war of conquest by attacking the

United States in Hawaii, Guam and the Phillipines and the British in Hong-Kong. In February, 1942, Singapore fell and the Japanese flag swept over 6000 miles from the Aleutians to Australia. It was the greatest uprising of Asia since Genghis Khan.

The amazing uprising of Asia against Europe was implemented by the attempt of Japan at imperial expansion over Asia to oust European masters. December 7, 1941 the United States fleet was attacked in Hawaii, 8 battleships and 10 other ships were sunk and 3000 men killed or missing. The Japanese then struck at the Phillipines, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Dutch East Indies and the Islands of the Pacific. They stretched their empire thousands of miles in three months. Siam fell, then Guam, then Wake Island. The Phillipines gave up in May, by this time the Japanese had spread over Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, Burma and Singapore; they had sunk two British battleships. The Japanese fell into the trap of the Allies in February and overcame it. They captured the Dutch East Indies with their oil and rubber, they took Rangoon, the capitol of Burma and Mandalay. MacArthur gave up the Phillipines and sailed to Australia.

42-18-113

To me the tragedy of this epoch was that Japan learned Western ways too soon and too well. She had a fine culture and an industrial technique unsurpassed in workmanship and adaptability. The Japanese clan was an effective social organ and her art expression was unsurpassed. She might have led Asia and the world into a new era,, But her headstrong leaders chose to apply Western imperialism to her domination of the East, and Western profit-making instead of Eastern idealism. If she had succeeded it might have happened that she would have spread her culture and achieved a co-prosperity sphere with freedom of soul. Perhaps. But in her headlong effort to conquer Asia, she affronted both the British Empire and American

Big Business. That spelled her doom for they had the military might and the wealth, while her arrogance toward Asia gave her no help from those millions ready to follow her lead but as men not slaves. But Japan is not dead. She bides her time. If she learns well she may yet lead new Asia.

42-18-114

The United States was scared out of its isolation and declared war against Japan, Germany and Italy in 1941. All wanted the United States to win, but some also wanted Russia to lose, other wanted England to lose and many wanted Roosevelt to lose. Now America, Britain and Russia could unite for victory; but there were difficulties; America had to prepare for War and Big Business went on strike.

There were three phases:

1. The "sitdown" strike of the corporations which refused to go into production of both the defense program of 1939 and the first wartime program of 1941-1942.

2. Profiteering and robbery of the American people; manufacture and delivery of defective airplane motors, copper, wire, bullets and other war materials, resulting in endangering the lives of American soldiers.

3. The secret cartel deals by which the biggest American corporations supplied nations soon to be our enemies with materials and information, and kept America unprepared.

The rubber famine lasted for years because Standard Oil had suppressed the artificial rubber patents; the aluminum shortage arose because the Mellon interests were in a cartel with the Nazis; the steel interests refused to expand. The Allied nations, notably Britain and Russia, held the military lines at a loss of millions of men and homes and billions in treasure, while the United States spent two years getting into production of the instruments for winning the war.

Those owning copper mines made extravagent profits; a billion dollars were spent on airplanes before a single one was delivered; steel plate costing $315 a ton was sold to the government for $400 to $600 a ton; the

government spent over $100,000,000 for nitrates but got none before the Armistice; $400,000,000 was spent on 1900 contracts for shells which never reached the firing line; shipping lines sold ships to the government for $2,000,000 each and bought them back for $300,000.

It was clear why industrial leaders, in business for profit, refused to take the risk of expanding their plants for a war of indefinate length; especially since business in consumers goods like automobiles was booming. Moreover in war production, he faced strikes. His recourse was to demand enormous profit for all he did. This he got while America gambled in death and Britain was at the point of collapse

Hitler with startling change, turned east to conquer Bolshevism and control Asia through Japan, before finishing the conquest of the West. The West awaited with relief and almost with complacency, the quick overthrow of Russia. This would at least give breathing space and a chance eventually to make terms with Hitler by restoring German colonies in Africa and elsewhere with such other compromises as were necessary. And at any rate with the certainty that the threat of communism in the world would be laid for a generation if not forever.

42-13-115

The West was surprised and bewildered by the resistance which Russia exhibited to the fierce onslought of the Germans. The British immediately suggested American lend-lease to the Soviets; it would not save them but it would give Britain longer breathing spell and forward that mutual annihilation of two enemies which might save the world. Roosevelt agreet to lend-lease to Russia and sent Harry Hopkins to Russia. This was a master stroke. The United States found Stalin a blunt, straightforward man, fighting to win a war with a nation back of him. A human nexus between two great countries was established and grew from then until Roosevelt's death and Jimmy Burns tried to "get tough" with Russia and gain by threats what Roosevelt got by

compromise and friendship.

The Russian resistance grew and hardened. The German attack became an all-out struggle of vast proportions. MacArthur wrote in 1942: "The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and witnessed others, as well as study-in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy, bollowed by a smashing counterattack which is driving the enemy back to his own land. The scale and grandeur of this effort marks it as the greatest military achievement in all history."

42-18-116

If the West had responded by an equally strong push on Hitler's bare rear, the war might have been settled in 1943. But the world and its military experts refused to believe their eyes and was sure that Russia must eventually be completely vanquished. Hopkins Wrote Churchill: "There is still an amazing number of people here who do not want to help Russia and who don't seem to be able to pound into their thick heads the strategic importance of that front."

The Western armies stalled hoping that Germany and Russia would destroy each other and thus eliminate the two greatest threats to the restoration of the former world industrial imperialism. They were deceived. Russia proved stronger, far stronger than they thought possible. She conquered Germany and entered Berlin before the Allies invaded France and eight months before the near disaster of the Bulge even the nibbling at Africa began late in 1941 and carried on until 1943. There in June 1943 the Allies tried to take Italy but were held back until 1945. Lord Beverbrook wrote in 1943:

"Can we afford more time for preparation? The Germans have a most powerful army in the East. The Russians used up men and resources at a heavy rate last winter in an offensive which stopped short of its fullest aims. There is always the risk that Japan will stab in the back. It cannot be said that Moscow, Baku or Leningrad are out of danger. It can still less be said that we and the Americans could in any measurable space of time win without Russian assistance." Asia conquered by Japanese refused on Japans' defeat to return to her colonial role. The world had to be recast with Russia as one of the main partmenrs, with Asia starting toward autonomy not simply in political control but in economic independence.

42-18-117

It was here that Roosevelt turned back from war to economic reconstruction and played his greatest role, disastrously interupted by death in 1945. Britain interested in her African and Asiatic empire, turned her strength to North Africa instead of France and Germany. The United States was induced to join in this effort and then strike at the Medit erranean and the Near East instead of Germany. There was shrewd calculation here to appease the certain wrath of Hitler by saving him from defeat in Europe while strenthening British hold on Asia and the near East and using this for bargaining after Hitler's delayed triumph. The sudden uprush and miraculous foray of Japan threw consternation into both Britain and America. Russia instead of figuring as a threat and nuisance who might serve to weaken Hitler, became the one great nation which might wipe out the German menace and contain Japan.

Here Roosevelt rose to statemenship. He set out to build friendship with the Union of Soviets and dragged Churchill with him. The only man in the world at the time capable of getting the trust and friendship of Stalin was Franklin Roosevelt; and he accomplished this by frankness and honest dealing. He knew that Stalin was no fool nor barbarian. He knew that

Russia had demands and was capable of enforcing them. He knew that Stalin kept his word but was not to be misled by flattery nor double talk. Personal conferences were arranged between Roosevelt, Churchill , Stalin and Chiang kai-Shek at Cairo, Teheran and Yalta, and at a cost in sheer physical strain that killed Roosevelt. But it brought peace to the world. MacArthur returned to the Phillipines in 1944 and the greatest naval battle in the war and perhaps in history with 300 war-ships participating again. Russia denounced its neutrality pact with Japan in 1945 and Japan was called upon to surrender or face complete destruction. She refused and was blocaded. On August 6, the first atomic bomb was dropped and on the 14th Japan surrendered.

42-18-118

Stalin demanded a strong attack from the West through France and Germany, with war material to keep his armies in the field; in return for this Russia offered 15 million lives and the destruction of her best in new industrial regions. After peace, she wanted the cordon sanitaire under her control sto that the threat of Western invasion of Russia through the Baltic states, Poland and the Balkans should be allayed forever; and she Western tools and machinery to rebuild her stricken economy after she had delivered the world from the threat of Adolf Hitler.

Roosevelt offered continued and increased supplies; pushed a long delayed Western attack; acquesedin or did not offer the annexation of the Baltic states and in turn asked the entrance of Russia into the war against Japan. This was the story of these four world conferences, which stopped the war and sought to stop all war forever by eventual world organization and understanding. In March, 1945, Roosevelt reported to Congress on Yalta:

"The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation, it cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, or a French or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace

of large nations-- or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

"It cannot be what some people think--a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace, and it will be a peace, based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter--on the concept of the dignity of the human being--and on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship."

Tremendous further agreements were necessary and the implementation and refining of those agreed on in principle. Had Roosevelt lived this had every chance of being accomplished, not without friction but with faith, understanding and good will. But at Roosevelt's death, Big Business stepped in on both sides of the seas to stop materials from going to Russia to restore her economy; to seize the industry and land monopoly of the Baltic States and the Balkans; to keep Russia out of the Germany which her blood had redeemed; to renew the fight on a bitter scale on Communism. Here was built the foundations of a Third World War.

42-1B-119

Joseph C. Harsch wrote, in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, "The Yalta Conference stands out as a conference of decision. The meetings which produced that Atlantic Charter and at Casablanca, Teheran and Quebec were declarations of policy of intents. The meeting at Yalta was plainly dominated by a desire, willingness and determination to reach solid decisions."

Hopkins later said to me, "We really believed in our hearts that this was the dawn of the new day we had all been praying for and talking about for so many years. We were absolutely certain that we had won the first great victory of the peace--and, by 'we', I mean ALL of us, the whole civilized human race. The Russians had proved that they could be reasonable and farseeing and there wasn't any doubt in the minds of the President or any of us that we could live with them and get along with them peacefully for as far into the future as any of us could imagine.

SEVEN CRITIQUES OF NEGRO EDUCATION, 1906-1938

W. E. B. Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

SEVEN CRITIQUES OF NEGRO EDUCATION

1908 - 1938

By

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D.

41-2-1

Author of THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE, JOHN BROWN, THE GIFT OF BLACK FOLK, DARKWATER, DARK PRINCESS, BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, BLACK FOLK: THEN AND NOW, DUSK OF DAWN

1940

Explanation

Seven times in seventy years ~~— mostly in the last thirty —~~ it has seemed my duty to criticize and evaluate the education of American Negroes. Mostly, but not wholly, I have talked of college training at critical times in the career of various well-known Negro colleges, because I regard the college as the true founding stone of all education, and not as some would have it, the kindergarten. These speeches were made at various times at well-known institutions: one each was made at Hampton, Wilberforce and Howard, four at Fisk, and one ~~to a New England audience~~ (for, albeit not at, Atlanta University). Of the speeches at Fisk only two applied specifically to Fisk; the other ~~two~~ was were of general application, and I made those because as an alumnus I made my Alma Mater my forum. The speeches represent in each case my firm conviction and emotional reaction against certain trends and facts which I wished to oppose or forward. The spoken word is not usually an attractive form of literature shorn as it must be of its responsive living audience. As I looked these talks over, my first temptation was to edit them into a statement of my present views. But on reflexion, it seemed to me better if they were left standing as they are, as a sort of living record of reaction, written out before delivery and set down with some care. They would in a way tell more of what Negroes have been thinking concerning the development of their education especially in the colleges. I am, therefore, publishing these seven talks with explanations of their occasion and some of the results of their delivery.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Atlanta, 1940

A final summation of my philosophy was made here on the 50th anniversary of my graduation.

1906

In 1906 the United States was obsessed with what may be called the Hampton-Tuskegee idea of Negro education. It was in a sense logical and sincere and I would have said in 1900 that I believed in it, but not as a complete program. I believed that we should seek to educate a mass of ignorant sons of slaves in the three R's and the technique of work; in a sense of the necessity and duty of good work. But beyond this, I also believed that such schools must have teachers, and such a race must have thinkers and leaders; and for the education of these folk we needed good and thorough Negro colleges.

For several years I attended the Negro conferences held in the summer at Hampton, with the idea of knitting together in thought and statement, the case of higher education and industrial education. But it was in vain. The resolutions passed by these conferences mentioned everything except the Negro college; for instance, in 1902 under "education", agriculture, manual training, religious training, normal schools and kindergartens were mentioned. There was mention of business, religion, domestic economy and sanitation; but not a word was said about the Negro college. This continued for several years. I did not obtrude my views. After all, I was a guest and after publication of my criticism of Booker T. Washington in the SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, in 1903, I was under a certain suspicion. But I said to myself, "I am going to stop attending these conferences until I am especially asked to speak, and then I am going to say precisely what I think." The invitation came in the summer of 1906. It was with something of that inexplicable but magnificent confidence of youth that I stood before a small embattled Hampton and spoke.

THE HAMPTON IDEA

I have chosen a theme tonight which seems to me most weighty and important -- that contains in a way all the kernel of that message which I have been called to give to men. I am to speak of Self Assertion and the Higher Education: I am going to point out the Great Lack which faces our race in the modern world, i.e., Lack of Energy; and the Great Fear that consciously and unconsciously grips the world lest that Lack be supplied. I want to say that this will be partially realized in the inevitable and needful assertion of the self in each of us -- the self of the race, the self of the individual -- the soul of the man and soul of the man's world. Further than this I particularly wish to impress upon you that this forceful, often rude, but always mighty, assertion of the human self needs a curbing and a balancing -- a niceness of concentering and adjustment -- in fine an education, and an education which is higher and more important and more infinitely meaningful for the world and its wide ideals, than any of the other kinds of important but subordinate training which men must have. And finally, I will say that this strongly asserted but balanced self -- this fully self-conscious but cultured soul will move toward a perfectly definite and clearly conceived goal without faltering or hesitation and from that goal to goals beyond and so forever onward.

This is my theme tonight, and for whatever heresy it contains in time and place I beg your indulgence. For in the world this alone is necessary -- that if a man speak and act, he speak and act the truth and not a lie.

What is it that in the modern world this race of ours most clearly lacks -- what is our greatest need, our greatest failing? At first thought I suppose few persons would agree in the answer to this question: one would say education, one would say wealth, some would think patience and some would think it was ability, especially organizing ability. And yet most of these answers would be comprehended in the one answer which I shall give: Energy. The great Lack of the Negro race and of nearly all the darker races today is Energy, self-assertiveness, the command and use of at least its more conspicuous powers.

Nor is this racial indolence or ease of life, a fault or badge of inferior gift or development. It simply represents a defense of tropical races against a tropical sun. No hurried, worried race could ever have risen out of the blazing suns of Africa -- rather conditions of living there demanded that languid dalliance with nature and her wants which we crudely and harshly call the laziness of the tropics. And this indolence has come down to us by heredity -- not that uncertain and doubtful physical heredity of which we talk far more than we know, but by that immensely more important cause of human rhythmic action which we call social heredity, and social heredity is another way of saying that in general we act and think as our neighbors do and that our closest neighbors are our parents and grandparents. Nor does the lack of energy which we as a race bring down in unconscious imitation of our fathers deserve today to be denominated laziness. We are not lazy; we work, we work continuously; and more of us work than do other Americans; rather this racial trait of ours today shows itself in a certain lack of initiative -- a timidity in doing: a want of self-confidence, self-assertiveness and self-knowledge -- a kind of spiritual hesitation in a world where spirit rules.

Now the world knows this and the American world above all frequently points to it, and yet when the manifest antidote appears, when the remedy is pointed out, when the course of procedure, which will turn indolence into energy, hesitation into confidence, and self-diffidence into self-assertion -- when the well known and world-tried methods of human awakening are mentioned in regard to us and ours, there falls a strange and ominous hush on the voices of the world; and spoken or unspoken, there arises the Great Fear.

Now the Great Fear has been variously named and designated -- it has been called in the past, Mob rule, San-Cullotism, the Yellow Peril, the Negro Problem, and Social Equality. Whatever it is called, the foundation of the Great Fear is this: when a human being becomes suddenly conscious of the tremendous powers lying latent within him, when from the puzzled contemplation of a half-known self, he rises to the powerful assertion of a self, conscious of its might, then there is loosed upon

the world possibilities of good or of evil that make men pause. And when this happens in the case of a class or nation or a race, the world fears or rejoices according to the way in which it has been trained to contemplate a change in the conditions of the class or race in question. . .

And thus today also the Great Fear is speaking among men. It is voicing itself more or less articulately against all the darker races, but more particularly against those of Negro descent. It says in its saner moments: these Negroes -- they are, humanly-speaking, brothers; they have some rights and deserve some opportunities; but deal carefully with them. Put their rights in the background; emphasize their duties -- say little of ambition or aspiration; and above all, watch and ward against the first appearance of arrogance or self-assertion or consciousness of great power. Take the eyes of these millions off the stars and fasten them in the soil; and if their young men will dream dreams, let them be dreams of corn bread and molasses.

There has thus arisen what may be called the soothing syrup attitude toward the race problem. This consists in the frequent administration of sweet and pleasant doses so compounded as to put the unwary to sleep and stop his incessant complaints.

This then, young men and women, is the situation: the necessary indolence of our fathers is unsuited to a more active age and more rigorous climate. Yet the world has always feared itself and particularly feared the unconscious sub-stratum. "When the sleeper wakes," it has ever cried, "Beware!" Consequently, there has risen up a policy of harsh repression and gentle discouragement toward you and me and the children we teach, lest in our awakening from our racial indolence to the feverish activity and self-assertion of this modern age we bring catastrophe upon the nation.

Under such circumstances, what is our duty, particularly our duty toward those children whom we are educating? For education is by derivation and in fact a drawing out of human powers. If the extent and character of this development is itself a matter of world-dispute, how shall we govern ourselves?

First we must carefully understand the age in which we live; above all, we must realize that this is an age of tremendous activity; that today no race which is not prepared to put forth the full might of its carefully developed powers can hope to maintain itself as a world-power. On one point, therefore, there can be no question -- no hesitation: unless we develop our full capabilities, we cannot survive: if we are to be trained grudgingly and suspiciously, trained not with reference to what we can be, but with sole reference to what somebody wants us to be; if instead of following the methods pointed out by the accumulated wisdom of the world for the development of full human power, we simply are trying to follow the line of least resistance and teach black men only such things and by such methods as are momentarily popular, then my fellow teachers, we are going to fail and fail ignominiously in our attempt to raise the black race to its full humanity and with that failure falls the fairest and fullest dream of a great united humanity.

If then beyond peradventure or doubt we must strive to develop this Negro race to its very utmost, making them men and not half men, then there comes the great question How? Here the experience of the world comes to our aid: mere self-assertion -- the crude putting forth of powers of which the boy or man has suddenly become conscious, does not in any case mean the fulness of a man's powers; to this initial energy must succeed the long and careful process of co-ordination and development, the balancing and repression, the inspiration and encouragement. The fulness of this process is a matter of a man's whole life, but the beginning of it and the most important part of it -- the crucial and critical period of its effective fulfillment, is in the years which we call specifically and peculiarly the years of education. And we call the higher education that part of human training which is devoted specifically and peculiarly into bringing the man into the fullest and roundest development of his powers as a human being.

While most persons of all ages would without hesitation admit this definition, yet the peculiar character of each age has stamped and changed the practical application of this higher training. . . Today in European culture we have just passed

a peculiar and striking period of history. Always in all ages there went on co-ordinate with the higher training in human development, a training in the technical methods of earning a living. For life with all its higher ends and aims must be a grim struggle with starvation and exposure. In earlier days the training by which men got food and clothes and shelter was not given in schools at all. The slaves and serfs who attended to this work were not supposed to be subjects for education at all. In the 19th century of our era, however, there came a tremendous mechanical development. So that never before have so many of the physical wants of the world been so well satisfied with so small an expenditure of human energy. On the other hand, development in the higher things of life has naturally fallen behind in this advance -- our system of justice, our political life, our moral standards can scarcely be said to have advanced permanently and perceptibly for 2,000 years.

Naturally now with this tremendous emphasis on the technique of earning a living and with the enormous success in this struggle with the jealous material world, there has come a reflex influence on human education. The first evidence of this is the raising of technical education out of the homes and above haphazard methods, into great schools and into careful methods of training. But the influence has not stopped here. On the contrary, there has come a distinct philosophy of education which makes the earning of a living the centre and norm of human training and which moreover dogmatically asserts that the subject matter and methods of work peculiar to technical schools are the best for all education -- that outside them there is properly no higher training. Longer training a man may have, but no higher -- the highest and best training is that which enables a man to earn a living.

Now it is this particular philosophy of education from which I have come here frankly to dissent and to express my dissent to you as teachers as strongly as I am able. And I do this the more willingly, because Hampton is the center of this, as I regard it, educational heresy, and because with all the striking history of this school, the noble lives given to its upbuilding and the peculiar efficiency of its

present organization, there is always present a tone which, as it seems to me, contradicts and almost sneers at the wonderful ideals which founded this great school.

Of course I know that this characterization of the Hampton philosophy is largely a matter of personal interpretation, and yet, in an institution where the President of the United States can with applause tell young men not to hitch their wagons to a star, but to a mule; -- where the sincere old man who spoke on this platform three days ago, can say amid laughter that the great duty of a minister is to teach his flock to raise a good dinner; and where around all and in all, there is an insistence on the practical in a manner and tone that would make Socrates an idiot and Jesus Christ a crank -- in such a place it seems to me no infringement of the rights of hospitality to say that I believe that this doctrine is so fundamentally false as to call for a word of warning.

I know that all these incidents I have mentioned are capable of an interpretation which has its measure of truth. I know that the great duty before you and me and our people today is to earn a living; and yet -- and yet, there is in these doctrines an ineradicable falsification of truth and human history, and I am alarmed not so much that you are going to be misled by the untruth lurking in the truth, as I am alarmed at the case of the students you teach: no one can go through Hampton and believe that the world is simply bread and butter -- they know that it is earth and air -- the wonderful, gleaming sea, and the verdure of flower and fruit; but when you as teachers, have learned a certain Hampton way of expressing yourselves, I am wondering and anxiously wondering, just what picture of the world and life your students are getting.

Now I have said that in order to match the great demands of this age we need to throw off our indolence and use and develop every power that God has given us, and that the higher education is a method of developing these powers. Does this mean that college-bred men, trained in the technique of industry, receive as a matter of fact nothing broader than this? By no means. There is a sort of false distinction

in these matters that has grown up and which does mischief. The college training is supposed to be chiefly ornamental and partly useless; interesting to such as have time, money, and inclination, but otherwise not to be indulged in. On the other hand, industrial training is accused of confining itself to purely technical work after a fashion which is simply untrue of any industrial school.

As a matter of fact the college curriculum or the curriculum of the industrial school depends not so much on its content -- on its actual studies, as on its aim. The aim of the higher training of the college is the development of power, the training of a self whose balanced assertion will mean as much as possible for the great ends of civilization. The aim of technical training on the other hand is to enable the student to master the present methods of earning a living in some particular way. Incidentally the college may and often does give some technical training; incidentally and always the industrial school teaches more than mere technique. It is no criticism of the college to say that its graduates are not technically efficient, just as the industrial school cannot justly be criticized for not turning out men of culture.

41-2-10

But the attitude that we as Negroes must take toward these two kinds of training is this: just as far as the race can afford it we must give to our youth a training designed above all to make them men of power, of thought, of trained and cultivated taste; men who know whither civilization is tending and what it means. The ideal would be to train every man in this way, and toward this ideal we tend. But today only a few can have such training because the time and labor of most men is needed for providing for the world's physical wants. Consequently we must select the most promising for this broader, higher education; and I sincerely hope that you will ever be alert to select from your students those of talent and promise and impress them with the fact that life is more than living -- that necessary as it is to earn a living, it is more necessary and important to earn a life: that is to do for the world -- its thought, its aspiration, its human value, so much that the world will not always continue to ask if life is worth living.

Impress it upon your pupils that potatoes and cows are only valuable because of the heaped up sacrifice, the midnight musing, the morning dreams of men who did not have potatoes enough to keep them alive. Send these talented boys to college -- urge them and push them through, remembering that never in God's world is this Negro race going to hold its place in the world, until it shows by its fully developed and carefully trained powers its undoubted ability to do so. This fact is true. Men know it is true and I am particularly sorry that the college-bred men who write the Hampton conference resolutions have never found courage to say in this matter what they really believe.

After we have sent our most promising to college, then not only the rest, but the college men too, need training in technical schools for the actual technique. Hampton Institute, instead of giving the world the impression that she has no use for college training, ought systematically to attract colored college graduates to post-graduate courses in technique; indeed just as the colleges need technique to complete their training of men for actual life, so the sad and crying need of industrial schools is men with culture and training enough in the broader humanities really to profit by the great technical opportunities of a plant like this.

When now we have gained for our race training in modern industry and for our national leaders, self-assertion through a higher training in life and thought and power, then we can move toward the goal. What is that goal: it is at present one great Ideal: the abolition of the color line; the treatment of all men according to their individual desert and not according to their race. This is the one straight way of the Lord, despite all the devious paths which our friends and enemies suggest. Toward this I am pointing you tonight, my young friends. Toward this the voice of Ages points -- a voice crying in the wilderness, "Make straight the way of the Lord."

ENVOY

This was said in 1906 and it was not until 1936 that I was invited back to Hampton. The Hampton folk of 1906 were outraged at my words. Many considered that I had abused their hospitality. But I thought at the time that I was speaking the

truth; and as I read the speech over today there is not much that I would change. When I went back to Hampton in 1936, behold, Hampton had become a college and was wondering what to do with her industrial equipment! Indeed so complete was the transformation, that in after years I again took Hampton to task for surrendering the Hampton idea so entirely.

1908

It was in a spirit of stern and lofty criticism that I spoke at Fisk University in 1908, twenty years after my graduation. Much had happened in those years and even in the two years since I had spoken at Hampton. Erastus Cravath, the fine and stately first President of Fisk, died in 1901. In accordance with missionary custom a retired minister was put in his place. It was an unfair task to put upon James G. Merrill. He was a kindly man 68 years of age and did not recognize the change taking place in Negro education. The old afflatus of Reconstruction times and the crusading teacher had gone, and the problem of supporting education by passing the hat was beginning to appear. He was not equal to the task; few people were. Indeed in the end the whole scheme broke down. But Dr. Merrill thought he saw a ray of light. My college school mate, Maggie Murray, became the second wife of Booker T. Washington in 1893. Dr. Merrill thought that through Washington's influence some help might come from monied interests to Fisk University; and to lure this philanthropy he proposed to make certain changes in the Fisk curriculum. Abruptly in the catalogue of 1906-07, Fisk advertised a new department of "Applied Science". This was to be accomplished by a modification and enlargement of old courses and by the introduction of new ones aggregating over 2,500 hours of instruction additional per year. The money was furnished by the General Education Board, the citizens of Nashville, the Slater Fund, and others. There was added to the faculty an associate professor of agriculture and associate professor of mechanic arts. The college work in this department consisted of five courses in agriculture including animal husbandry, plant breeding, structural botany, and rural engineering. In the mechani-

cal arts, came practical courses in architectural drawing, woodwork and the theory of machines. In domestic science and art, came cooking and sewing. In 1907 and 1908 the teachers of agriculture and mechanical arts became full professors. Two women directed cooking and sewing in both these years.

On the face of it, the proposed department did not look genuine. First of all it was going to teach agriculture without a farm and on the limestone rocks of the city of Nashville. In the second place only two teachers were detailed for all this work, and they were teaching not simply college students but high school and even elementary students. There was no machinery or adequate laboratory. Two other persons who had long been teaching cooking and sewing in the high school and normal courses were regarded as parts of this new department. There was no way in which this proposed department could be regarded as the beginning of a technical or engineering school of college rank. At best it was a poor imitation of what Hampton and Tuskegee were struggling to do. All this seemed to many of the alumni and to me as a Surrender and a Lie; the surrender of college training to the current industrial fad, without the honest effort and equipment which this entailed. We were alarmed. We were fighting for academic life. We were striving for the survival of the Negro college in a day of starvation and ridicule. A current anecdote going the rounds was true enough to be false: one dark collegian asks another: "Is you done yo' Greek?" I remember that George E. Haynes, a graduate of Fisk, then a student in the New York School of Social Work and afterward founder of the Urban League, came to me hot-foot in Atlanta. He said, "You are sure to be invited to speak on your twentieth reunion. You must help save Fisk. She is surrendering to industrialism." I was excited and my crusading spirit aroused. Perhaps we were over-fearful, but I thought then that I was stemming a tide, and so I spoke to the graduating class.

GALILEO GALILEI

The man whom we know as Galileo was born in 1564 and died in 1642; born just after Elizabeth of England ascended the throne and died as the Thirty Years' War was about to end; and yet this tells us little until we understand the meaning of

the Age in which he lived -- the waning 16th and the dawning 17th centuries; and unless above all it happens that we catch tonight the peculiar way in which his life and problems concern us and our problems both as individuals and as graduates of Fisk University.

Galileo was born of noble rank in Pisa which we all know for its leaning tower and bronze doors, but which stood then for a memory and a prophecy -- a memory of former glory of artist, merchant, and warrior, there where its marble palaces cunning in handiwork looked down on the Arno and the Sea.

He became a learner and teacher of men and in this life career what did he accomplish three hundred years ago? The simple unexplained record is in itself wonderful; he found the law of falling bodies, he invented the telescope, he discovered the moons of Jupiter, he explained the reflected light of planets; he laid down the laws of cohesion, he studied the law of the pendulum and applied it to the clock, and above all he adduced irrefragable proof of the correctness of the Copernican doctrine that the sun and not the earth is the centre of our universe. Simply and barely stated this accomplishment is tremendous. To few human beings has it been given, in a life of four score years, to advance so momentously the sum of human knowledge. But this bare recounting does not do justice to his genius. Judge this World Genius not simply by the things he learned, but rather by the ignorance of his Age. This was a day when falling and gravitation were things too slight for human minds to ponder over; when the sky was regarded as a decorated changeable roof of the world; when time depended on sundials and hour glasses; and when the grand old legend of Joshua and the sun in Ajalon was regarded as a plain and literal statement of fact. It was a day when men assumed knowledge of the whole Truth and argued down to the individual fact, instead of ceaselessly, endlessly, and minutely studying the fact and then guessing as we do today cautiously at the mighty shadow of Reality. Here then was a human soul that walked into this world naked and unashamed, that dared to see what his own eyes saw and think whither his own clear logic. A dangerous soul -- a Revolutionist greater than Robespierre, a

socialist wilder than Marx or Gorky -- a very creator of a new heaven and a new Earth.

And here if I were minded I might end with this triumph record; and with a dim hint at jealousy o'erpassed and persecution surmounted, of physical blindness and suffering ignored, celebrate a triumphant death in the year of Newton's birth; and tell of the tomb that sits today in Florence to his honor -- there where the golden Arno fragrant with memories sings to the sea beneath the olive-crowned marbles of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

But it is in such half-finished biography that men do mischief in the world and blind the eyes of young men and women like these graduates here. It sweeps dust in their eyes and discord in their ears, and to the eternal thunder of the questioning, "How?" it returns only the answer to the answered question, "What!" Easy it is to tell what men have done in this world -- Lincoln freed the slave, Grant freed Lincoln, and Hamilton made us a nation. But how -- How? asks the men who will do. Stars there are; them we see and know, but -- How do men reach them -- what of the Way, the Power, and the Opposition?

So in Galileo's life I want to turn now to three things: what was the Impulse that gave him power to do? What were the Obstacles he encountered? And How did he surmount them?

The impulse was a new vision of the world. From the time of Dante in the thirteenth up to the blossoming of Petrarch in the fifteenth Italy had been seeing life anew. Galileo was child of this awakening. The impulse behind him was the Wonder of an open mind at the mechanism of the universe. Two things in the world are ever Miraculous -- thought and motion. After the death of the dark age, the European world awoke in the Italian Renaissance to a sense of the Wonders of human thought -- their own keen speculation and the marvels of the rediscovered thought of the ancient world; then imperceptibly, the Things thought of displaced the thought of the thinking and motion, form, movement, held the attention of men and the genius

of Galileo. Something of the same thing has happened in our day; the schools have long studied Human Thought in literature, logic and speculation. Today has come attention to the more neglected wonders of the Things round us and the technique of the world. With eye and imagination thus fixed on the mystery of motion in falling body and whirling earth and moving star, Galileo started to know, to observe, to prove, to dream.

In so doing he met the Opposition -- the obstacles that ever block the way of the man who proposes in thought or deed, something New. First it took the cruder and uglier form of jealousy. We tell but half a truth to young men and women when we say do well and you will be successful. They are apt to interpret success in term of the world's applause and it is not true that the world ever applauds well-doing. In his own alma mater, the ancient University of Pisa, Galileo did well as student and professor of physics at the early age of twenty-five. But his new teachings offended a man. If that man had been an ordinary mortal, it might not have mattered; but he was Giovanni de Medici, prince of a princely house, and in three short years, at the very outset of his career, Galileo was out of a job. A year later he was called to the University of Padua and finally to Florence itself. The students of all Europe flocked to him and his inventions and discoveries spread his fame. And as his fame rose, so rose the jealous opposition.

And now men said not that he offended man, but that he blasphemed God. Blasphemy, heresy, transgression of the Dogma of the Catholic Church, were serious things in the Sixteenth Century. They meant disgrace, poverty, persecution, and death if known and proven. At first then the thing was whispered as jealous rumor, then it swelled to an open war of pamphlets and books; sermons were preached and formal denouncement of the heretic was made. The Holy Office, which we know as the Inquisition -- that dark and cruel child of the Reformation, with its servant the Society of Jesus -- took up the matter, and finally the opposition culminated in a summons to Rome and trial before seven Cardinal princes of the Holy Catholic Church.

Such was the Impulse and such the Opposition. Whither was the Path -- the way through, which Galileo pursued his journey to the End? When the man who has a clear

vision of Right, finds himself successfully approaching the goal, how shall he meet the Jealousy, Error, Selfishness and Ignorance? The world has given many answers to this, perhaps the greatest moral problem that rises. Tonight I have to tell the answer that Galileo Galilei gave: For 50 years:

He hesitated;

He explained to his friends;

He conciliated his enemies;

He promised to cease;

He argued

and finally at the age of 70

He lied -- he deliberately and with full knowledge; publicly and unequivocally he made one of the straightest and most uncompromising denials of what he knew to be the truth ever recorded and, as the legend is, sealed that falsehood by a whispered statement that he knew he was lying.

I am at present neither defending nor condemning Galileo. I am simply stating the case, and showing you the way in which a man whose service to humanity is unquestioned chose to save his life. For a long time Galileo had been successful in dodging the main issue, namely, Does the doctrine that the sun is the centre of our universe contradict the Bible? He was full seventy years of age when he was finally brought to trial. It was an imposing sight: on the rear wall of a room in the great palace of the Vatican, rose the soft outlines of a famous fresco of Raphael. Before it stretched a long, crimson coated table. Here sat the prelates of the church in their gorgeous robes -- the bishops of seven seas, the princes of the greatest human organization in modern times. A golden cricifix adorned one end and the other held seven golden candlesticks with their lighted tapers. Before the table stood two scarlet cardinals, and a corsetted soldier with drawn sword. In the midst kneeled Galileo -- a little old man of seventy y ars, decrepit, and half blind. With palsied hands and trembling lips he said these words:

"I, Galileo Galilei, of the age of seventy, being on my knees in the presence of you, most eminent and most reverend Lords Cardinals of the Universal Christian Common-

wealth, having before my eyes the holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands, swear that I have always believed, and now believe, and God helping, that I shall for the future always believe, whatever the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church holds, preaches, and teaches. But because this Holy Office had enjoined me by precept, entirely to relinquish the false dogma which maintains that the Sun is the center of the world and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center, and moves; not to hold, defend, or teach by any means, or by writing, the aforesaid false doctrine.

"Therefore, being willing to take out of the minds of your eminences, and of every Catholic Christian, this vehement suspicion of right conceived against me, I with sincere heart, and faith unfeigned, abjure, execrate, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and generally every sect contrary to the above-said Holy Church; and I swear that I will never more hereafter say or assert, by speech or writing, anything through which the like suspicion may be had of me; but if I shall know any one heretical, or suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor and Ordinary of the place in which I shall be. I moreover swear and promise, that I will fulfill and observe entirely all the penitences which have been imposed upon me, or which shall be imposed by this Holy Office. But if it shall happen that I shall go contrary (which God avert) to any of my words, promises, protestations, and oaths, I subject myself to all the penalties and punishments, which, by the Holy Canons, and other Constitutions, general and particular, have been enacted and promulgated against such delinquents: So help me God, and his Holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands."

Thus he spoke; but as he rose from his knees some say he whispered, "But it does move." Nine years later the blind and aged sufferer after long imprisonment and torture, died.

Students and graduates of Fisk University, let us judge this man: on the one hand range his service to mankind: his discovery of the great laws of motion in the solar system, and on the other place the cowardice of his lie; the advantages of a

on the other

mechanical knowledge of the universe and the necessity of faith in one's fellow-men as the foundation stone of society; which is the greatest? Which is the sorest wound to human progress -- the loss of a valuable body of knowledge or the voluntary misdirection of human faith? A blow at the upbuilding of Truth or a blow at its very foundations?

Science is a great and worthy mistress, but there is one greater and that is Humanity which science observes; one thing there is greater than knowledge and that is the Man who knows. In the midst then of society whose life blood is faith, and in the name of Science which will know the truth that the truth may make it free, the verdict of civilization must be, that not even the splendor of the service of Truth done by Galileo Galilei, can wipe away the blot of his cowardly lie. By that lie, civilization was halted, science was checked and bigotry was more strongly enthroned in its crimson glory. And for what? To aid the discovery of truth? No, for Galileo's great work was done twenty years before he was tried for his life. No, it was for the sake of nine years of pitiable blindness and suffering for an aged and broken man who did not dare to die for the glory of a great cause and make it thus more glorious in his courageous death.

Nor did he lack example. Only 43 years before his birth, a German monk had faced Christendom for one principle and cried when they shrieked, "Retract", -- not I will not, but "I cannot do otherwise." In the midst of Galileo's young manhood, right there in Rome, Giordano Bruno almost the very same age of Galileo, a defender of the same Copernican system, and unswerving searcher for truth, suffered himself to be burned alive after seven years in prison, rather than to lend himself to a lie to the glory of the Church.

Did it pay? Was the truth worth a lie? Which was the fool, Bruno or Galileo? I know that in this my judgment I speak today to ears that hear faintly and to hardening hearts. And with reason, for I speak to an age that differs from and at the same time resembles Galileo's. His age was beginning to see and sense and appre-

ciate the rhythm of Things -- the miracle of motion, the sweep of space and the dominion of matter; we today emerge from a century steeped in the awe and worship of Matter, triumphant in its mastery, insolent in its prophesy. Despite our strongest endeavors a shade of contempt for mere thought and theorizing, for feelings, emotions, and principles tinges our culture and our life. Two miracles the world holds, as I have said: Thought and Motion; and the Age of thought which was the age before Galileo forgets the miracle of Motion; and the Age of Motion which is our age condemns the miracle of Thought. Yet above contempt and neglect sweep both as the ultimate Wonder of Life and woe to the world that blasphemes them.

02-2-14

Today and on us the pressure is tremendous. What is the world, cries the present Philosophy? It is the growing of grain and the weaving of cloth, the moving of wheels and the building of walls; it is the ability to do, the earning of livelihood, the creation of wealth. And then by natural logic this doctrine advances and says, if this is Life, train men for life in natural ways: not by Latin and Greek, but by arithmetic and mechanics. Is this philosophy false? No, but almost as dangerous, for it is half-true. As one-sided as the world that stood in judgment over Galileo and said: With the Bible of God and the Logic of Aristotle to read, what else is there worth studying in the world? The influence of this dogmatism has lasted until our day. There can be no doubt that the college curriculum of the past generation shamefully neglected the World of Things -- the tangible visible universe and its laws and ways. It is certain that in the University of tomorrow, the field of knowledge will include a knowledge of what the present world has done and is doing with its physical resources as well as a knowledge of its Thoughts and feelings. For this momentous change in curriculum, all true educators are looking and preparing; but this does not mean a stampede to industry as a substitute for life -- to mechanics as an antidote for thought, or to technique in place of Reason.

Simply because in the world of education, we are fighting for change and larger fulfillment of true prophesy, does not mean that any industrializing of a college curriculum, or any substitution of hands for brains, is the true heralded change.

For it may easily happen (and this is the gist of my message) that a mere specious and popular promise of longer and easier life, may prompt the Galilean spirit of 1908, as it did in 1608, to seek to establish the mechanical success of the future building by tearing down the spiritual foundations of the past.

Many men would argue in judging Galileo: Are not the laws of Motion worth a lie? Is not the support of a great Negro College worth some deception or surrender? But the Spirit of the Ages answers, No. The foundations which Galileo's lie threatened, were of more infinitely difficult building and perfecting than the great discoveries he made were worth. In travail of soul and gushing of blood; in anger, hatred, sorrow, and strife; in the rise and crash of empires, from Egypt and Babylonia to beautiful Greece and imperial Rome -- on all this was the world-Kingdom of Law and Order and Truth raised. They only can speak lightly of the change from the Time when each man flew at every one's throat, to that when we safely look for Universal Peace among all nations -- they only lightly pass that vision by who never knew of the raging billows of sorrow and blood through which this world has staggered to this goal. Which is greater, the discovery of the telephone or of universal suffrage? That man is mad who hesitates to answer. So then when a man offers a discovery for a lie, or Education for a bribe, then must the watchman on the outer wall cry Halt -- In the King's name!

And you graduates of Fisk University, are the Watchmen on the outer wall. And you Fisk University, Intangible but real Personality, builded of Song and Sorrow, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, are as one standing Galileo -- wise before the Vision of Death and the Bribe of the Lie. Not that I for a moment suppose that anyone now in authority here proposes any decisive change in the attitude or meaning of this University. But the personality of an institution is a peculiar thing. The apparently isolated -- almost unconscious movements of individuals, guided by the outside pressure of powerful interests, easily bring that to pass of which they themselves had not dreamed. And so today this venerable institution stands before its problem of future development, with the bribe of Public Opinion and Private

Wealth dangling before us, if we will either deny that our object is the highest and broadest training of Black Men, or if we will consent to call Higher Education that which you know and I know is not Higher Education. And I say we, in this case advisedly; for my brothers and sisters, if this happens: if the ideal is lowered or the lie told, the responsibility rests on us. We are the University -- we on whose brow it has laid immortal hands, who wear its sign and seal upon our forehead. For us the trustees hold this property; as our representatives these teachers teach. If this republic of letters suffers harm, the guilt lies on us and on our children's children.

41-2-22

Three gifts a graduate may bring back to his Alma Mater -- a gift of Gold, and surely today this is needed, for more and more the burden of Negro education is destined on Negro shoulders, and the support of a College like this will eventually come from its alumni. Yet the gift of Gold is not possible to us all, nor is it the greatest gift. The second and greater gift is the gift of Accomplishment -- of things done, success achieved, knowledge advanced and fostered. Too little of this proof of our training have we brought to Fisk, but a full glorious return did Galileo make to Pisa. Yet this is not the greatest and in making the Greater Gift, this Man missed and marred the greatest. For the greatest gift that a scholar can bring to Learning is Reverence of Truth, a Hatred of Hypocrisy and Shams, and an absolute sincerity of purpose. And if after twenty years we of the class of '88 return with little Gold, with but pitiable accomplishment, -- God grant we bring to this altar, the incense of clean hands and unbending devotion to what we know is the truth.

First of all then, the thing for which we stand must be clear. We are not opposing industrial education. The vocational training of children is one of the greatest and most promising movements of modern days. But the place for that kind of training is not the College department of Fisk University. To do this would be like using a surgeon's knife for chopping wood. The world needs wood but it has axes for cutting

it. There are good and deserving schools for trade teaching. There are but two or three colleges. These colleges are devoted to higher training and they must not be diverted from it. But it may be asked are not technical and mechanical courses of study possible subjects of higher training? They are. The college course of the future is going to be enriched by the inclusion of many courses based on the technique of modern industry and the physical properties of matter. But that does not mean that every part of such knowledge is fit for the college curriculum. The milking of cows is a worthy industry but it is not a cultural study upon which any honest college can base its bachelor's degree. On the other hand the great chemical and physical laws which underlie the making of many food products are matters which could profitably be treated in a college course. And the decision as to the adaptability of certain lines of thought or bodies of knowledge is not a thing to be arrived at by majority vote or racial prejudices, but is a matter of expert study.

If Fisk University wants to know what technical and engineering subjects are fittest to a College course -- there are in the United States, France, and Germany, hundreds of universities and other institutions of the very highest standing, whose curricula have been matters of thought, study and development among the best educational philosophers of the world; learn of these and copy their courses and hold their standards. But if, on the other hand, the standards of a great Negro College are to be set by schools of lower and different object, whither are the ideals of this University falling? If you find that you cannot give technical courses of college grade, then give high school courses or kindergarten courses and call them by their right names. There may often be excuse for doing things poorly in this world, but there is never any excuse for calling a poorly done thing, well done; -- of denominating a series of lessons in the training of servants, a course in mechanical engineering.

You will, I am sure, pardon this frank warning and exhortation. The times are perilous. A stubborn determination at this time on the part of the Negro race, to uphold its ideals, keep its standards and unceasingly contend for its rights, means victory; and victory a great deal sooner than any of you imagine. But a course of

self-abasement and surrender, of lowering of ideals and neglecting of opportunity -- above all, a philosophy of lying in word or deed for the sake of conciliation or personal gain, means indefinite postponement of the true emancipation of the Negro race in America, for the simple reason that such a race is not fit to be freed.

High above the yellow marbles of Florence glistening among the shining olive leaves hangs the ancient church of the Holy Cross. Below it winds the yellow Arno past Pisa to the azure of the Midland sea; and beyond the Sea lies Africa. Once in the past the surging billows tossed a Florentine barque aloft on the thunders of a Storm. All seemed lost in the purple blackness of the night: with wild voices the sailors prayed to all the Saints of Florence, till suddenly one cried -- "A vision -- a vision: The Holy Cross," and pointed far aloft where seemed to gleam the marble splendor of the Florentine Church. They whirled the ship toward it; it leapt and dashed itself to death on the black and beatling rocks full fifty miles from where, in far off Florence, the Church of the Holy Cross raised silently its towers to God. And beneath these towers slept and sleep the bones of Galileo Galilei.

ENVOY

The reperoussions of this speech were immediate. President Merrill resigned in the summer. I was sorry for that. I did not mean this for a personal attack. I was attacking a system and a tendency. The professor of mechanics was dropped in the fall, and the "Department of Applied Sciences" disappeared in 1909. In 1910, Booker Washington joined the Board of Trustees and remained a member until his death in 1915. But he was not active and brought no additional funds to Fisk. It was many years before the philanthropy of the North was willing to support higher education among Negroes with anything like generosity. From 1908 until 1925 Fisk had a severe struggle for existence. Perhaps one cause of this was my speech.

41-2-24

1910

It was the last year of my first sojourn in Atlanta University where I had taught for thirteen years. Academically our success in these days was marked. Our graduates were among the best teachers of Negroes in the South; principals of schools and professors in colleges. Tuskegee without their assistance could not have kept its doors open. They were beginning to enter the professions. Their careers and those of their fellows as shown by our initial study of the college-bred Negro was remarkable and encouraging. We had begun at Atlanta University the first systematic study of the American Negro made anywhere in the world; and yet Atlanta University was starving to death. Its support, its funds were dwindling. It had continually to retrench. It was threatened with debt. Dr. Bumstead, the calm, hardworking apostle of the Negro college of the day, was giving his whole life to collecting funds and once in a while I left my teaching to go North to help him. On a certain occasion I spoke to the white rich and well-born in Brookline, Massachusetts, and tried to impress upon them not simply the use, but the indispensable need of the college-bred man in the South. I was speaking no longer with magnificent confidence of young manhood or the harsh criticism of mature years, but as a social scientist and observer convinced of my facts.

THE COLLEGE-BRED COMMUNITY

Atlanta University is primarily a college. To be sure it has a large high school connected with it and an efficient normal school; but the students in the normal school are all of college rank, and the high school is retained because there are no public high schools in Georgia for black folk. The center, therefore, of our work in Atlanta University is the College. To the up-building of this Department our chief energies are directed; by the results of this Department our work must be judged; and on the basis of this Department we ask the support of the philanthropic world. Probably no other institution in the world is so entirely a Negro college as ours and certainly none in the South has as large a proportion of college students. We are, then, primarily a college. When, now, this statement is frankly made, there are a great many people who wish to help good causes in the world, who wish us well, and who with equal frankness decline to contribute to our work. They say plainly, "We are not interested in giving black boys college training. We think that the class of Negroes who have reached the plane where they can profit by such higher training have also reached the plane where they do not need outside aid. Such people, white or black, can be left to themselves to make their own way in the world." They say, "We are interested in the submerged classes of those poor people who are struggling up out of the depths. Such people we want to help, but, on the other hand, while theoretically we would be glad to help all people to a broader vision, yet on account of limited ability we are obliged to confine ourselves to cases of pressing necessity; therefore, we cannot give to Negro college work." If, now, the assumption thus stated be true, I would not only not blame philanthropists for refusing to support Atlanta University, but I would go further and change my own work; because the work which lies nearest my heart is not that of the talented few in opposition to the needs of the submerged many. But I have come here tonight purposely to set before you argument which proves to me, and I trust will prove to you, that the assumption which I mention is false, and that the first step toward

lifting the submerged mass of black people in the South is through the higher training of the talented few.

There are many of us who are still surprised, not to say indignant, that it took ten years of Reconstruction even to begin the settlement of the problems raised by slavery and war. Such people strongly suspect that only the incompetence and rascality of the Reconstruction politicians can explain such an extraordinary fact. And yet, when we come to consider the matter, how few of us realize what slavery meant in the South! To kidnap a nation; to transplant it in a new land, to a new language, new climate, new economic organization, a new religion and new moral customs; to do this is a tremendous wrenching of social adjustments; and when society is wrenched and torn and revolutionized, then, whether the group be white or black, or of this race or that, the results are bound to be far reaching.

When, therefore, you say that the South had a system of slavery for 250 years, you mean that the victims of that system lost their own social heritage; gained new bonds binding them to a new community, and began to forge in that new community, new machinery for carrying on the new social life; or, in other words, religion, moral customs, family life, economic habits, literature and traditions were taken from the Africans. They became a part of a rigid caste system, out of which they could seldom legally rise, and their social organization among themselves was reduced to the barest minimum for existence.

When, after two and one-half centuries of storm and stress, the race was adjusted to these new social environments, there came abruptly a new revolution. That revolution ushered them into what was called freedom; the social heritage and the bonds which tied them to their community were again broken, and they were left with no machinery for carrying on their social life. Or again, to make the matter more explicit, the Negro was freed after he had lost his own native traditions and moral and economic habits and had only begun to learn other habits from his master. Moreover, as a freedman, it was made increasingly impossible for him to learn such things from his masters because he was separated more and more from the master-class.

Thirdly, having forgotten or never known the methods of modern organization, it was quite impossible that he should immediately take up and guide the development of his own institutions.

What, now, was the one great pressing need? Of course this need has been variously expressed and emphasized. To some the first thing that freedom meant was work; to some it was a release from the bonds of poverty; to others it was education and the organization of religious institutions. But yet I think if we consider the matter, all of these reduce themselves to one single thing, looked at from different points of view; namely, what the Negro needed was experience, i.e., a knowledge of how the world accomplishes its necessary work today. And when you say that the freed Negro was ignorant of this, you mean more than mere illiteracy -- for illiteracy is the cause of evils rather than the evil in itself. You mean more than shiftlessness and unmoral customs. In fact, you mean all these things together and other things added, which in the total show that the Negro did not know the accumulated wisdom and methods of the world in which he was asked to take part. Now, how was he to get this unknown experience and wisdom? There were people simple-minded enough to suppose it was a mere matter of teaching him to read and write. I remember meeting a good friend of the race not long since who said with a rather puzzled expression that he "did not understand why all Negroes were not fairly well-educated, since they had had primary schools for a generation." He was doubly wrong; first, because as a matter of fact, not one-third of the Negro children have primary schools. Primary schools are simply one means of making education possible. The chief and great method, of course, by which a people come into the great social heritage of the modern culture world and by which they gain close and efficient knowledge of the methods of the world's work is the training which comes primarily and essentially from human contact -- a contact of those who know with those who are to learn.

Now, the great mistake which some of you and many others make, when they talk and think about the South, is to assume that there are in the South the same facilities for the transmission of culture from class to class and man to man as exist in the

North. If this were so, then my argument today would be quite out of place. But I come to emphasize in your minds a thing which you all know; namely, that racial separation in the South means the voluntary and persistent isolation of those who most need to learn by race contact. People who have easily and rather lightly accepted a programme of race separation in the South have, I fear, seldom thought of this. In the North, of course, in the last twenty-five years, the development has been exactly in the opposite way: it has been toward greater and more frequent and broader contact of the more favored classes of society with the less favored; a contact not simply in matters of alms-giving and economic organization, but in all of the deeper matters of human interest. The result of this is that Northern people are apt to assume that this same great social movement is in progress in the South, and consequently when there comes from the South word of certain kinds of movements, they assume that these things are in addition to the natural growing contact of the extremes of society. Yet you have but to think a moment to know that this is not true. There is in the South a social separation between workman and employer, the ignorant and the learned, society and its servants, the high and low, white and black, which goes to an extent and reaches a degree quite unrealized by those who have not studied the situation.

I pause simply to remind you that white people and black people in the South do not, as a rule, live on the same streets or in the same sections; do not travel together in train or street-car; do not attend the same churches, do not listen to the same lectures, do not employ the same physician, do not go to the same schools; do not, for the most part, work at the same kinds of work; do not read the same books and papers, are not taught the same traditions, and are not buried in the same graveyard.

Now, outside of all questions of the wisdom or necessity for such a situation, the question which interests us today is this: How far and in what way can there be any transmission of human culture and experience or knowledge of social organization

and social methods or of education, in any sense, from the white group to the black? Of course, some such transmission there is and always will be -- it is impossible perfectly to isolate people; but the chance of such transmission is in the South reduced to a minimum.

Mind, I make no argument for or against racial separation. But I am saying, with emphasis: State in your own mind, every argument for racial isolation at its full strength; conclude, if you will, that my child shall not be educated with yours; that it is indiscreet to eat with me at the same table; that you have definite matrimonial plans for your sister which do not include me; and that black people and white cannot righteously worship God from the same pews. Assert these beliefs, either for yourselves or in sympathy with others who passionately insist upon them, and then remember that the stronger this argument is for racial isolation, the more compelling is the righteous demand of black folk for their own social leadership, their own fountains of knowledge, their own centers of culture; and this is not for their amusement or delectation; not to flatter their vanity, but to give them the absolute and indispensable foundation for solid and real advance in civilization and social reform, the uplifting of their masses, and rational guidance in health, work, and morals.

If, then, you propose to educate the Negro into the possibility of full citizenship in the modern world of culture, one thing you have got to admit at the very outset; and that is, he cannot, to any appreciable extent, get that education from the white people about him. Now, this is true, on the whole, of no other constituent part of the American people. If higher college training is asked for poor American boys, for Armenians, or for white mountaineers, it is sufficiently just to say there is at present a more crying need for certain forms of elementary training among these boys than for college training. Their guidance and training in the higher matters of social evolution can be safely left to the result of their contact with the best of their fellow citizens. But with the Negro this is not true. By the silent decree

of the Nation he is, in the South, shut off and isolated. And much of this programme is being easily accepted in the North.

What the Negro needs, therefore, of the world and civilization, he must largely teach himself; what he learns of social organization and efficiency, he must learn from his own people. His conceptions of social uplift and philanthropy must come from within his own ranks, and he must above all make and set and follow his own ideals of life and character. Now, this is putting upon a people just emerged from slavery, with neither time, traditions, nor experience, a tremendous task. In strict justice, it is asking more of this people than the American nation has any right to ask. Nevertheless, this race is not stopping to await justice in this matter; it is not asking about the righteousness of past conduct; it is not even pausing -- as perhaps it ought -- to discuss the advisability of present policies; but it is asking you, here and now, to place in its hands the indispensable facilities for teaching itself those things which it must know if it is going to share modern civilization.

Moreover, just as in justice you cannot ask a man to raise himself by his own boot-straps, just so you cannot logically and justly expect that a people will furnish itself, under such circumstances, with its own chief means of uplift. The natural temptation for a group in our situation is to look around them upon their neighbors, pick out that which in their inexperience seems to be the cause of success and, advancing and seizing it lightly, try to march on. If the thing which they choose is momentarily popular they will receive for choosing it exaggerated applause; just as they were applauded in 1868 for political acumen because politics were popular, just so today they are applauded for showing signs of industrial shrewdness, because industry is the ruling movement today. Now, both politics and industry are the leading and main foundations of every successful state, but the great point is that any people to be successfully civilized must know how to handle those great tools of advance, and they can only learn this from a knowledge of the world's experience through the teaching of a cultured class.

of the Nation he is, in the South, shut off and isolated. And much of this programme is being easily accepted in the North.

What the Negro needs, therefore, of the world and civilization, he must largely teach himself; what he learns of social organization and efficiency, he must learn from his own people. His conceptions of social uplift and philanthropy must come from within his own ranks, and he must above all make and set and follow his own ideals of life and character. Now, this is putting upon a people just emerged from slavery, with neither time, traditions, nor experience, a tremendous task. In strict justice, it is asking more of this people than the American nation has any right to ask. Nevertheless, this race is not stopping to await justice in this matter; it is not asking about the righteousness of past conduct; it is not even pausing -- as perhaps it ought -- to discuss the advisability of present policies; but it is asking you, here and now, to place in its hands the indispensable facilities for teaching itself those things which it must know if it is going to share modern civilization.

Moreover, just as in justice you cannot ask a man to raise himself by his own boot-straps, just so you cannot logically and justly expect that a people will furnish itself, under such circumstances, with its own chief means of uplift. The natural temptation for a group in our situation is to look around them upon their neighbors, pick out that which in their inexperience seems to be the cause of success and, advancing and seizing it lightly, try to march on. If the thing which they choose is momentarily popular they will receive for choosing it exaggerated applause; just as they were applauded in 1868 for political acumen because politics were popular, just so today they are applauded for showing signs of industrial shrewdness, because industry is the ruling movement today. Now, both politics and industry are the leading and main foundations of every successful state, but the great point is that any people to be successfully civilized must know how to handle those great tools of advance, and they can only learn this from a knowledge of the world's experience through the teaching of a cultured class.

The community must be able to take hold of its individuals and give them such a social heritage, such present social teachings and such compelling social customs as will force them along the lines of progress, and not into the great forests of death. What is needed then, for any group of advancing people, is the COLLEGE-BRED COMMUNITY; for no matter how far the college may fail in individual cases, it is, after all, the center where knowledge of the past connects with the ideal of the future. Every community, therefore, must be college-bred; and that does not mean that every individual must be a college graduate; it may be that the proportion of college-bred men may be small, even infinitesimal; and still the community, by tradition and heritage, will hold fast to what the past has taught the world of high and ideal future accomplishment. But, given a group or community which does not know the message of the past and does not have within its own number, the men who can tell it, and is separated from contact with outside groups who can teach it -- given such a community and you have a desperate situation, which calls for immediate remedy. It is such a situation among the Negroes in the South that calls for schools like Atlanta University.

41-2-32

There ought to be in the South today at least five institutions with an endowment of a million dollars each, whose business it would be to furnish the teachers and professional men and thinkers and industrial leaders for the masses of the black people of the South. Such colleges would represent, not the capstone of the social organization of the South but rather its vast foundation. As a matter of fact, such institutions today, tremendously hampered as they are in their work, have, nevertheless, begun this work of giving communities college training and have so far, done remarkably well. To them is due the establishment of the Negro School system in the South with 21,000 teachers; the establishment and conduct of the great and efficient industrial schools; the development and guidance to a considerable extent of the 35,000 Negro churches and the accumulation personally and through their influence of the more than $650,000,000 worth of Negro wealth. It would, of course, be wrong to say that Negro colleges were responsible for every step which the black

man has taken in advance since the war; but it is not too much to say that but for the black men trained in the colleges North and South, and the students who were in turn trained by them, the major part of this progress would have been utterly impossible. Moreover, it is not simply in education that the Negro college accomplishes its mission of human culture. Nearly all the adjuncts by which culture is diffused in the North have been absent among Negroes in the South: the public lecture and public library; the sympathetic newspaper, organized charity and social settlements; the Young Men's Christian Association and Women's Clubs, etc. Today, all these instruments of culture are making their appearance slowly but surely, and they are coming directly from the Negro colleges and from centers of influence where the graduates of such colleges are working. The COLLEGE-BRED COMMUNITY, therefore, in the South is already beginning to be a reality, but it needs tremendous reinforcement and continual impulse.

In the North the ordinary boy, whether he actually attends college or not, gets some college training from his surroundings. It is impossible for a boy to grow up here in Boston without getting from the air which he breathes something of that for which Harvard stands. On the other hand it is possible for a black boy to grow up in the South and be a perfect barbarian. It is for you and me to make this more and more impossible in the future by giving such support to the best of the Negro colleges as will really plant ideals of social efficiency and culture in the center of black communities and enable them to work and save and act according to the best traditions of civilized men.

To the existence of such group development and feeling among black men there can be but one objection, and that is the objection of those people who mean by "race separation" not separation but subordination; who plainly and frankly say that the Negro is to be separated from all contact with culture in order that he may never become an efficient, self-reliant, thinking race; who hope that there shall grow up in the nation, not the democracy dreamed of by the Pilgrim Fathers but a new caste ideal such as was made the corner-stone of the Confederacy. With such objections I am

sure you have no sympathy and I only hope that with your willing desire to help the lowly of all races and peoples, you will use this method of approaching the problem of the submerged mass in a particular race, and through a Negro college, in a larger sense, you will be willing to help a people to help themselves.

ENVOY

To these and similar speeches of mine and appeals of Dr. Bumsted and others, there was some, but not great response. Between 1910 and 1925 the case of college training for Negroes in the South became desperate. I began to feel that one of the reasons that Atlanta University did not get funds was my presence and I therefore accepted a chance to change my scientific career to a career of propaganda in New York with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as editor of the Crisis.

41-2-34

1924

From 1910 to 1924, I was out of direct touch with Negro education. There came the world of war during which I had sent my daughter to Bedale's School in England, thinking the war would be short. She was forced to come home in 1914, and went to the Brooklyn High School. She did not like it. The teaching methods, and the atmosphere were strange to her. She stuck it out and graduated, but was indifferent to a college course. It occurred to me that she might be as thrilled as I once was, if she went south to Fisk. I applied for admission after she was graduated from high school and there was some rather curious and to me inexplicable hesitation, but she was finally admitted. She seemed happy there. She made no complaints. Yet there filtered through certain criticisms of the Fisk of 1924, and once when I was visiting there a student came to me, slipping up almost furtively in the twilight.

It was my first talk with George Streator, then a junior. He said to me: "Don't you want to know what is going on at Fisk?" Afterward I opened my ears. I listened, wrote and investigated, and I was astonished at a state of affairs of which I had not dreamed. When I complained to my daughter for not telling me of conditions, she answered placidly: "I thought you knew!" The student discipline at Fisk had retrograded so as to resemble in some respects a reform school. The administration of the school seemed based on organized gossip. The desperate attempt to get funds had led to a surrender to Southern sentiment compared to which the overtures of Dr. Merrell were but faint and unimportant. The spirit of the school seemed wrong and from time to time teachers, students and graduates appealed to me.

Again it was the date of one of my continually reoccurring reunions. In 1923, I had been graduated thirty-five years. I had not spoken that year because my daughter was graduating the next year; and so in 1924 I came to Fisk University determined to do an unpleasant duty and do it thoroughly. I determined to voice the widespread criticism of alumni, students and friends of Fisk University at the way in which the President, trustees, and faculty were conducting the school and I was going to do it at Fisk, face to face with its officials. And so in the Memorial Chapel with my back to the great organ and with the president and his wife sitting in front of me and the alumni ranged row on row, while the undergraduates looked down from the gallery in suspense, I literally "lifted my voice and taught them saying":

"DIUTURNI SILENTI"

~~Some Latin~~

You who have not wholly forgotten your Latin, will remember that the two words of my subject are taken from the beginning of Cicero's oration in defense of Marcellus. I recall the stilted translation thereof which I committed to memory in my boyhood. "To my long continued silence, Conscript Fathers, which I have made use of in these days, not on account of any fear, but partly from grief, partly from shame, this day brings an end and also a beginning of my speaking according to my former custom what I think and what I know."

~~My Relations with Fisk~~

To make these perhaps somewhat cryptic words more clear to you, may I say a few words concerning my connection with Fisk University. I was graduated from Fisk thirty-six years ago this month after three years of splendid inspiration and nearly perfect happiness under teachers whom I respected and amid surroundings that inspired me. I regarded the ten years after my graduation from 1888 to 1898 simply as a sort of prolongation of my Fisk college days. I was at Harvard but not of it. I was a student of Berlin but still the son of Fisk; and I came back to Fisk to deliver the commencement address in 1898 and to make that address a welcome to my younger fellows into the high calling of those who had gone forth from this institution with fine determination and splendid inspiration.

Ten other years passed and when I returned here as alumni speaker in 1908, there was a shadow as it seemed to me already across this institution. The trend toward industrial education was to my mind beginning to lower the standards and vitiate the ideals for higher college training which were the heritage of Fisk University. I spoke my complaint clearly and sought to warn this institution that it would never do, for purposes of expediency, to lie to the world as

Galileo once lied when he knew that his heart held the truth. This speech of mine was received with much criticism, and from that time to this, sixteen years, I have not been invited to speak at this institution. Once or twice when I happened of necessity to be on the grounds I have been invited to say a few words and have made perfunctory remarks knowing that nothing further was expected. I knew too that my thoughts and ideals were distasteful to those from whom Fisk at this time was expecting financial aid, and as I had neither money nor monied friends I took refuge in silence even when I sensed wrong.

~~My Purpose~~

Today I recognize that my invitation to address the alumni is largely a matter of circumstances and not of deliberate choice on the part of this institution. Nevertheless I have come to address you and I say frankly, I have come to criticise. I have known and been connected more or less intimately with many colored institutions of learning, but I have never known an institution whose alumni on the whole are more bitter and disgusted with the present situation in this university than the alumni of Fisk University today. This, of course, is not true of all the alumni, but it is true of so great and so important a part that Fisk University ought to know it. I have come therefore to criticise and to say openly and before your face, what so many of your graduates are saying secretly and behind your back. I maintain that the place to criticise Fisk University is at Fisk University and not elsewhere; and above all I maintain that this is the time and the critical time in the history of this institution when the opinion of its alumni and constituents must be known and decision must be taken by the trustees and faculty as to the future policy of Fisk University. And it is for this reason that I say: "To my long continued silence, Conscript Fathers, which I have made use of in these days, not on account of any fear, but partly from grief, partly from shame, this day brings an end and also a be-

Galileo once lied when he knew that his heart held the truth. This speech of mine was received with much criticism, and from that time to this, sixteen years, I have not been invited to speak at this institution. Once or twice when I happened of necessity to be on the grounds I have been invited to say a few words and have made perfunctory remarks knowing that nothing further was expected. I knew too that my thoughts and ideals were distasteful to those from whom Fisk at this time was expecting financial aid, and as I had neither money nor monied friends I took refuge in silence even when I sensed wrong.

~~My Purpose~~

Today I recognize that my invitation to address the alumni is largely a matter of circumstances and not of deliberate choice on the part of this institution. Nevertheless I have come to address you and I say frankly, I have come to criticise. I have known and been connected more or less intimately with many colored institutions of learning, but I have never known an institution whose alumni on the whole are more bitter and disgusted with the present situation in this university than the alumni of Fisk University today. This, of course, is not true of all the alumni, but it is true of so great and so important a part that Fisk University ought to know it. I have come therefore to criticise and to say openly and before your face, what so many of your graduates are saying secretly and behind your back. I maintain that the place to criticise Fisk University is at Fisk University and not elsewhere; and above all I maintain that this is the time and the critical time in the history of this institution when the opinion of its alumni and constituents must be known and decision must be taken by the trustees and faculty as to the future policy of Fisk University. And it is for this reason that I say: "To my long continued silence, Conscript Fathers, which I have made use of in these days, not on account of any fear, but partly from grief, partly from shame, this day brings an end and also a be-

ginning of my speaking according to my former custom, what I think and what I know."

~~These Two Theses~~

I come to defend two theses, and the first is this: Of all the essentials that make an institution of learning, money is the least. The second is this: The alumni of Fisk University are and of right ought to be the ultimate source of authority in the policy and government of this institution.

~~Freedom of Spirit~~

Taking up the first thesis I do not, of course, mean for a moment to be so foolish as to say that a university does not need money. Fisk University does need money; any institution needs to day physical equipment, buildings, laboratories and salaries and needs them imperatively; and yet I do maintain that this equipment is not the greater need. I maintain that there is a spiritual equipment without which no institution can really exist as a center of culture, and I trust that it will never be necessary to say of Fisk University as was once said of Brown University: "Yesterday Brown University had a president; today it has a million dollars."

Three great things are necessary for the spiritual equipment of an institution of learning: Freedom of Spirit, Self-Knowledge and a recognition of the Truth. These are trite phrases, but they are none the less eternally true; and first of all comes Freedom of Spirit.

It is a beautiful figure that we continually use in depicting the relationship of college and student; Alma Mater - Fostering Mother. We see always in this true relationship the arm of this old mother about the shoulders of her sons and grandsons and grandsons' grandsons, whispering to their ears. "Behold the beautiful land which the Lord thy God has given thee!" And nowhere is this

inspiration needed more than in the case of colored students today. They come out of the Valley of the Shadow with souls that have been hurt and crushed, and the great duty of the Negro college is to say to these students that the little sordid things of earth and of ordinary life where they lack so much of freedom, are as nothing compared with the great free realm of the spirit.

I have often told audiences of my experience when I went first to see the Bernese Oberland. I stood of the plaza of the cathedral at Berne and looked upon the Alps. I saw the great green hills and rising mountains. They were fine and I was glad. I started to turn away, and then, almost by accident, I lifted my eyes up to the sky, and there, above the hills and above the mountains, up where I had thought of nothing but mists and clouds, blazed in unearthly splendor the snow-capped Alps - sublime, magnificent. And so it is with these colored students. It is inspiration and light and the free, untrammeled spirit that rises above the earth which they seek in college. Through this very freedom comes discipline, and through discipline comes freedom.

~~Present Discipline~~

What now is Fisk University doing to uphold and to spread the spirit of freedom in this institution? It is not doing what it should. In Fisk today, discipline is choking freedom; threats are replacing inspiration, iron clad rules, suspicion, tale bearing are almost universal. A favorite expression is, "If you don't like Fisk University, get out!" If you do not agree with all the policies of the institution, go elsewhere. Students are made to promise in writing not simply to obey the rules of the institution but to obey all future rules that may be made. Even during my short stay of a few days, I have seen crass instances of discipline. At the senior chapel, the last, and as it should have been, holiest exercise, everything was held up for five minutes until the

presiding official publicly disciplined a few giggling girls.

Instances of discipline have occurred here almost criminal in their miscarriage of justice. I have known a girl to be sent home for theft because she could not satisfactorily explain her possession of a five dollar bill; and when afterward it was proven beyond a doubt that the money was rightfully hers, no apology was ever made. She was simply told quietly that she could come back. She has since graduated with honor at Howard University. To illustrate in what glaring contrast the present discipline of Fisk University stands with the discipline of my day let me recall one instance.

I was seventeen years old. Perhaps my older class mates were having fun at my expense, but at any rate I was told that at commencement time the ordinary rules did not hold. I consequently walked boldly up through yonder white gates and invited Dickey to take a walk. (She was called Dickey because her father wanted a son and named her Richard anyway.) We sauntered out the front gate in broad day light, down the long path past Livingston, called at the city home of one of our fellow students, Lizzie Jones, found other students there and danced and ate. Then we walked back in the dying day and came to Jubilee Hall about sunset. It looked as though the roof of the hall was about to rise. The matron was furious. "But I didn't know that I was breaking any rule," I stammered. I was given to understand that I ought to have known, which did not seem to me a bit logical; and then I came before the president. He was a tall, white-haired man with bushy eyebrows and deep eyes, in the depths whereof always lurked a smile. And he said to me quietly, "Don't do it again." And I didn't. He bound me to him for time and eternity by that one wise judgment. He knew perfectly well that if a boy is up to a nasty trick he doesn't walk out of the front gate in full daylight.

I do not for a moment doubt that the objects which Fisk today wishes to gain by her discipline are in themselves perfectly good objects; but the trouble is that she is trying to accomplish her ends by methods which are medieval, and

long since discredited. The second and third generation of colored students present their problems of discipline and guidance, but those problems in the long run are no greater than the problems presented everywhere in the training of youth throughout the colleges of the United States and the world; and of all ways of treating these problems and settling them, the method of piling rule on rule and threat on threat is the worst and most ineffective, and it makes not men but hypocrites.

Fisk University wishes to be recognized by the great institutions of learning, and yet at other institutions students are being taught discipline through freedom. When Bertrand Russell was not allowed to speak at Harvard University the students protested not simply to the faculty but to the overseers, and their right to protest was freely recognized. No protest would for a moment be tolerated on the part of the students of Fisk. If a student even feels disagreement with the policies of Fisk he is given to understand that he is not wanted. It is the spirit of freedom that has built the great universities of the world, and Fisk can never be great until it recognizes that spirit. The pall of fear which envelops the student body of this institution is the most awful thing here.

~~Self-Knowledge~~

The second great thing that characterizes an institution of learning is Self-Knowledge, the principle ancient as Greece and older: "Know Thyself." The students are in college for purposes of self-expression and experiment; to test their own wings, to find ability and strengthen character, to learn self-control. In such self-experience on the part of the young there is a cost to pay, a certain waste that is inevitable; the appearance of youthful swagger and impudence; and yet the wiser world has learned that in youth even as in age the Cost of Freedom is less than the Price of Repression. At Fisk Univer-

sity the temptation and the tendency is to cramp self-expression, reduce experiment to the lowest terms and cast everything in an iron mould. College women are put in uniforms in a day when we reserve uniforms of those who are organized to murder, for lackeys and for insane asylums and jails. Not only is the system of uniforms at Fisk ineffective and wasteful, but its method of enforcement is humiliating and silly.

The students are allowed to do almost nothing of their own initiative. They can have no organization except such as are not simply supervised by the faculty but are in part run by the faculty with membership determined by the faculty, with some long-eared member of the faculty sitting in at every meeting to listen.

There can be no opinion expressed by the students in any public way. If I have any knowledge of the English language and any facility in expression it began with the three years that I spent on the editorial staff of the Fisk Herald. The Fisk Herald was for a long time one of the oldest student papers in the United States. It was a shame to suppress it. Other colored institutions even below college grade and practically all white institutions have their student papers. Fisk University is not allowed to have one. Athletics are hampered and threatened with extinction by faculty action.

Thus self-expression and manhood are choked at Fisk in the very day when we need expression to develop manhood in the colored race. We are facing a serious and difficult situation. We need every bit of brains and ability that we have for leadership. There is no hope that the American Negro is going to develop as a docile animal. He is going to be a man, and he needs therefore his best manhood. This manhood is being discouraged at Fisk today and ambition instead of being fostered is being deliberately frowned upon.

I met a young man the other day in an institution far from here. He walked

up and stuck out his hand and said, "I am Hunter's son." I remembered Hunter in my college days at Fisk, -- a big, strong, muscular black man. He got angry once at some of my pert criticism and gripped me. I thought my arm was coming off. These were the days before the legal "Jim Crow" car law, but the brakemen used to take it upon themselves to force all colored passengers into the smoking car. Hunter went down with the other students after commencement to board the train. The brakeman barred the way to the passenger coach. Hunter swept the brakeman aside with one arm and with the other beckoned the students. They walked into the coach singing. This was Hunter's son. I looked at him with interest. Why wasn't he at Fisk University? Is Fisk University afraid of men of this sort? Is this the kind of person that she expels for impudence? Is Fisk trying to make the roll of her expulsions a sort of roll of honor? Is she afraid to have these students know themselves?

The third thing that a university stands for is the recognition of Truth, the search for Truth. We say this glibly now, but we must remember that in every age while institutions of learning have accepted and taught certain parts of the truth there are other parts about which they have hesitated. For a long time geology could not be taught in our institutions because it interfered with the biblical "six days". Today some people are trying to enjoin the teaching of Evolution; and continually in our day the teaching of the truth concerning our social structure and economic development is being hindered and suppressed. That this is dangerous goes without saying; but the greatest of dangers faces those institutions of the South, white and colored, who are afraid to tell the truth concerning the difficult social environment in which the youth of the South is growing up.

One can imagine, ofcourse, two extreme attitudes which a Negro college might take with regard to the surrounding South; it might teach that the case is hopeless; that no Negro can expect to be a man in this country with the present attitude and determination of the whites. Or it might go to the opposite extreme and say that all is well; that the best thought of the country is tending toward justice and that the Negro's only hindrance is himself. Neither of these positions is tenable, and a real university with honest purpose today ought frankly to face the fact that there are here forces of advancement and uplift and that there are forces of evil and retrogression and that it is for the educated man to find a way amid these difficulties.

41-2-44

Fisk University is not taking an honest position with regard to the Southern situation. It has deliberately embraced a propaganda which discredits all of the hard work which the forward looking fighters for Negro freedom have been doing. It overpraises the liberal white South. It continually teaches its students and constituency that this liberal white South is in the ascendency and that it is ruling; and that the only thing required of the black man is acquiescence and submission. Thus the Fisk News, speaking without right and without warrant for Fisk University, for its alumni and its constituency, is advocating and spreading a doctrine which every student in this university knows is dishonest. They know and they appreciate the things which the white friends of humanity living in the South are doing, but they know that these liberal white folk are not triumphant, that they are facing a terrific wall of prejudice and evil; and every day these students in their lives are experiencing this evil. They know "Jim Crow" cars; they know the effects of disfranchisement; they know personal and persistent insult. You cannot teach these children honesty as long as you dishonestly deny these truths which they know all too well.

Let me bring two things to your mind, - and I am speaking now not of lawless

lynchings and of the mob, but of the acts of Southern white men of the better class. There was a man in south Georgia, a colored man, upon whose land I once stood. He owned ten thousand acres free of debt. He had schools and churches, white tenants and colored tenants. The other day he died without a will and at the request of his inexperienced widow, his friend, the white banker, undertook to settle his estate. In less than a year every cent of this man's property was gone and today his girls are dancing in a cabaret in New York to support themselves and the widowed mother. Or, to take another phase: In Birmingham, l. c. Alabama, the condition of the colored schools has long been a shame. At last in order to get a large bond issue of three million dollars, the best white citizens solemnly promised to spend five hundred thousand dollars upon the Negro schools. They proposed to put up a Negro high school to cost three or four hundred thousand dollars and one large secondary school. They had, however, as principal of the colored high school a Negro tool and lickspittle. He assured them that the colored people didn't need any school as costly as they proposed. He asked for a straggling one story building with a little brick and a great deal of stucco and at a cost of about half what they had proposed to spend. He achieved a partly finished high school. It is precisely such lickspittles and cowards that the propaganda carried on by the Fisk News is developing, and it will never be successful because it holds within itself its own contradiction and denial.

The truth concerning the present racial situation is systematically kept from Fisk students as well as the truth concerning the great liberal movements of the world. Representatives of the International Youth Movement complained that Fisk was one of the few American institutions where they were not allowed contact with the students. Representatives of colored fraternities with their "Go to High School, Go to College" campaign were not allowed to speak at Fisk.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has done more than any organization for the freedom the the Negro race and for making the interracial movement possible, has never been represented at Fisk University. And yet Fisk University pretends to be an institution for the presentation of the truth.

THE REASONS

To recapitulate, Fisk University is choking freedom. Self-knowledge is being hindered by refusal of all initiative to the students. Fisk University is not teaching the truth about the race problem.

What is the reason of this state of affairs at Fisk? We colored people, talking among ourselves of the action of white folk toward us continually bring in one general essential cause and that is Total Depravity, - the determination on the part of the white world to do us all possible ill.

Such a reason is, of course, fanciful in nearly all cases, and in this case I do not believe that those in control of Fisk University wish or desire anything but the welfare of the colored race. But the difficulty is that they do not know what is for our good or what we think is for our good. They have not before them facts that are well known to us and points of view and considerations which are to us of tremendous importance. It is in this case, as in so many others, ignorance that leads to evil.

Have you ever seen a king "By the grace of God"? I have. I remember as a young man walking down the Unter den Linden from the Royal Palace past the university and toward the Brandenburg gate. Suddenly there would be a signal and the crowd would turn to the curb and stiffen, standing at attention. Far up the broad avenue came the flash of cream and silver, the waving of plumes and the prancing of horses; and then He flew by, erect, stern and splendid, "Wilhelm, von Gottes Gnade, Koenig von Preussen, Deutscher Kaiser." He has

passed today. He was not a bad man, he was a mistaken one. He did not know. He did not call the real German people to council, and he failed because he did not know. And so whenever a man or a group of men assume to rule over others who are separated from them by class or racial or economic interest they are going to make terrible mistakes if the ruled and the rulers do not sit down and take counsel together. The theory of democracy is not that the people have all wisdom or all ability, but it is that the mass of people form a great reservoir of knowledge and information which the state will ignore at its peril.

So in Fisk University. There are at the service of the Trustees, the President and the Faculty great streams of knowledge and experience; the knowledge and experience of these students here; the knowledge and experience of the whole black world in America which is more and more becoming bound together in organized unity. Fisk University is systematically ignoring these sources of information. It is not consulting the students, it is ordering them about. In only one of the commencement exercises that I have seen did the students have any chance to speak or express themselves, and in that case the President and Faculty were conspicuous by their absence, while the speeches were evidently carefully censored.

In the business which I conduct I pay out over fifty thousand dollars a year; and yet in the fifteen years that I have conducted that business I have never been so threatened with penalties for debt as I have in the last four years in trying to pay my daughter's expenses at Fisk. It was almost impossible, in the first place, to find what the sums were due and when they were to be paid; and when finally I did get notice it was almost invariably too late for me to forward a check before the date on which some penalty for non-payment was due. Several times I have telegraphed funds. And I know of one father, one of the wealthiest graduates of Fisk, whose daughter was publicly denied the right to get books at the book store while across the road at the treasury there lay a balance to her credit. Par-

ents who try to get into sympathetic touch with this institution find no encouragement and those who visit it are usually treated with the scantiest courtesy.

The alumni have no voice in the policy or conduct of the institution. They get no communications except a demand for funds. Almost nothing is done to encourage alumni reunions. No careful record is kept of their activities, and while from time to time one or even two alumni are upon the Board of Trustees they are alumni selected by the President and the Trustees and not by the Alumni Association, and they may or may not represent the opinion of the alumni.

The colored world of Nashville is entirely out of sympathy and out of touch with Fisk University. They attend the exercises held in dwindling numbers. I was present this year at one of the Mozart Society concerts. It was a fine exercise, excellent singing and some of the greatest colored soloists in America, including Florence Cole Talbert. But the society sang to empty benches. I doubt if there were two hundred people in the chapel. And yet I have known the day when a young black boy from west Tennessee, almost untrained, sang that incomparable tenor solo from the Elijah, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my People," to an audience that covered every inch of the old chapel in Livingston Hall. Today even at the exercises of Commencement Week there is plenty of room for everybody and sometimes wide empty spaces.

The black world of Nashville, and not simply the educated, but the ordinary colored people, know that Fisk University does not want them; that it is straining every effort to attract Southern white people and is segregating and insulting its colored auditors.

~~CLOTHES~~

Suppose that instead of this attitude the authorities of Fisk University took the trouble to consult their alumni and their constituents and their students. Take, for instance, the matter of clothes. There was once a colored

leader who sneered at the pianos in the homes of poor colored people, but it was pointed out to his quick discomfiture that it was a fine thing for the poor to spend on music even that which they might have spent on bread. Did it not show the innate beauty of their souls? And so today Fisk University sneers and raves and passes all sorts of rules against the overdressing of its students, particularly of its women; and there is no doubt but what colored people of the better class (class) waste money in personal adornment. At the same time consider for a moment the reasons: Have you ever ridden on a "Jim Crow" car? I have. I have just come here from riding on many. For the most part they are dirty, ugly, unpleasant. Have you ever been in the colored section of a Southern city? Despite the effort of the colored people to beautify their homes and ~~build beautiful homes~~ the city leaves this section as muddy and nasty and unkempt and unprotected as possible. I just looked upon a new graded school in Atlanta. It was the ugliest building I have ever seen. It went out of its way to be ugly. I thought at first it was a factory of the meaner sort. And so all through the life of colored people and of their children the world makes repeated efforts to surround them with ugliness. Is it a wonder that they flame in their clothing? that they desire to fill their starved souls with overuse of silk and color? They may fail in their object or overdo it, but now and then they do achieve startlingly fine results. I saw upon the campus this afternoon two girls. (Do not worry, they were not from Fisk University and did break your rules.) They were dressed in filmy garments with scarfs of crimson and blue about their necks and the setting sun beyond Jubilee Hall threw its glory over them. They were a startlingly beautiful sight. I do not for a moment dispute that the parents of the girls of Fisk University tend to waste money on their clothes, but I do say that New England old maids dressed like formless frumps in dun and drab garments have no right utterly to suppress and

insult these children of the Sun even if they want to wear silk and that to inculcate good taste in dress is a far more subtle matter than stiff rules and harsh judgments.

FRATERNITIES.

Consider the matter of fraternities. Fisk University is the only one of the larger colored colleges which does not allow fraternities. There are many sound reasons back of this attitude. We know what fraternities have done in the matter of snobbishness and disintegration in many of our large institutions. On the other hand, those institutions have not abolished fraternities and they must have their reasons. Moreover in the case of the colored fraternities their whole inner spirit and the reason for their being differentiates them entirely from white college organizations. They grew up in white northern colleges where colored students were suffering a social ostracism which interfered seriously with their college work. They spread to colored colleges because of the serious efforts which they were making to increase and vivify the college spirit. The "Go to High School, Go to College" campaign carried on annually by the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity has been one of the greatest incentives in America to push colored youth toward higher education. Not only is that fraternity not allowed in Fisk University, but its representatives could not even come there to speak on the higher education campaign. Another colored fraternity has its "Guide Right" campaign seeking to guide colored graduates into proper employment. The sororities are offering scholarships to colored graduates and prizes. Fisk University has no right autocratically and without consultation with or listening to the advice of students, parents and alumni to ban these powerful and influential organizations and cut their graduates off from the best fellowship for life.

~~THE CLEVELAND SPEECH~~

Again, In northern Ohio there is the city of Cleveland. For fifty years the colored group in Cleveland has fought for minicipal recognition and equality and it has accomplished a splendid work. Our great colored author, Charles W. Chesnutt, is a member of one of the leading literary and social clubs. A colored lawyer, Harry Davis, is a member of the Cleveland City Club and long has served in the Ohio Legislature. We have colored councilmen. We have colored teachers in the public schools who teach without segregation or discrimination. There is not a single "Jim Crow" institution in the city, and this is because with fifty years' fighting we have achieved real democracy in Cleveland. And ~~yet~~ last year, Fisk University went to Cleveland and arranged a dinner and meeting with influential citizens, at which the President of the Board of Trustees and the President of the University spoke. No colored people were invited or expected. No colored people were consulted as to what ought to be siad in that city, ~~and~~ The next day the papers reported that Fisk University believed in segregation for colored people, and thought it was ine itable and permanent! I am aware that explanations were made afterwards; that the speakers affirmed that they were expressing a fact and not a theory; but the best that can be siad of them is that they awkwardly and maladroitly made statements that hurt the cause of the Negro in Cleveland and did the cause of Fisk no good. Suppose that before they staged this meeting they had had a little private talk with their alumni in Cleveland; or with Mr. Chesnutt or with Mr. Davis? They could have accomplished everything that they wanted to accomplish in this great and generous city and at the same time avoided affronting and discrediting a brave and struggling group.

How different it is in other institutions and in those very institutions with which it is the ambition of Fisk University to be recognized as of equal

standing in scholarship! The president and authorities of Harvard University made up their minds to ban the Negro and the Jew; but when protest came from the alumni and the public they did not ignore it, they even encouraged it. They listened to it and they followed it, and they gave up a public policy which was as extraordinary as it was wrong.

41252

JIM CROW

The whole policy of segregation as it is developed at Fisk University is a menace and a disgrace. I am told that this year the Jubilee Club gave a concert downtown. Not only was the colored audience "Jim Crowed" and segregated but the colored teachers were separated from the white teachers and different windows were furnished where colored and white people were to buy their tickets!. When Isaiah Scott, a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, went innocently to the white window he was refused service and insulted. I am told that the President of Fisk University took the fifteen or twenty girls from the Glee Club, girls from some of the best Negro families in the United States, carried them downtown at night to a white men's club, took them down an alley and admitted them through the servants' entrance and had them sing in a basement to Southern white men while these men smoked and laughed and talked. If Erastus Cravath, the first president of this institution, knew that a thing like that had happened at Fisk University he would, if it were in any way possible, rise from the grave and protest against this disgrace and sacrilege.

THE CORRUPT BARGAIN

I have said that these things are taking place at Fisk University mainly through ignorance, mainly because the present workers of this institution do not realize what they are doing or why they should not do these things. But there is, I confess, one other reason, a reason so sinister and so unfortunate that I hesitate to mention it; and it is this: For a long time a powerful section

of the white South has offered to give its consent and countenance to the higher training of Negroes only on condition that the white South control and guide that education. And it is possible that for a million dollars the authorities of Fisk University have been asked either openly or by implication to sell to the white South the control of this institution. It is not the first time that a Corrupt Bargain of this kind has been attempted. Its earlier form at Hampton and Tuskegee included an understanding that these institutions were not to do college work and that they were to furnish servants for white people. # Sincere and long continued attempts were made to carry out this program and they failed. Hampton has become a college and is increasing its college curriculum. The graduates of Tuskegee are not servants for white people and never will be. They are entering college and the professions in larger and larger numbers. Now comes the suspicion of a similar attempt at Fisk. Pressure has been put upon Fisk graduates to go into Southern domestic service, that branch of human activity which is, as the world knows, the chief source of prostitution and the degradation of human independence. If any such bargain as I have outlined has been consciously or unconsciously, openly or secretly entered into by Fisk University, I would rather see every stone of its buildings leveled and every bit of its activity stopped before the Negro race consents.

Back, of course, of suggestions and bargains like this lies the doctrine of the inferiority of the Negro race, and I shall never believe that an institution once taught and guided by men like Cravath and Spence and Chase can ever for a moment take a stand which does not regard the black race as an equal of any other race on earth.

~~THE~~ FISK ALUMNI

This brings me to the second of the two theses which I outlined, namely, that the alumni of Fisk University are and of right ought to be the ultimate source

of authority in the policy and government of this institution. The duty of rescuing Fisk rests upon us as graduates. It is a duty which we may not shirk and before which we cannot longer hesitate. I know the thing that leaps to the minds of all of us. We are aware that every great institution in this land is conducted in the last analysis by its alumni, but we echo in our own case the criticism that is so often flung at us, namely, that we have not supported this institution, that very little of this new million dollar endowment has come from us.

41-2-54

I resent this criticism. The students of Fisk University pay as large a proportion of their expenses as the students of Harvard or any other great Northern institutions. The money which their parents have given to Fisk University and to other public purposes forms a greater proportion of their income and a more costly amount of personal sacrifice than any money that any white group has given or ever will give to this institution. It is recognized the world over today that institutions of learning are the property of the community; that the community ought to support them and that the money given for that support, either given from the public treasury or from private sources, is not a dole to beggars but a debt to society. I resent, therefore, with every ounce of my energy the sneer that the graduates of Fisk University are beggars with no right to rule this institution simply because they are for the most part men who have struggled and toiled and done their duty for low wages and little incomes, amid mob law and prejudice:

"If blood be the price of admiralty, --
If blood be the price of admiralty, --
If blood be the price of admiralty,
Lord God, we have paid in full!"

Our duty is clear before us and our right to perform that duty. The steps that we should take include, first, Publicity. We must let the whole world know just what is happening at Fisk University. Secondly, Organization; instead of

the loose, ineffective Alumni Association, the alumni and friends of this institution must be firmly knit together to rescue Alma Mater. Thirdly, we must demand elective representation on the Board of Trustees, beginning with one or two members and gradually as the years go on increasing until in another generation we shall control the Board.

41-2-5

Finally, while we are taking these steps and as long as present conditions at Fisk University continue, we must actively support by our advice the boycott of this institution which has already begun. The student body at Fisk is beginning to dwindle, and the dwindling has begun with the men because the men have more economic independence than the girls. Livingston Hall houses today about one-half the number of men students which it should house. Other schools are graduating dozens of students who either began their work at Fisk University or would have been glad to go there if they could have expected the treatment of men and women. And unless that treatment is forthcoming we must not encourage colored students to go there.

I know just what this means to us of sacrifice. We love Fisk. We are its children. We believe eternally in its undying spirit; but we cannot sacrifice the ideals of the Negro race and the democracy of the world to our personal selfishness. The Negro race needs colleges. We need them today as never before; but we do not need colleges so much that we can sacrifice the manhood and womanhood of our children to the Thoughtlessness of the North or the Prejudice of the South. Ultimately Fisk will and must survive. The spirit of its great founders will renew itself, and it is that Spirit alone, reborn, which calls us tonight.

"Oh, be swift my soul, to answer Him, be jubilant my feet!
Our God is marching on!"

ENVOY

The result of that speech was an upheaval. The students danced and celebrated in exuberant glee. My daughter even feared that she might be deprived of her degree. The leading colored citizen of Nashville threatened me with personal violence if I returned. The board of trustees was angry. The President of the university was outraged and many of the alumni thought I had done a cruel and unnecessary thing. One of them wrote me, "You may be right but you'll never succeed in ousting the President." Another, a woman, took the floor after my speech and raged for fifteen minutes. I realized that the uplift which one gets in doing what seems to be an unquestioned duty cannot altogether compensate for its cost in friendships, in motives impugned, in lives disturbed. I went away sorry for the little president. I had no personal animus against him but he was angry and stubborn and determined to stick to his program and fight the battle to the bitter end. He would have no elective alumni representation upon the board of trustees. He insisted that unless we followed his program of yielding to the South, Fisk would not get the endowment which he had started to raise. I organized the New York Alumni and began to re-publish the suppressed Fisk Herald. I published my speech and a series of unanswerable documents with signed testimony. Paul Cravath, chairman of the board, stubbornly stood by McKenzie and he encouraged, instead of loosening, tightened the already severe student discipline. A year later, the students, led by George Streator, openly rebelled, and the president capped the climax by sending a half dozen of them publicly to jail. This proved the last straw. The black city rose in protest and the trustees reluctantly sent Fayette McKenzie away.

1931

Between 1924 and 1931 many changes came. Booker Washington died in 1915. The Amenia Conference had cemented understanding between his followers and those of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Crisis circulated widely and my word was read and listened to. It occurred to George Crawford, trained at Tuskegee, graduated at Yale and trustee of Talladega and Howard, that this would be a fit time to crown the marriage of college and industrial education by having Howard University confer at once upon me and the President of Tuskegee an honorary degree. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard, gladly assented and so for a moment on the campus of Howard, above the capitol of the United States, I stood upon the mountains and looked down upon my life and the life of a thousand students and reviewed that controversy whose thread had so colored and patterned my educational thought. With the blue and white hood of Howard upon my shoulders I said:

Education and Work

Between the time that I was graduated from college and the day of my first experience at earning a living, there was arising in this land, and more especially within the Negro group, a controversy concerning the type of education which American Negroes needed. You, who are graduating today, have heard but echoes of this controversy and more or less vague theories of its meaning and its outcome. Perhaps it has been explained away to you and interpreted as mere misunderstanding and personal bias. If so, the day of calm review and inquiry is at hand. And I suppose that, of persons living, few can realize better than I just what that controversy meant and what the outcome is. I want then today in the short time allotted me, to state, as plainly as I may, the problem of college and industrial education for American Negroes, as it arose in the past; and then to restate it as it appears to me in its present aspect.

41-2-58

First of all, let me insist that the former controversy was no mere misunderstanding; there was real difference of opinion, rooted in deep sincerity on every side and fought out with a tenacity and depth of feeling due to its great importance and fateful meaning.

It was, in its larger aspects, a problem such as in all ages human beings of all races and nations have faced; but it was new in 1895 as all Time is new; it was concentered and made vivid and present because of the immediate and pressing question of the education of a vast group of the children of former slaves. It was the ever new and age-young problem of Youth, for there had arisen in the South a Joseph which knew not Pharaoh, -- a black man who was not born in slavery. What was he to become? Whither was his face set? How should he be trained and educated? His fathers were slaves, for the most part, ignorant and poverty-stricken; emancipated in the main without land, tools, nor capital, -- the sport of war, the despair of economists, the grave perplexity of Science. Their children had been born in the midst of controversy, of internecine hatred, and in all the economic dislocation that follows war and civil

war. In a peculiar way and under circumstances seldom duplicated, the whole program of popular education became epitomized in the case of these young black folk.

Before men thought or greatly cared, in the midst of the very blood and dust of battle, an educational system for the freedmen had been begun; and with a logic that seemed, at first, quite natural. The night school for adults had become the day school for children. The Negro day school had called for normal teaching and the small New England college had been transplanted and perched on hill and river in Raleigh and Atlanta, Nashville and New Orleans, and a half dozen other towns. This new Negro college was conceived of as the very foundation stone of Negro training. But, meantime, any formal education for slaves or the children of slaves not only awakened widespread and deep-seated doubt, fear and hostility in the South, but it posed, for statesmen and thinkers, the whole question as to what the education of Negroes was really aiming at, and indeed, what was the aim of educating any working class. If it was doubtful as to how far the social and economic classes of any modern state could be essentially transformed and changed by popular education, how much more tremendous was the problem of educating a race whose ability to assimilate modern training was in grave question and whose place in the nation and the world, even granted they could be educated, was a matter of baffling social philosophy? Was the nation making an effort to parallel white civilization in the South with a black civilization? Or was it trying to displace the dominant white master class with new black masters or was it seeking the difficult but surely more reasonable and practical effort of furnishing a trained set of free black laborers who might carry on in place of the violently disrupted slave system? Surely, most men said, this economic and industrial problem of the New South was the first -- the central, the insistent problem of the day.

There can be no doubt of the real dilemma that thus faced the nation, the Northern philanthropist and the black man. The argument for the New England college, which at first seemed to need no apology, grew and developed. The matter of man's earning a

living, said the college, is and must be important, but surely it can never be so important as the man himself. Thus the economic adaptation of the Negro to the South must in education be subordinated to the great necessity of teaching life and culture. The South, and more especially the Negro, needed and must have trained and educated leadership if civilization was to survive. More than most, here was land and people who needed to learn the meaning of life. They needed the preparation of gifted persons for the profession of teaching, and for other professions which would in time grow. The object of education was not to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men.

On the other hand, those practical men who looked at the South after the war said: this is an industrial and business age. We are on the threshold of an economic expansion such as the world never saw before. Whatever human civilization has been or may become, today it is industry. The South because of slavery has lagged behind the world. It must catch up. Its prime necessity after the hate and holocaust of war is a trained reliable laboring class. Assume if you will that Negroes are men with every human capacity, nevertheless, as a flat fact, no rising group of peasants can begin at the top. If poverty and starvation are to be warded off, the children of the freedmen must not be taught to despise the humble work, which the mass of the Negro race must for untold years pursue. The transition period between slavery and freedom is a dangerous and critical one. Fill the heads of these children with Latin and Greek and highfalutin' notions of rights and political power, and hell will be to pay.

On the other hand, in the South, here is land and fertile land, in vast quantities, to be had at nominal prices. Here are employers who must have skilled and faithful labor, and have it now. There is in the near future an industrial development coming which will bring the South abreast with the new economic development of the nation and the world. Freedom must accelerate this development which slavery so long retarded. Here then is no time for a philosophy of economic or class revolution and race hatred. There must be friendship and good will between employer and employee, between black and

white. They have common interests, and the matter of their future relations in politics and society, can well be left for the future generations and different times to solve. "Cast down your buckets where you are," cried Booker T. Washington; "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

What was needed, then, was that the Negro first should be made the intelligent laborer, the trained farmer, the skilled artisan of the South. Once he had accomplished this step in the economic world and the ladder was set for his climbing, his future would be assured, and assured on an economic foundation which would be immovable. All else in his development, if he proved himself capable of development, even to the highest, would inevitably follow. Let us have, therefore, not colleges but schools to teach the technique of industry and to make men learn by doing.

These were the opposing arguments. They were real arguments. They were set forth by earnest men, white and black, philanthropist and teacher, statesman and seer. The controversy waxed bitter. The disputants came to rival organizations, to severe social pressure, to anger and even to blows. Newspapers were aligned for and against; employment and promotion depended often on a Negro's attitude toward industrial education. The Negro race and their friends were split in twain by the intensity of their feeling and men were labelled and ear-marked by their allegiance to one school of thought or to the other.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

Today, all this is past; by the majority of the older of my hearers, it is practically forgotten. By the younger, it appears merely as a vague legend. Thirty-five years, a full generation and more, have elapsed. The increase in Negro education by all measurements has been a little less than marvelous. In 1895, there were not more than 1,000 Negro students of full college grade in the United States. Today, there are over 19,000 in college and nearly 150,000 in high schools. In 1895, 60% of American Negroes, ten years of age or over, were illiterate. Today, perhaps three-fourths can read and write. The increase of Negro students in industrial and

land grant colleges has been equally large. The latter have over 16,000 students and the increasing support of the government of the states; while the great industrial schools, especially Hampton and Tuskegee, are the best endowed institutions for the education of black folk in the world.

WAS THE CONTROVERSY SETTLED?

What then has become of this controversy as to college and industrial education for Negroes? Has it been duly settled, and if it has, how has it been settled? Has it been transmuted into a new program, and if so, what is that program? In other words, what is the present norm of Negro education, represented at once by Howard University, Fisk and Atlanta on one hand, and by Hampton Institute, Tuskegee, and the land grant colleges on the other?

I answer once for all, the problem has not been settled. The questions raised in those days of controversy still stand in all their validity and all their pressing insistence on an answer. They have not been answered. They must be answered, and the men and women of this audience and like audiences throughout the land are the ones from whom the world demands final reply. Answers have been offered; and the present status of the problem has enormously changed, for human problems never stand still. But I must insist that the fundamental problem is still here.

Let us see. The Negro college has done a great work. It has given us leadership and intelligent leadership. Doubtless, without these colleges the American Negro would scarcely have attained his present position. The chief thing that distinguishes the American Negro group from the Negro groups in the West Indies, and in South America, and the mother group in Africa, is the number of men that we have trained in modern education, able to cope with the white world on its own ground and in its own thought, method and language.

On the other hand, there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the Negro college, its teachers, students and graduates, have not yet comprehended the age in which they live: the tremendous organization of industry, commerce, capital, and credit which

today forms a super-organization dominating and ruling the universe, subordinating to its ends government, democracy, religion, education and social philosophy; and for the purpose of forcing into the places of power in this organization American black men either to guide or help reform it, either to increase its efficiency or make it a machine to improve our well-being, rather than the merciless mechanism which enslaves us; for this the Negro college has today neither program nor intelligent comprehension.

On the contrary there is no doubt but that college and university training among us has had largely the exact effect that was predicted; it has turned an increasing number of our people not simply away from manual labor and industry, not simply away from business and economic reform, into a few well-paid professions, but it has turned our attention from any disposition to study or solve our economic problem. A disproportionate number of our college-trained students are crowding into teaching and medicine and beginning to swarm into other professions and to form at the threshold of these better-paid jobs, a white-collar proletariat, depending for their support on an economic foundation which does not yet exist.

Moreover, and perhaps for this very reason, the ideals of colored college-bred men have not in the last thirty years been raised an iota. Rather in the main, they have been lowered. The average Negro undergraduate has swallowed hook, line and sinker, the dead bait of the white undergraduate, who, born in an industrial machine, does not have to think, and does not think. Our college man today is, on the average, a man untouched by real culture. He deliberately surrenders to selfish and even silly ideals, swarming into semi-professional athletics and Greek letter societies, and affecting to despise scholarship and the hard grind of study and research. The greatest meetings of the Negro college year like those of the white college year have become vulgar exhibitions of liquor, extravagance, and fur coats. We have in our colleges a growing mass of stupidity and indifference.

I am not counselling perfection; as desperately human groups, we must expect our share of mediocrity. But as hitherto a thick and thin defender of the college, it seems to me that we are getting into our Negro colleges considerably more than our share of plain fools.

Acquiring as we do in college no guidance to a broad economic comprehension and a sure industrial foundation, and simultaneously a tendency to live beyond our means, and spend for show, we are graduating young men and women with an intense and overwhelming appetite for wealth and no reasonable way of gratifying it, no philosophy for counteracting it.

Trained more and more to enjoy sexual freedom as undergraduates, we refuse graduates to found and support even moderate families, because we cannot afford them; and we are beginning to sneer at group organization and race leadership as mere futile gestures.

Why is this? What is wrong with our colleges? The method of the modern college has been proven by a hundred centuries of human experience: the imparting of knowledge by the old to the young; the instilling of the conclusions of experience, "line upon line, and precept upon precept." But, of course, with this general and theoretical method must go a definite and detailed object suited to the present age, the present group, the present set of problems. It is not then in its method but in its practical objects that the Negro college has failed. It is handing on knowledge and experience but what knowledge and for what end? Are we to stick to the old habit of wasting time on Latin, Greek, Hebrew and eschatology, or are we to remember that, after all, the object of the Negro college is to place in American life a trained black man who can do what the world today wants done; who can help the world know what it ought to want done and thus by doing the world's work well may invent better work for a better world? This brings us right back to the object of the industrial school.

WHAT THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL HAS DONE

Negro industrial training in the United States has accomplishments of which it has a right to be proud; but it too has not solved its problem. Its main accomplishment has been an indirect matter of psychology. It has helped bridge the transition period between Negro slavery and freedom. It has taught thousands of white people in the South to accept Negro education, not simply as a necessary evil, but as a possible social good. It has brought state support to a dozen higher institutions of learning,

and to some extent, to a system of public schools. On the other hand, it has tempered and rationalized the inner emancipation of American Negroes. It made the Negro patient when impatience would have killed him. If it has not made working with the hands popular, it has at least removed from it much of the stigma of social degradation. It has made many Negroes seek the friendship of their white fellow citizens, even at the cost of insult and caste. And thus through a wide strip of our country it has brought peace and not a sword.

But this has all been its indirect by-product, rather than its direct teaching. In its direct teaching, the kind of success which it has achieved differs from the success of the college. In the case of the industrial school, the practical object was absolutely right and still is right: that is, the desire of placing in American life a trained black man who could earn a decent living and make that living the foundation stone of his own culture and of the civilization of his group. This was the avowed object of the industrial school. How much has it done toward this? It has established some skilled farmers and among the mass some better farming methods. It has trained and placed some skilled artisans; it has given great impetus to the domestic arts and household economy; it has encouraged Negro business enterprise. And yet we have but to remember these matters to make it patent to all that the results have been pitifully small compared with the need. Our Negro farm population is decreasing; our Negro artisans are not gaining proportionately in industry and Negro business faces today a baffling crisis. Our success in household arts is due not to our effective teaching so much as to the mediaeval minds of our women who have not yet entered the machine age. Most of them seem still to think that washing clothes, scrubbing steps and paring potatoes were among the Ten Commandments.

Why now has the industrial school with all its partial success, failed absolutely in its main object when that object of training Negroes for remunerative occupation is more imperative today than thirty-five years ago?

The reason is clear: if the college has failed because with the right general method it has lacked definite objects appropriate to the age and race; the industrial

school has failed because with a definite object it lacked appropriate method to gain it. In other words, the lack of success of the industrial education of Negroes has come not because of the absence of desperate and devoted effort, but because of changes in the world which the industrial school did not foresee, and which, even if it had foreseen, it could not have prevented, and to which it had not the ability to adapt itself.

It is easy to illustrate this. The industrial school assumed that the technique of industry in 1895, even if not absolutely fixed and permanent, was at least permanent enough for training children into its pursuit and for use as a basis of broader education. Therefore, school work for farming, carpentry, bricklaying, plastering and painting, metal work and blacksmithing, shoemaking, sewing and cooking was introduced and taught. But, meantime, what has happened to these vocations and trades? Machines and new industrial organizations have remade the economic world and ousted these trades either from their old technique or their economic significance. The planing mill does today much of the work of the carpenter and the carpenter is being reduced rapidly to the plane of a mere laborer. The building trades are undergoing all kinds of reconstruction, from the machine-made steel skyscraper, to the cement house cast in molds and the mass-made mail-order bungalow. Painting and masonry still survive, but the machine is after them; while printing and sewing are done by elaborate machines. Metal is being shaped by stamping mills. Nothing of shoemaking is left for the hands save mending, and in most cases, it is cheaper to buy a new shoe than to have an old one cobbled. When it comes to the farm, a world-wide combination of circumstances is driving the farmer to the wall. Expensive machinery demands increasingly larger capital; excessive taxation of growing land values is eliminating the small owner; monopolized and manipulated markets and carriers make profits of the individual farmer small or nil; and the foreign competition of farms worked by serfs at starvation wages and backed by world-wide aggregations of capital -- all this is driving farmers, black and white, from the soil and making the problem of their future existence one of the great problems of the modern world.

The industrial school, therefore, found itself in the peculiar position of teaching a technique of industry in certain lines just at the time when that technique was changing into something different, and when the new technique was a matter which the Negro school could not teach. In fact, with the costly machine, with mass production and organized distribution, the teaching of technique becomes increasingly difficult. Any person of average intelligence can take part in the making of a modern automobile, and he is paid, not for his technical training, but for his endurance and steady application.

There were many lines of factory work, like the spinning and weaving of cotton and wool, which the Negro could have successfully been set to learning, but they involved vast expenditures of capitalwhich no school could control, and organized business at that time decreed that only white folk could work in factories. And that decree still stands. New branches of industry, new technique are continually opening -- like automobile repairing, electrical installments, and engineering -- but these call for changing curricula and adjustments puzzling for a school and a set course of study.

In the attempt to put the Negro into business, so that from the inner seats of power by means of capital and credit he could control industry, we have fallen between two stools, this work being apparently neither the program of the college nor of the industrial school. The college treated it with the most approved academic detachment, while the industrial school fatuously assumed as permanent a business organization which began to change with the Nineteenth Century, and bids fair to disappear with the Twentieth. In 1895 we were preaching individual thrift and saving; the small retail store and the partnership for business and the conduct of industry. Today, we are faced by great aggregations of capital and world-wide credit, which monopolize raw material, carriage and manufacture, distribute their products through cartels, mergers and chain stores, and are in process of eliminating the individual trader, the small manufacturer, and the little job. In this new organization of business the colored man meets two difficulties: first, he is not trained to take part in it; and, secondly, if he gets training, he finds it almost impossible to gain a foothold.

Schools cannot teach as an art and trade that which is a philosophy, a government of men, an organization of civilization. They can impart a mass of knowledge about it, but this is the duty of the college of liberal arts and not the shop work of the trade school.

Thus the industrial school increasingly faces a blank wall and its astonishing answer today to the puzzle is slowly but surely to transform the industrial school into a college. The most revolutionary development in Negro education for a quarter-century is illustrated by the fact that Hampton today is one of the largest of Negro colleges and that her trade teaching seems bound to disappear within a few years. Tuskegee is a high school and college, with an unsolved program of the future of its trade schools. And the land grant colleges, built to foster agriculture and industry, are becoming just like other colleges. And all this, as I said, is not the fault of the industrial school, it comes from this tremendous transformation of business, capital and industry in the Twentieth Century, which few men clearly foresaw and which only a minority of men or of teachers of men today fully comprehend.

41-2-68

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In one respect, however, the Negro industrial school was seriously at fault. It set its face toward the employer and the capitalist and the man of wealth. It looked upon the worker as one to be adapted to the demands of those who conducted industry. Both in its general program and in its classroom, it neglected almost entirely the modern labor movement. It had little or nothing to teach concerning the rise of trade unions; their present condition, and their future development. It had no conception of any future democracy in industry. That is, the very vehicle which was to train Negroes for modern industry neglected in its teaching the most important part of modern industrial development; namely, the relation of the worker to modern industry and to the modern state.

The reason for this neglect is clear. The Negro industrial school was the gift of capital and wealth. Organized labor was long the enemy of the black man in skilled industry. Organized labor in the United States was and to some extent still is the chief obstacle to keep

black folk from earning a living by its determined policy of excluding them from unions just as long as possible and compelling them to become "scabs" in order to live. The political power of Southern white labor disfranchised Negroes, and helped build a caste system. How was the Negro industrial school easily to recognize, in this Devil of its present degradation, the Angel of its future enlightenment? How natural it was to look to white Capital and not to Labor for the emancipation of the black world -- how natural and yet how insanely futile!

THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM

Here then are the successes and the failures of both Negro college and industrial school and we can clearly see that the problem still stands unsolved: How are we going to place the black American on a sure foundation in the modern state? The modern state is primarily business and industry. Its industrial problems must be settled before its cultural problems can really and successfully be attacked. The world must eat before it can think. The Negro has not found a solid foundation in that state as yet. He is mainly the unskilled laborer; the casual employee; the man hired last and fired first; the man who must subsist upon the lowest wage and consequently share an undue burden of poverty, crime, insanity, and ignorance. The only alleviation of his economic position has come from what little the industrial school could teach during the revolution of technique and from what the college took up as part of its mission in vocational training for professions.

For the college had to become a trainer of men for vocations. This is as true of the white college as of the colored college. They both tended to change their college curricula into pre-vocational preparation for a professional career. But the effort of the Negro college here was half-hearted. There persisted the feeling that the college had finished its work when it placed a man of culture in the world, despite the fact that our graduates who are men of culture are exceptional, and if placed in the world without ability to earn a living, what little culture they have does not long survive.

Thus, at the end of the first third of the Twentieth Century, while both college and industrial school can point to something accomplished, neither has reached its main objective, and they are in process of uniting to become one stream of Negro education with their great problem of object and method unsolved. The industrial school has done but little to impart the higher technique of the industrial process or of the business organization and it has done almost nothing toward putting the Negro working man in touch with the great labor movement of the white world.

On the other hand, the Negro college has not succeeded in establishing that great and guiding ideal of group development and leadership, within a dominating and expanding culture, or in establishing the cultural life as the leading motif of the educated Negro. Its vocational work has been confined to the so-called learned professions, with only a scant beginning of the imparting of the higher technique of industry and science.

41-2-76

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The result which I have outlined is not wholly unexpected. Perhaps we can now say that it was impossible fully to avoid this situation. We have a right to congratulate ourselves that we have come to a place of such stability and such intelligence as now to be ready to grapple with our economic problem. The fact of the matter is, we have up to this time been swept on and into the great maelstrom of the white civilization surrounding us. We have been inevitably made part of that vast modern organization of life where social and political control rests in the hands of those few white folk who control wealth, determine credit and divide income. We are in a system of culture where disparity of income is such that respect for labor as labor cannot endure; where the emphasis and outlook is not what a man does but what he is able to get for doing it; where wealth despises work and the object of wealth is to escape work, and where the ideal is power without toil.

So long as a lawyer can look forward to an income of $100,000 a year while a maid servant is well-paid with $1,000, just so long the lawyer is going to be one hundred times more respectable than the servant and the servant is going to be called

by her first name. So long as the determination of a person's income is not only beyond democratic control and public knowledge, but is a matter of autocratic power and secret manipulation, just so long the application of logic and ethics to wealth, industry and income is going to be a difficult if not insoluable problem.

In the modern world only one country is making a frontal attack upon this problem and that is Russia. Other countries are visualizing it and considering it, making some tentative and half-hearted effort but they have not yet attacked the system as a whole, and for the most part they declare the present system inevitable and eternal and incapable of more than minor and stinted improvement.

In the midst of such a world organization we come looking for economic stability and independence. Of course, our situation is baffling and contradictory. And it is made all the more difficult for us because we are by blood and descent and popular opinion an integral part of that vast majority of mankind which is the Victim and not the Beneficiary of present conditions; which is today working at starvation wages and on a level of brute toil and without voice in its own government or education in its ignorance, for the benefit, the enormous profit, and the dazzling luxury of the white world.

Here lies the problem and it is the problem of the combined Negro college and vocational school. Without the intellectual leadership of college-bred men, we could not hitherto have held our own in modern American civilization, but must have sunk to the place of the helpless proletariat of the West Indies and of South Africa. But, on the other hand, for what has the college saved us? It has saved us for that very economic defeat which the industrial school was established to ward off and which still stands demanding solution. The industrial school acted as bridge and buffer to lead us out of the bitterness of Reconstruction to the toleration of today. But it did not place our feet upon the sound economic foundation which makes our survival in America or in the modern world certain or probable; and the reason that it did not do this was as much the fault of the college as of the trade school. The industrial school

without the college was as helpless yesterday as the college is today helpless without systematic training for modern industry.

Both college and industrial school have made extraordinary and complementary mistakes in their teaching force: the industrial school secured usually as teacher a man of affairs and technical knowledge, without culture or general knowledge. The college took too often as teacher a man of books and brains with no contact with or first-hand knowledge of real every-day life and ordinary human beings, and this was true whether he taught sociology, literature, or science. Both types of teacher failed.

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

What then is the unescapable task of the united college and vocational school? It is without shadow of doubt a new, broad and widely efficient vocational guidance and education for men and women of ability, selected by the most careful tests and supported by a broad system of free scholarships. Our educational institutions must graduate to the world men fitted to take their place in real life by their knowledge, spirit, and ability to do what the world wants done. This vocational guidance must have for its object the training of men who can think clearly and function normally as physical beings; who have a knowledge of what human life on earth has been, and what it is now; and a knowledge of the constitution of the known universe. All that, and in addition to that, a training which will enable them to take some definite and intelligent part in the production of goods and in the furnishing of human services and in the democratic distribution of income so as to build civilization, encourage initiative, reward effort and support life. Just as the Negro college course with vision, knowledge and ideal must move toward vocational training, so the industrial courses must ascend from mere hand technique to engineering and industrial planning and the application of scientific and technical knowledge to problems of work and wage.

This higher training and vocational guidance must turn out young men and women who are willing not only to do the work of the world today but to provide for the

future world. Here then is the job before us. It is in a sense the same kind of duty that lies before the educated white man; but it has an essential and important difference. If we make a place for ourselves in the industrial and business world today, this will be done because of our ability to establish a self-supporting organization sufficiently independent of the white organization to insure its stability and our economic survival and eventual incorporation into world industry. Ours is the double and dynamic function of tuning in with a machine in action so as neither to wreck the machine nor be crushed or maimed by it. Many think this is impossible. But if it is impossible, our future economic survival is impossible.

Let there be no misunderstanding about this, no easy going optimism. We are not going to share modern civilization just by deserving recognition. We are going to force ourselves in by organized far-seeing effort -- by out-thinking and out-flanking the owners of the world today who are too drunk with their own arrogance and power successfully to oppose us, if we think and learn and do.

It is not the province of this paper to tell in detail just how this problem will be settled. Indeed, I could not tell you if I would. I merely stress the problem and emphasize the possibility of the solution. A generation ago those who doubted our survival said that no alien and separate nation could hope to survive within another nation; that we must be absorbed or perish. Times have changed. Today it is rapidly becoming true that only within some great and all inclusive empire or league, can separate nations and groups find freedom and protection and economic scope for development. The small separate nation is becoming increasingly impossible and the League of Nations as well as Briand's proposed League of Europe shout this from the housetops. And just as loudly, the inevitable disintegration of the British Empire shows the impossibility of world embracing centralized autocracy. This means that the possibility of our development and survival is clear, but clear only as brains and devotion and skilled knowledge point the way.

TEACHERS

We need then, first, training as human beings in general knowledge and experience; then technical training to guide and do a specific part of the world's work. The broader training should be the heritage and due of all but today it is curtailed by poverty. The technical training of man must be directed by vocational guidance which finds fitness and ability. Then actual and detailed technical training will be done by a combination of school, laboratory and apprenticeship, according to the nature of the work and the changing technique.

The teachers of such a stream of students must be of a high order. College teachers cannot follow the mediaeval tradition of detached withdrawal from the world. The professor of mathematics in a college has to be more than a counting machine, or proctor of examinations; he must be a living man, acquainted with real human beings, and alive to the relation of his branch of knowledge to the technical problem of living and earning a living. The teacher in a Negro college has got to be something far more than a master of a branch of human knowledge. He has got to be able to impart his knowledge to human beings whose place in the world is today precarious and critical; and the possibilities and advancement of that human being in the world where he is to live and earn a living, is of just as much importance in the teaching process as the content of the knowledge taught.

The man who teaches blacksmithing must be more than a blacksmith. He must be a man of education and culture, acquainted with the whole present technique and business organization of the modern world, and acquainted too with human beings and their possibilities. Such a man is difficult to procure. Because industrial schools did not have in the past such teachers for their classes and could not get them, their whole program suffered unmerited criticism. The teachers, then, cannot be pedants or dilettantes, they cannot be mere technicians and higher artisans; they have got to be social statesmen and statesmen of high order. The student body of such schools has got to be selected for something more than numbers. We must eliminate those who are here because their parents wish to be rid of them, or for the social prestige or

for passing the time or for getting as quickly as possible into a position to make money to throw away; and we must concentrate upon young men and women of ability and vision and will.

IDEAL

Today there is but one rivalry between culture and vocation, college training and trade and professional training, and that is the rivalry of Time. Some day every human being will have college training. Today some must stop with the grades, and some with high school, and only a few reach college. It is of the utmost importance, then, and the essential condition of our survival and advance that those chosen for college be our best and not simply our richest or most idle.

But even this growth must be led; it must be guided by Ideals. We have lost something, brothers, wandering in strange lands. We have lost our ideals. We have come to a generation which seeks advance without ideals -- discovery without stars. It cannot be done. Certain great landmarks and guiding facts must stand eternally before us; and at the risk of moralizing, I must end by emphasizing this matter of the ideals of Negro students and graduates.

The ideal of Poverty. This is the direct antithesis of the present American ideal of Wealth. We cannot all be wealthy. We should not all be wealthy. In an ideal industrial organization no person should have an income which he does not personally need; nor wield a power solely for his own whim. If civilization is to turn out millionaires, it will also turn out beggars and prostitutes, either at home or among the lesser breeds without the law. A simple healthy life on limited income is the only reasonable ideal of civilized folk.

The ideal of Work -- not idleness, not dawdling, but hard continuous effort at something worth doing, by a man supremely interested in doing it, who knows how it ought to be done and is willing to take infinite pains doing it.

The ideal of Knowledge -- not guess work, not mere careless theory; not inherited religious dogma clung to because of fear and inertia and in spite of logic, but critically tested and laboriously gathered fact martialed under scientific law and feeding

rather than choking the glorious world of fancy and imagination, of poetry and art, of beauty and deep culture.

Finally and especially, the ideal of Sacrifice. I almost hesitate to mention this -- so much sentimental twaddle has been written of it. When I say sacrifice, I mean sacrifice. I mean a real and definite surrender of personal ease and satisfaction. I embellish it with no theological fairy tales of a rewarding God or a milk and honey heaven. I am not trying to scare you into the duty of sacrifice by the fires of a mythical Hell. I am repeating the stark fact of survival of life and culture on this earth:

"Entbehren sollst du -- sollst enthehren."

Thou shalt forego, shalt do without.

41-2-76

The insistent problem of human happiness is still with us. We American Negroes are not a happy people. We feel perhaps as never before the sting and bitterness of our struggle. Our little victories won here and there serve but to reveal the shame of our continuing semi-slavery and social caste. We are torn asunder within our own group because of the rasping pressufe of the struggle without. We are as a race not simply dissatisfied, we are embodied Dissatisfaction.

To increase abiding satisfaction for the mass of our people, and for all people, someone must sacrifice something of his own happiness. This is a duty only to those who recognize it as a duty. The larger the number ready to sacrifice, the smaller the total sacrifice necessary. No man of education and culture and training, who proposes to face his problem and solve it, can hope for entire happiness. It is silly to tell intelligent human beings: Be good and you will be happy. The truth is today, be good, be decent, be honorable and self-sacrificing and you will not always be happy. You will often be desperately unhappy. You may even be crucified, dead and buried, and the third day you will be just as dead as the first. But with the death of your happiness may easily come increased happiness and satisfaction and fulfillment for other people -- strangers, unborn babes, uncreated worlds. If this is not sufficient incentive, never try it -- remain hogs.

The present census will show that the American Negro of the educated class and even of the middle industrial class is reproducing himself at an even slower rate than the corresponding classes of whites. To raise a small family today is a sacrifice. It is not romance and adventure. It is giving up something of life and pleasure for a future generation.

If, therefore, real sacrifice for others in your life work appeals to you, here it is. Here is the chance to build an industrial organization on a basis of logic and ethics, such as is almost wholly lacking in the modern world. It is a tremendous task, and it is the task equally and at once of Howard and Tuskegee, of Hampton and Fisk, of the college and of the industrial school. Our real schools must become centers of this vast Crusade. With the faculty and the student body girding themselves for this new and greater education, the major part of the responsibility will still fall upon those who have already done their school work; and that means upon the alumni who, like you, have become graduates of an institution of learning. Unless the vision comes to you and comes quickly, of the educational and economic problem before the American Negro, that problem will not be solved. You not only enter, therefore, today the worshipful company of that vast body of men upon whom a great center of learning, with ancient ceremony and colorful trappings, has put the accolade of intellectual knighthood; but men who have become the unselfish thinkers and planners of a group of people in whose hands lies the economic and social destiny of the darker peoples of the world, and by that token of the world itself.

Finally, no one may fail to stress before any audience, or on any occasion and on any errand bent, the overshadowing and all-inclusive ideal of Beauty -- "fair face of Beauty, all too fair to see" -- fitness, rhythm, perfection of adaptation of ends to means. It is hard to mention this intelligently without maudlin sentiment and clouded words. May I speak then in parable?

Last night I saw the Zepplin sailing in silver across the new moon. Brilliant, enormous, lovely, it symbolized the civilization over which it hung. It rode serene

above miles of Death; like a needle it threaded together clouds and seas, stars and continents. Within its womb were caged eternal and palpitating forces of the universe, and yet without quiver it faced the utter ends of space. Across the city, mute, dominant, magnificent, imponderable -- it flew.

And what it did, men and women of Howard, you may do -- you must do or die. The Zepplin is neither miracle nor stroke of genius. It is unremittent toil and experiment and thought and infinite adaptation in the face of every discouragement and failure, in the face of death itself.

I thought as I saw it flying there, of an angel flying low -- an angel of steel and silk ~~and of~~ with grim and awful human aim. I remembered the word of our own poet, great, but little known:

I thought I say an angel flying low.
I thought I saw the flicker of a wing
Above the mulberry trees; but not again.
Bethesda sleeps. . .

There was a day, I remember now,
I beat my breast and cried, "Wash me God,
Wash me with a wave of wind upon
The barley; O quiet One, draw near, draw near!
Walk upon the hills with lovely feet
And in the waterfall stand and speak.

ENVOY

The reception of this speech was kindly. I think it helped. But the speech lacked something. It was strong in exposition and criticism, but weak and vague in remedy. I was at this time in my social thought entering a wider and broader ocean, and I did not yet see clearly whither I was sailing. For that illumination I have yet to wait. Perhaps my audience sensed this.

1933

At Fisk University a new president had come to power. The General Education Board had promised sorely needed money. A new regime and a new spirit were being built up. I myself had turned back to the academic world and taken up again the teaching of sociology at the rebuilt Atlanta University. It seemed, therefore, on the occasion of my forty-fifth anniversary of graduation to utter a word of guidance. I think the authorities of Fisk would have preferred my silence. I had been in the past rather prodigal with advice, and the results had been almost disastrous. President Jones exhibited a little nervousness as he extended the invitation; but I explained to him frankly that I had no desire to prolong my hectic career of Fisk king-maker. I was satisfied , in the main, with his administration, but I wanted to guide in general the Negro college. I sensed a natural difficulty. When the Southern Negro college changed from a missionary school to a secular college, there was a tendency continually to say: this college is not a Negro college; it is a college; we are not teaching Negro science or Negro art; we are teaching Art and Science. To this I wanted to oppose a word of warning. I wanted to say in all kindliness and cooperation: you are and should and must remain a Negro college; but that involves no low ideals.

41-2-80

THE FIELD AND FUNCTION OF THE NEGRO COLLEGE

AFRICA

Once upon a time some four thousand miles east of this place, I saw the functioning of a perfect system of education. It was in West Africa, beside a broad river; and beneath the palms, bronze girls were dancing before the President of Liberia and the native chiefs, to celebrate the end of the Bush Retreat and their arrival at marriageable age.

There under the Yorubas and other Sudanese and Bantu tribes, the education of the child began almost before it could walk. It went about with mother and father in their daily tasks; it learned the art of sowing and reaping and hunting; it absorbed the wisdom and folk lore of the tribe; it knew the lay of land and river. Then at the age of puberty it went into the Bush and there for a season the boys were taught the secrets of sex and the girls in another school learned of motherhood and marriage. They came out of the Bush with a ceremony of graduation, and immediately were given and taken in marriage.

Even after that, their education went on. They sat in council with their elders and learned the history and science and art of the tribe, and practiced all in their daily life. Thus education was completely integrated with life. There could be no uneducated people. There could be no education that was not at once for use in earning a living and for use in living a life. Out of this education and out of the life it typified came, as perfect expressions, song and dance and saga, ethics and religion.

Nothing more perfect has been invented than this system of training youth among primitive African tribes. And one sees it in the beautiful courtesy of black children; in the modesty and frankness of womanhood, and in the dignity and courage of manhood; and too, in African music and art with its world-wide influence.

CHANGING CULTURE

If a group has a stable culture which moves, if we could so conceive it, on one general level, here would be the ideal of our school and university. But, of course, this can never be achieved by human beings on any wide stage.

First and most disconcerting, men progress, which means that they change their home, their work, their division of wealth, their philosophy. And how shall men teach children that which they themselves do not know or transmit a philosophy or religion that is already partly disbelieved and partly untrue? This is a primal and baffling problem of education and we have never wholly solved it. Or in other words, education of youth in a changing world is a puzzling problem with every temptation for lying and propaganda. But this is but the beginning of trouble. Within the group and nation significant differentiations and dislocations appear, so that education of youth becomes a preparation not for one common national life but for the life of a particular class or group; and yet the tendency is to regard as real national education only the training for this group which assumes to represent the nation because of its power and privilege, and despite the fact that it is usually a small numerical minority in the nation. Manifestly in such case if a member of one of the suppressed groups receives the national education in such a land, he must become a member of the privileged aristocracy or be educated for a life which he cannot follow and be compelled to live a life which he does not like or which he deeply despises.

This is the problem of education with which the world is most familiar, and it tends to two ends: it makes the mass of men dissatisfied with life and it makes the university a system of culture for the cultured.

THE UNIVERSITY CULTURE

With this kind of university, we are most familiar. It reached in our day perhaps its greatest development in England in the Victorian era. Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge, were for the education of gentlemen -- those people who inherited wealth and who by contact and early training acquired a body of manners and a knowledge of

life and even an accent of English which placed them among the well-bred; these were taken up and further trained for the particular sort of life which they were to live; a life which pre-supposed a large income, travel, cultivated society; and activity in politics, art, and imperial industry.

This type of university training has deeply impressed the world. It is foundation for a tenacious legend preserved in fiction, poetry, and essay. There are still many people who quite instinctively turn to this sort of thing when they speak of a university. And out of this ideal arose one even more exotic and apart. Instead of the university growing down and seeking to comprehend in its curriculum the life and experience, the thought and expression of lower classes; it almost invariably tended to grow up and narrow itself to a sublimated élite of mankind.

It conceived of culture, exquisite and fragile, as a thing in itself, disembodied from flesh and action; and this culture as existing for its own sake. It was a sort of earthly heaven into which the elect of wealth and privilege and courtly address, with a few chance neophytes from the common run of men, entered and lived in a region above and apart. One gets from this that ideal of cloistered ease for Science and Beauty, partaken of by those who sit far from the noise and fury, clamor and dust of the world, as the world's aristocrats, artists and scholars.

And yet, the argument against such an ideal of a university is more an argument of fact than logic. For just as soon as such a system of training is established or as men seek to establish it, it dies. It does like a plant without root, withering into fantastic forms, that bring ridicule or hate. Or it becomes so completely disassociated with the main currents of real life that men forget it and the world passes on as though it was not, and had not been. Thus the university cut off from its natural roots and from the mass of men becomes a university of the air and does not establish and does not hold the ideal of universal culture which it sought, in its earlier days, to make its great guiding end.

THE ROOTS OF CULTURE

How is it now that failure to reach this often, if not always, kills the university? The reasons to me seem clear. Human culture in its broadest and finest sense can never be wholly the product of the few. There is no natural aristocracy of man, either within a nation or among the races of the world, which unless fed copiously from without can build up and maintain and diversify a broad human culture. A system, therefore, of national education which tries to confine its benefits to preparing the few for the life of the few, dies of starvation. And this every aristocracy which the world has ever seen can prove a thousand times. There are two ways in which this can be remedied: the aristocracy may be recruited from the masses, still leaving the aim of education as the preparation of men for the life of this privileged class. This has been the desperate effort of England and in this way English aristocracy has kept its privilege and its wealth more successfully than any modern or ancient land. But even here, the method fails because the life of the English aristocrat is after all not the broadest and fullest life.

It is only, therefore, as the university lives up to its name and reaches down to the mass of universal men and makes the life of normal men the object of its training, it is only in this way that the marvelous talent and diversity and emotion of all mankind pours up through this method of human training and establishes a national culture and a national art. Herein lies the eternal logic of democracy.

Thus in the progress of human culture you have not simply a development that produces different classes of men, because classes may harmonize more or less and above the peasant, the artisan and the merchant, may exist a leisured aristocracy and on this leisured class a class culture may be built, which may flourish long and wide. But the difficulty goes further than the narrowness and ultimate sterility of this plan. Dislocations come within these classes. Their relations to each other may change and break and the foundations upon which the cultured class has been built, may crumble. In this case your system of human training becomes not only a system for

the supposed benefit of the privileged few, but cannot, indeed, carry out its function even for them. Its system of learning does not fit the mass of men nor the relations of its constituents to that mass.

One can see examples of this the world over. In Kenya, which used to be German East Africa, there are millions of black natives and a few thousand white Englishmen who have seized and monopolized the best land, leaving the natives scarcely enough poor land for subsistence. By physical slavery, economic compulsion or legal sanction, the natives work the land of the whites.

What kind of education will suit Kenya? The minority of landed aristocracy will be taught by tutors in Africa and then go the the great English schools and universities. The middle class of immigrant Indian merchants will learn to read and write and count at home or in elementary schools. The great mass of the black millions will be taught something of the art of agriculture, something of the work of artisans, perhaps some ability to read and write, although whether this should be in English or merely in the native tongue is a question. But on this foundation there can grow in Kenya no national university of education, because there are no national ideals. No culture, either African or European, can be built on any such economic foundation.

Thus the university, if it is to be firm, must hark back to the original ideal of the Bush school. It must train the children of a nation for life and for making a living. And if it does that, and insofar as it does it, it becomes the perfect expression of the life and the center of the intellectual and cultural expression of its age.

FISK, 1885

I have seen in my life three expressions of such an ideal; all of them imperfect, all of them partial, and yet each tending toward a broad and singularly beautiful expression of universal education. My first sight of it was here at Fisk University in the fall of 1885 when I arrived as a boy of seventeen. The buildings were few, the cost of tuition, board, room and clothes was less than $200 a year; and the college numbered less than twenty-five. And yet the scheme of education as it existed

in our minds, in the class room, in the teaching of professors, in the attitude of students, was a thing of breadth and enthusiasm with an unusual unity of aim. We were a small group of young men and women who were going to transform the world by giving proof of our own ability, by teaching our less fortunate fellows so that they could follow the same path, by proclaiming to the world our belief in American democracy, and the place which Negroes would surely take in it. In none of these propositions did there exist in our minds any hesitation or doubt. There was no question as to employment and perfectly proper employment for graduates, for the ends which we had in view. There was no question of our remaining in school for no good or earnest student ever left.

41-2-86

Above all, to our unblinking gaze, the gates of the World would open -- were opening. We never for a moment contemplated the possibility that seven millions of Americans who proved their physical and mental worth could be excluded from the national democracy of a common American culture. We came already bringing gifts. The song we sang was fresh from the lips that threw it round the world. We saw and heard the voices that charmed an emperor and a queen. We believed in the supreme power of the ballot in the hands of the masses to transform the world. Already the North was breaking the Color Line and for the South we were willing to wait.

HARVARD, 1888

I saw the same thing a few years later in Harvard University at the end of the Nineteenth Century. Harvard had broadened its earlier ideals. It was no longer simply a place where rich and learned New England gave the accolade to the social elite. It had broken its shell and stretched out to the West and to the South, to yellow students and to black. I had for the mere asking been granted a fellowship of $300 -- a sum so vast to my experience that I was surprised when it did not pay my first year's expenses. Men sought to make Harvard an expression of the United States, and to do this by means of leaders unshackled in thought and custom who were beating back bars of ignorance and particularism and prejudice. There were William James and Josiah Royce; Nathaniel

Shaler and Charles Eliot Norton; George Santayana; Albert Bushnell Hart, and President Eliot himself. There were at least a dozen men -- rebels against convention, unorthodox in religion, poor in money, who for a moment held in their hands the culture of the United States, typified it, expressed it, and pushed it a vast step forward. Harvard was not in 1888 a perfect expression of the American soul, or the place where the average American would have found adequate training for his life work. But perhaps it came nearer that high eminence than any other American institution had before or has since.

BERLIN, 1892

Again a few years later, I saw the University of Berlin. It represented in 1892 a definite and unified ideal. It did not comprehend at once the culture of all Germany, but I do not believe that ever in modern days and certainly not at Fisk or Harvard did a great university come so near expressing a national ideal. It was as though I had been stepping up from a little group college with a national vision to a provincial university with more than national outlook to a national institution which came near gathering to itself the thought and culture of forty million human beings. Every great professor of Germany, with few exceptions, had the life ambition to be called to a Chair in the Friedrich Wilhelm's Universitaet zu Berlin. I sat beneath the voice of a man who perhaps more than any single individual embodied the German ideal and welded German youth into that great aggressive fist which literally put Deutschland ueber Alles! I remember well Heinrich von Treitschke. With swift flying words that hid a painfully stuttering tongue, he hammered into the young men who sat motionless and breathless beneath his voice, the doctrine of the inborn superiority of the German race. And out and around that university for a thousand miles, millions of people shared in its ideal teaching, and did this in spite of caste of birth and poverty, jostling wealth because they believe in an ultimate unity which Bismarckian state socialism promised. They sang their national songs and joined in national festivals with enthusiasm that brought tears to the onlooker. And it made you realize

the ideal of a single united nation and what it could express in matchless poetry, daring science and undying music.

Yet in each of these cases, the ultimate ideal of a national, much less a universal university was a vision never wholly attained, and in the very nature of the case it could not be. Fisk had to be a Negro university because it was teaching Negroes and they were a caste with their own history and problems. Harvard was still a New England provincial institution and Berlin was sharply and determinedly German. Their common characteristic was that starting where they did and must, they aimed and moved toward universal culture.

41-2-8

NEED OF NEGRO UNIVERSITIES

Now with these things in mind, let us turn back to America and to the American Negro. It has been said many times that a Negro university is nothing more and nothing less than a university. Quite recently one of the great leaders of education in the United States, Abraham Flexner, said something of that sort concerning Howard University. As President of the Board of Trustees, he said he was seeking to build not a Negro University but a University. And by those words he brought again before our eyes the ideal of a great institution of learning which becomes a center of universal culture. With all good will toward them that speak such words it is the object of this paper to insist that there can be no college for Negroes which is not a Negro college and that while an American Negro university, just like a German or a Swiss university, may rightly aspire to a universal culture unhampered by limitations of race and culture, yet it must start on the earth where we sit and not in the skies whither we aspire. May I develop this thought?

In the first place, we have got to remember that here in America, in the year 1933, we have a situation which cannot be ignored. There was a time when it seemed as though we might best attack the Negro problem by ignoring its most unpleasant features. It was not and is not yet in good taste to speak generally about certain facts which characterize our situation in America. We are politically ham-strung. We have the

greatest difficulty in getting suitable and remunerative work. Our education is more and more not only being confined to our own schools but to a segregated public school system far below the average of the nation with one-third of our children continuously out of school. And above all, and this we like least to mention, we suffer a social ostracism which is so deadening and discouraging that we are compelled either to lie about it or to turn our faces toward the red flag of revolution. It consists of the kind of studied and repeated and emphasized public insult of the sort which during all the long history of the world has led men to kill or be killed. And in the full face of any effort which any black man may make to escape this ostracism for himself, stands this flaming sword of racial doctrine which will distract his effort and energy if it does not lead him to spiritual suicide.

We boast and have right to boast of our accomplishment between the days that I studied here and this 45th Anniversary of my graduation. It is a calm appraisal of fact to say that the history of modern civilization cannot surpass if it can parallel the advance of American Negroes in every essential line of culture in these years. And yet when we have said this we must have the common courage honestly to admit that every step we have made forward has been greeted by a step backward on the part of the American public in caste intoleration, mob law, and racial hatred.

I need but remind you that when I graduated from Fisk there was no "Jim Crow" car in Tennessee and I saw Hunter of '89 once sweep a brakeman aside at the Union Station and escort a crowd of Fisk students into the first-class seats for which they had paid. There was no legal disfranchisement and a black Fiskite sat in the Legislature; and while the Chancellor of Vanderbilt University had annually to be reintroduced to the President of Fisk, yet no white Southern group presumed to dictate the internal social life of this institution.

Manifestly with all that can be said, pro and con, and in extenuation, and by way of excuse and hope, this is the situation and we know it. There is no human way by which these facts can be ignored. We cannot do our daily work, sing a song, or write a book or carry on a university and act as though these things were not.

If this is true, then no matter how much we may dislike the statement, the American Negro problem is and must be the center of the Negro American university. It has got to be. You are teaching Negroes. There is no use pretending that you are teaching Chinese or that you are teaching white Americans or that you are teaching citizens of the world. You are teaching American Negroes in 1933, and they are the subjects of a caste system in the Republic of the United States of America and their life problem is primarily this problem of caste.

Upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build. Nor is the thing so entirely unusual or unheard of as it sounds. A university in Spain is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards, not for them as they may be or ought to be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities.

In other words, the Spanish university is founded and grounded in Spain, just as surely as a French university is French. There are some people who have difficulty in apprehending this very clear truth. They assume, for instance, that the French university is in a singular sense universal, and is based on a comprehension and inclusion of all mankind and of their problems. But it is not, and the assumption that it is arises simply because so much of French culture has been built into universal civilization. A French university is founded in France; it uses the French language and assumes a knowledge of French history. The present problems of the French people are its major problems and it becomes universal only so far as other peoples of the world comprehend and are at one with France in its mighty and beautiful history.

In the same way, a Negro university in the United States of America begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English idiom which they understand; and above all, it is founded, or it should be founded on a knowledge of the history of their people in Africa and in the United States, and their present condition. Without

white-washing or translating wish into facts, it begins with that; and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstances in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work and determination will permit.

Is this statement of the field of a Negro university a denial of aspiration or a change from older ideals? I do not think it is, although I admit in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method.

The system of learning which bases itself upon the actual condition of certain classes and groups of human beings is tempted to suppress a minor premise of fatal menace. It proposes that the knowledge given and the methods pursued in such institutions of learning shall be for the definite object of perpetuating present conditions or of leaving their amelioration in the hands of and at the initiative of other forces and other folk. This was the great criticism that those of us who fought for higher education of Negroes thirty years ago, brought against the industrial school.

The industrial school founded itself and rightly upon the actual situation of American Negroes and said: "What can be done to change this situation?" And its answer was: A training in technique and method such as would incorporate the disadvantaged group into the industrial organization of the country, and in that organization the leaders of the Negro had perfect faith. Since that day the industrial machine has cracked and groaned. Its technique has changed faster than any school could teach; the relations of capital and labor have increased in complication and it has become so clear that Negro poverty is not primarily caused by ignorance of technical knowledge that the industrial school has almost surrendered its program.

In opposition to that, the proponents of college training in those earlier years said: "What black men need is the broader and more universal training so that they can apply the general principles of knowledge to the particular circumstances of their condition."

Here again was indubitable truth but incomplete truth. The technical problem lay in the method of teaching this broader and more universal truth and here just as in the industrial program, we must start where we are and not where we wish to be.

PROGRAM OF A NEGRO UNIVERSITY

As I said a few years ago at Howard University both these positions had thus something of truth and right. Because of the peculiar economic situation in our country the program of the industrial school came to grief first and has practically been given up. Starting even though we may with the actual condition of the Negro peasant and artisan, we cannot ameliorate his condition simply by learning a trade which is the transient technique of a passing era. More vision and knowledge is needed than that. But on the other hand, while the Negro college of a generation ago set down a defensible and true program of applying knowledge to facts, it unfortunately could not completely carry it out, and it did not carry it out because the one thing that the industrial philosophy gave to education, the Negro college did not take and that was <u>that the university education of black men in the United States must be grounded in the condition and work of those black men!</u>

On the other hand, it would be of course idiotic to say, as the former industrial philosophy almost said, that so far as most black men are concerned, education must stop with this. No, starting with present condition and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro university expands toward the possession and the conquest of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history; from a beginning of social development among Negro slaves and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to interpret and understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to reach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and habits and aptitudes of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding of life and matter in the universe.

And this is a different program than a similar function would be in a white university or in a Russian university or in an English university, because it starts from a different point. It is a matter of beginnings and integrations of one group which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a universal world of science, sociology, and art. In no other way can the American Negro college function. It cannot begin with history and lead to Negro history. It cannot start with sociology and end with Negro sociology.

Why was it that the Renaissance of literature which began among Negroes ten years ago has never taken real and lasting root? It was because it was a transplanted and exotic thing. It was a literature written for the benefit of white people and at the behest of white readers, and starting out primarily from the white point of view. It never had a real Negro constituency and it did not grow out of the inmost heart and frank experience of Negroes; on such an artificial basis no real literature can grow.

On the other hand, if starting in a great Negro university you have knowledge, beginning with the particular, and going out to universal comprehension and unhampered expression, you are going to begin to realize for the American Negro the full life which is denied him now. And then after that comes a realization of the older object of our college -- to bring this universal culture down and apply it to the individual life and individual conditions of living Negroes.

The university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a center of applied knowledge and guide of action. And this is all the more necessary now since we easily see that planned action especially in economic life is going to be the watchword of civilization.

If the college does not thus root itself in the group life and afterward apply its knowledge and culture to actual living, other social organs must replace the college in this function. A strong, intelligent family life may adjust the student to higher culture; and, too, a social clan may receive the graduate and induct him into life. This has happened and is happening among a minority of privileged people. But it costs society a fatal price. It tends to hinder progress and hamper change -- it makes education propaganda for things as they are. It leaves the mass of those without social standing -- misfits and rebels who despite their education are uneducated in its meaning and application. The only college which stands for the progress of all -- mass as well as aristocracy, functions in root and blossom as well as in the overshadowing and heaven-filling tree. No system of learning -- no university can be universal before it is German, French, Negro. Grounded in inexorable fact and

and condition, in Poland or Italy, it may seek the universal, and haply it may find it -- and finding it bring it down to earth and to us.

PROGRESS

We have imbibed from the surrounding white world a childish idea of progress. Progress means bigger and better results always and forever. But there is no such rule of life. In six thousand years of human culture, the losses and retrogressions have been enormous. We have no assurance that twentieth century civilization will survive. We do not know that American Negroes will survive. There are sinister signs about us, antecedent to and unconnected with the great depression. The organized might of industry north and south is relegating the Negro to the edge of survival and using him as a labor reservoir on starvation wage. No secure professional class, no science, literature nor art can live on such a sub-soil. It is an insistent deep-throated cry for rescue, guidance, and organized advance that greets the black leader today and the college that trains him has got to let him know at least as much about the great black miners strike in Alabama as about the Age of Pericles. By singular accident -- almost by compelling fate -- I drove by as I came here yesterday -- the region where I taught a country school over forty years ago. There is no progress there. There is only space, disillusion, and death beside the same eternal hills. There where first I heard the Sorrow Songs are the graves of men and women and children who had the making of a fine intelligent upstanding yeomanry. There remains but the half-starved farmer, the casual laborer, the unpaid servant. Why in a land rich with wealth, muscle, and colleges?

To the New Englander of wealth and family Harvard and Yale are parts and only parts of a broad training which the New England home begins and a State Street or Wall Street business ends. How fine and yet how fatal! There lies root and reason for the World War and the Great Depression. To the American Negro, culture must adjust itself to a different family history and apply itself to a new system of social caste and in this adjustment comes new opportunity of making education and progress possible and not antagonistic.

We are on the threshold of a new era. Let us not deceive ourselves with outworn ideals of wealth and servants and luxuries, reared on a foundation of ignorance, starvation and want. Instinctively, we have absorbed these ideals from our twisted white American environment. This new economic planning is not for us unless we do it. Unless the American Negro today, led by trained university men of broad vision, sits down to work out by economics and mathematics, by physics and chemistry, by history and sociology, exactly how and where he is to earn a living and how he is to establish a reasonable life in the United States or elsewhere, unless this is done the university has missed its field and function and the American Negro is doomed to be a suppressed and inferior caste in the United States for incalculable time.

Here, then, is a job for the American Negro university. It cannot be successfully ignored or dodged without the growing menace of disaster. I lay the problem before you as one which you must not ignore.

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

To carry out this plan, two things and only two things are necessary -- teachers and students. Buildings and endowments may help, but they are not indispensable. It is necessary first to have teachers who comprehend this program and know how to make it live among their students. This is calling for a good deal, because it asks that teachers teach that which they have learned in no American school and which they never will learn until we have a Negro university of the sort that I am visioning. No teacher, black or white, who comes to a university like Fisk, filled simply with general ideas of human culture or general knowledge of disembodied science, is going to make a university of this school. Because a university is made of human beings, learning of the things they do not know from things they do know in their own lives.

And secondly, we must have students. They must be chosen for ability to learn. There is always the temptation to assume that the children of privileged classes, the rich, the noble, the white, are those who can best take education. One has but to express this to realize its utter futility. But perhaps the most dangerous thing among us is for us, without thought to imitate the white world and assume that we

can choose students at Fisk because of the amount of money of which their parents have happened to get hold of. That basis of selection is going to give us an extraordinary aggregation. We want by the nicest methods possible, to seek out the talented and the gifted among our constituency, quite regardless of their wealth or position, and to fill this university and similar institutions with persons who have got brains enough to take fullest advantage of what the university offers. There is no other way. With teachers who know what they are teaching and whom they are teaching and the life that surrounds both the knowledge and the knower, and with students who have the capacity and the will to absorb this knowledge, we can build the sort of Negro university which will emancipate not simply the black folk of the United States, but those white folk who in their effort to suppress Negroes have killed their own culture -- men who in their desperate effort to replace equality with caste and to build inordinate wealth on a foundation of abject poverty have succeeded in killing democracy, art, and religion.

41-2-96

Only a universal system of learning, rooted in the will and condition of the masses and blossoming from that manure up toward the stars is worth the name. Once builded it can only grow as it brings down sunlight and star shine and impregnates the mud. The chief obstacle in this rich land endowed with every national resource and with the abilities of a hundred different peoples -- the chief and only obstacle to the coming of that kingdom of economic equality which is the only logical end of work, is the determination of the white world to keep the black world poor and make themselves rich. The disaster which this selfish and short-sighted policy has brought lies at the bottom of this present depression, and too, its cure lies beside it. Your clear vision of a world without wealth, of capital without profit, of income based on work alone, is the path out not only for you but for all men.

SEGREGATION AND IDEALS

Is not this a program of segregation, emphasis of race and particularism as against national unity and universal humanity? It is, and it is not by choice but by force; you do not get humanity by wishing it nor do you become American citizens simply

because you want to. A Negro university from its high ground of unfaltering facing of the Truth, from its unblinking stare at hard facts, does not advocate segregation by race, it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated, apart, hammered into a separate unity by spiritual intolerance and legal sanction backed by mob law, and that this separation is growing in strength and fixation; that it is worse today than a half century ago and that no character, address, culture or desert is going to change it, in our day or for centuries to come.

Recognizing this brute fact, groups of cultured, trained, and devoted men gathering in great institutions of learning proceed to ask: What are we going to do about it? It is silly to ignore and gloss the truth; it is idiotic to proceed as though we were white or yellow, English or Russian. Here we stand. We are American Negroes. It is beside the point to ask whether we form a real race. Biologically we are mingled of all conceivable elements, but race is psychology, not biology; and psychologically we are a unified race with one history, one red memory, and one revolt. It is not ours to argue whether we will be segregated or whether we ought to be a caste. We are segregated; we are a caste. This is our given and at present unalterable fact. Our problem is: How far and in what way can we consciously and scientifically guide our future so as to insure our physical survival, our spiritual freedom and our social growth? Either we do this or we die. There is no alternative. If America proposes the murder of this group, its moral descent into imbecility and crime and its utter loss of manhood, self-assertion, and courage, the sooner we realize this the better. By that great line of McKay: "If we must die, let it not be like hogs."

But the alternative of not dying like hogs is not that of dying or killing like snarling dogs. It is rather conquering the world by thought and brain and plan; by expression and organized cultural ideals. Therefore, let us not beat futile wings in impotent frenzy, but carefully plan and guide our segregated life, organize in industry and politics to protect it and expand it, and above all to give it unhampered spiritual expression in art and literature. It is the council of fear and cowardice to say this cannot be done. What must be can be and it is only a question of Science and Sacrifice to bring the great consummation.

What that will be, none knows. It may be a great physical segregation of the world along the Color Line; it may be an economic rebirth which insures spiritual and group integrity amid physical diversity. It may be utter annihilation of class and race and color barriers in one ultimate mankind, differentiated by talent, susceptibility and gift -- but any of these ends are matters of long centuries and not years. We live in years, swift flying, transient years. We hold the possible future in our hands but not by wish and will, only by thought, plan, knowledge, and organization. If the college can pour into the coming age an American Negro who knows himself and his plight and how to protect himself and fight race prejudice, then the world of our dream will come and not otherwise.

41-2-98

The golden days are gone. Why do we wait
So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
Is there something we have forgotten?
Some precious thing we have lost,
Wandering in strange lands?

What we have lost is the courage of independent self-assertion. We have had as our goal -- American full citizenship, nationally recognized. This has failed -- flatly and decisively failed. Very well. We're not dead yet. We are not going to die. If we use our brains and strength there is no way to stop our ultimate triumph as creators of modern culture -- if we use our strength and brains.

And what pray stops us but our dumb caution -- our fear -- our very sanity. Let us then be insane with courage.

Like a mad man's dream, there came
One fair, swift flash to me
Of distances, of streets aflame,
With joy and agony;
And further yet, a moonlit sea
Foaming across its bars
And further yet, the infinity
Of wheeling suns and stars.

ENVOY

There was no aftermath of this speech save perhaps a general satisfaction. But to me it was the beginning of a new line of thought. The argument of the Howard speech did not seem to me to be altogether final. Something was missing and from that day I began to read and study Karl Marx. I began to understand my recent visit to Russia. I became interested in the New Deal and I wanted to supplement the liberalism of Charles Sumner with the new economic contribution of the twentieth century.

44-2-14

41-2-14 X01-10X

~~1938~~

~~On the fiftieth anniversary of my graduation~~ I spoke ~~again~~ at Fisk University with kindly welcome ~~and expectation~~. Many of the professors, remembering the rather cryptic title of my other speeches, searched the encyclopaedias for "Saint Orgne" which appeared as the title of my address. They did not find it. I had to explain that it was but a familiar anagram of a well-known word: Negro. I was here speaking a word of benediction; not merely to the three surviving members of my own class or to the graduating class of the day; ~~I was speaking~~ but to the intelligent colored ~~citizens~~ of 1938 ~~and seeking to express a certain philosophy of life~~. I was at the entrance of the valley of the shadow of death and the view was ~~splendid~~ absorbing

The Revelation of Saint Orgne the Damned

Saint Orgne stood facing the morning and asked: What is this life I see? Is the dark damnation of color, real? or simply mine own imagining? Can it be true that souls wrapped in black velvet have a destiny different from those swathed in white satin or yellow silk, when all these covering are fruit of the same worm, and threaded by the same hands? Or must I, ignoring all seeming difference, rise to some upper realm where there is no color nor race, sex, wealth nor age, but all men stand equal in the Sun?

Thus Orgne questioned Life on his Commencement morning, in the full springtide of his day. And this is the Revelation and the answer that came to Saint Orgne the Damned as he came to be called, as he stood on his Mount of Transfiguration, looking full at life as it is and not as it might be or haply as he would have it.

"In very truth, thou art damned, and may not escape by vain imagining nor fruitless repining. When a man faces evil, he does not call it good, nor evade it; he meets it breastforward, with no whimper of regret nor fear of foe."

"Blessed is he that reads and they that hear the words of this prophecy for the time is at hand. Grace be unto you and peace, from him which was and which is and is to come and from the seven spirits which are before his throne."

I, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation and in the kingdom and the patience, was in the isle that is called America. I was in the spirit and heard behind me a great Voice saying, "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last; and what thou seest write. I turned to the voice. I saw seven golden candlesticks with one in the midst of the candlesticks; and in his hands seven stars and out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword. And when I saw him I fell at his feet as dead and he laid his right hand upon me saying unto me "Fear not. Write thou the things which thou has seen; the mystery of the seven stars and the seven golden candlesticks."

So Orgne turned and climbed the Seven Heights of Hell to view the Seven Stars of Heaven. The seven heights are Birth and Family; School and Learning; the University and Wisdom; the great snow-capped peak of Work; the naked crag of Right and Wrong; the rolling hills of the Freedom of Art and Beauty; and at last, the plateau that is the Democracy of Race; beyond this there are no vales of Gloom—for the star above is the sun itself and all shadows fall straight before it.

Orgne descended into the valleys of the Shadow, lit only by the waving light of single candles set in seven golden candlesticks, struggling through noisome refuse of body and mind. Long years he strove, uphill and down, around and through seven groups of seven years until in the end he came back to the beginning, world-weary, but staunch; and this is the revelation of his life and thought which I, his disciple, bring you from his own hands.

A golden candlestick stood beneath a silver star, atop a high mountain and in the cold gray dawn of a northern spring. There was the first hint of apple blossoms and faint melody in the air; within the melody was the whisper of a Voice, which sighed and said: "Why should we breed black folk in this world and to what end?

Wherefor should we found families and how? Is not the world for such as are born white and rich?"

Then Orgne, half grown, lying prone, reared himself suddenly to his feet and shivering looked upward to light. The sun rose slowly above the mountain and with its light spake. Hear ye the Wisdom of the families of black folk:

Gentlemen are bred and not born. They are trained in childhood and receive manners from those who surround them and not from their blood. Manners maketh Man, and are the essence of good breeding. They have to do with forms of salutation between civilized persons; with the care and cleanliness and grooming of the body. They avoid the stink of bodily excretions; they eat their food without offense to others; they know that dirt is matter misplaced and they seek to replace it. The elementary rules of health become to them second nature and their inbred courtesy one to another makes life liveable and gracious even among crowds.

Now this breeding and infinite detail of training is not learned in college and may not be taught in school. It is the duty and task of the family group and once the infinite value of that training is missed it can seldom be replaced through any later agency. It is in vain that the university seeks to cope with ill-bred youngsters, foul-mouthed loafers and unwashed persons who have happened to pass the entrance examinations. Once in the earlier mission schools among American Negroes men tried to do this, knowing of the irreparable harm slavery had done the family group. They had some success right here in this institution; but the day when such effort is possible is gone. Unless a new type of Negro family takes the burden of this duty, we are destined to be, as we are too largely today, a bad-mannered, unclean crowd of ill-bred young men and women who are under the impression that they are educated.

For this task we have got to create a new family group; and a cultural group rather than a group merely biological. The biology and blood relationship of families is entirely subordinate and unimportant as compared with its cultural entity; with the presence of two persons who take upon themselves voluntarily the sacrificial priesthood of parents to children, limited in number and interval by intelligent and scientific birth-control, who can and will train in the elements of being civilized human beings: how to eat, how to sleep, how to wash, how to stand, how to walk, how to laugh, how to be reverent and how to obey.

It is not entirely our fault that we have missed, forgotten or are even entirely unaware of the cultural place of the family. In European and American civilization we have tried to carry out the most idiotic paradox that ever civilized folk attempted. We have tried to make babies both sins and angels. We have regarded sex as a disgrace and as eternal life. We talk in one breath of the Virgin Mary and of the Mother of God. And at the critical age of life for both men and women, we compel them to strain the last sinew of moral strength to repress a natural and beautiful appetite, or to smear it with deception and crime. We base female eligibility for marriage on exotic personal beauty and childlike innocence, and yet pretend to desire brains, common sense and strength of body. If an age thus immolates its ugly virgins, it will crucify its beautiful fools, with the result of making marriage a martyrdom that few enter with open eyes. The change from this has got to recognize the sin of virginity in a world that needs proper children; the right of the so-called unfathered child to be; the legal adoption into the cultural family of gifted and promising chil-

Space
22-41-116

22-41-117

dren and the placing of black sheep, no matter who their parents are, under necessary restraint and correction. Amen.

The Voice ceased. As Orgne walked slowly down the mountain, he brooded long over the word he had heard, wondering vaguely how far the revelation was within or without his own soul; and then turning the message over in his mind, he thought of his own home, of the three small rooms, of the careful, busy mother and grandmother, of the dead father; and he mused: if one's start in life depends on breeding and not on color or unchangeable and unfathomable compulsions before births, surely I may live, even though I am black and poor.

There came a long space of Seven years. Orgne stood by the bank of the Golden River, with the second candlestick in his hand. He could not see the stars above, for it was nine o'clock of a sun-washed morning; but he knew they were there. He was celebrating all alone his entry into High School. None of his people save only his dead grandfather had ever gotten so far; but with the wave of disappointment which comes with all accomplishment, he muttered, "And why should they, why should I, dawdle here with elements of things and mere tools of Knowledge while both I and the world wait." The river flowed softly as he slept in the summer mildness. Daisies and buttercups waved above him. The grey fleecy clouds gathered and swiftly low thunder rolled; a bolt of heat lightning flashed across the sky. He slept on, yet heard the second star as it spoke:

Hear ye! This is the wisdom of the elementary school.

The difficulty and essential difficulty with Negro education lies in the elementary school; lies in the fact that the number of Negroes in the United States today who have learned thoroughly to read, write, and count is small; and that the proportion of those who cannot read, cannot express their thoughts and cannot understand the fundamentals of arithmetic, algebra and geometry is discouragingly large. The reason that we cannot do thorough college work and cannot keep high university standards is that the students in institutions like this are fundamentally weak in mastery of those essential tools to human learning. Not even the dumbest college professor can spoil the education of the man who as a child has learned to read, write, and cipher; so too Aristotle, Emmanuel Kant and Mark Hopkins together are powerless before the illiterate who cannot reason.

The trouble lies primarily, of course, in the elementary schools of the South; in schools with short terms; with teachers inadequate both as to numbers and training; with quarters ill-suited physically and morally to the work in hand; with colored principals chosen not for executive ability but for their agility in avoiding race problems; and with white superintendents who try to see how large a statistical showing can be made without expenditure of funds, thought nor effort.

This is the fault of a nation which does not thoroughly believe in the education of Negroes, and of the South which still to a large extent does not believe in any training for black folk which is not of direct commercial profit to those who dominate the state.

But the fault does not end there. The fault lies with the Negroes themselves for not realizing this major problem in their education and for not being willing and eager and untiring in their effort to establish the elementary school on a fundamental basis. Necessary as are laws against lynching and race segregation, we should put more money, effort, and breath

in perfecting the Negro elementary school than in anything else, and not pause nor think of pausing until every Negro child between five and fifteen is getting at least nine months' a year, five hours a day, five days in the week, in a modern school room, with the best trained teachers, under principals selected for training and executive ability, and serving with their teachers during efficiency and good behavior; and with the school under the control of those whose children are educated there.

Until this is done and so far as it is not done the bulk of university endowment is being wasted and high schools strive partially in vain. Amen.

Again flew seven years. Orgne was far from home and school and land. He was speaking an unknown tongue and looking upon the walls and towers, colors and sounds of another world. It was high noon and autumn. He sat in a lofty cathedral, glorious in the fretted stone lace-work of its proudly vaulted roof. Its flying buttresses looked down upon a grey and rippled lake; beyond lay fields of flowers, golden chrysanthemums and flaming dahlias and further the ancient university, where for a thousand years men had sought Truth. Around rose a symphony of sound, a miraculous blending of strings and brass, trumpet and drum which was the Seventh Symphony with its lovely interlacing of melody and soft solemn marches, breaking to little hymns and dances. He listened to its revelation gazing rapt at candlesticks and gilded star and whispered: "Why should I know and What, and what is the end of knowing? Is it not enough to feel? The angels in the choir sang No—Hear ye! For Wisdom is the principal thing.

There can be no iota of doubt that the chief trouble with the world and the overwhelming difficulty with American Negroes is widespread ignorance; the fact that we are not thoroughly acquainted with human history; of what men and peoples have thought and done in the seven thousand years of our cultural life. We are especially unacquainted with modern science; with the facts of matter and its constitution; with the meaning of time and space; with chemical reaction and electrical phenomena; with the history of the machine and the tool; with the unfolding of life in the vegetable and animal kingdoms; with the history of human labor; the development of our knowledge of the mind; the practical use of the languages of the world; and the methods of logical reasoning, beginning and ending with mathematics.

This great body of knowledge has been growing and developing for thousands of years, and yet today its mastery is in the hands of so few men, that a comparative small death roll would mean the end of human culture. Without this knowledge there can be no planning in economy; no substantial guidance in character building; no intelligent development of art. It is for acquaintanceship with this knowledge and the broadening of its field that the college and university exist. This is the reason and the only reason for its building among American Negroes and the work that it is accomplishing today is so infinitely less than that which with any real effort it might accomplish that one has a right to shudder at the misuse of the word university. Amen.

Orgne stood at twilight in the swamp. In seven more years, all the romance and glamour of Europe had sunk to the winter of America. It was twilight, and the swamp glowed with the mystery of sunset—long shafts of level burning light,—greens and yellows, purples and red; the whisper of leaves, the ghosts of dead and dying life. The sun died dismally,

22-41-119

and the clouds gathered and a drizzling rain began to fall with slow determination. Orgne shrank within himself. He saw the toil of labor and revolted. He felt the pinch of poverty and wept. "What is this stuff I hear," he cried: "how can we marry and support a family without money? How can we control our schools without economic resource? How can we turn our churches from centers of superstition into intelligent building of character; and beyond this how shall we have time for real knowledge; and freedom of art; and effort toward world-wide democracy, until we have the opportunity to work decently and the resources to spend, which shall enable us to be civilized human beings?

Suddenly across the swamp and across the world and up from the cotton fields of Georgia rolled a Negro folk song. Orgne saw in music Jehovah and his angels, the Wheel in a Wheel. He saw the Golden Candlestick and heard the revelation of the Star: Hear ye! This is the teaching of the World of Work.

The most distressing fact in the present world is poverty; not absolute poverty, because some folk are rich and many are well-to-do; not poverty as great as some lands and other historical ages have known; but poverty more poignant and discouraging because it comes after a dream of wealth; of riotous, wasteful and even vulgar accumulation of individual riches, which suddenly leaves the majority of mankind today without enough to eat; without proper shelter; without sufficient clothing.

Nowhere was the dream of wealth, for all who would work and save, more vivid than here in the United States. We Negroes sought to share that vision and heritage. Moreover, the poverty which the world now experiences, comes after a startling realization of our national endowment of rich natural resources and our power to produce. We have the material goods and forces at command, the machines and technique sufficient to feed, clothe the world, educate children and free the human soul for creative beauty and for the truth that will widen the bounds of all freedom.

That does not mean that we could have enough goods and services for present extravagance, display and waste; but if there were neither idle rich nor idle poor; if sharing of wealth were based not on owning but only on effort, and if all who are able did their share of the world's work or starved, and limited their consumption to reasonable wants, we could abolish poverty.

Why have we not done this? It is because of greed in the production and distribution of goods and human labor. We discovered widely in the 18th century and the 19th the use of capital and it was a great and beneficent discovery; it was the rule of sacrificing present wealth for greater wealth to come. But instead of distributing this increase of wealth primarily among those who make it we left most workers as poor as possible in order further to increase the wealth of a few. We produced more wealth than the wealthy could consume and yet used this increased wealth to monopolize materials and machines; to buy and sell labor in return for monopoly ownership in the products of labor and for further wealth.

We thus not only today produce primarily for the profit of owners and not for use of the mass of people, but we have grown to think that this is the only way in which we can produce. We organize industry for private wealth and not for public weal, and we argue often honestly and conscientiously, that no human planning can change the essentials of this process. Yet the process itself has failed so many times and so

abysmally, that we are bound to change or starve in the midst of plenty. We are encouraging war through fear of poverty that need not exist; we face the breakdown of production by persistent overproduction of the kinds of goods which we cannot afford to consume.

What can we do? There is only one thing for civilized human beings to do when facing such a problem, and that is to learn the facts, to reason out their connection and to plan the future; to know the truth; to arrange it logically and to contrive a better way. In some way, as all intelligent men acknowledge, we must in the end, produce for the satisfaction of human needs and distribute in accordance with human want. To contend that this cannot be done is to face the Impossible Must. The blind cry of reaction on the one hand, which says that we cannot have a planned economy and, therefore, must not try; and the cry of blood which says that only by force can selfishness be curbed, are equally wrong. Is it not a question of deliberate guilt but of selfish stupidity. The economic world can only be reformed by Spartan restraint in the consumption of goods and the use of services; by the will to work not simply for individual profit but for group weal; not simply for one group but for all groups; and the freedom to dream and plan.

This reformation of the world is beginning with agony of soul and strain of muscle. It can and must go on, and we black folk of America are faced with the most difficult problem of realizing and knowing the part which we have got to play in this economic revolution for our own salvation and for the salvation of the world. This is not easy, for we are cut off from the main effort by the lesions of race; by the segregation of color; by the domination of caste. And yet nothing could be more fatal to our own ideals and the better ideals of the world than for us with unconscious ignorance or conscious perversity or momentary applause to join the forces of reaction; to talk as though the 20th century presented the same oversimplified path of economic progress which seemed the rule in the 19th: work, thrift and wealth by individual effort no matter what the social cost.

The economic illiteracy prevalent among American Negroes is discouraging. In a day when every thinker sees the disorganization of our economic life and the need of radical change, we find the teachers of economics in colored colleges, the Negro business men, Negro preachers and writers to a very large extent talking the language of the early 19th century; seeking to make themselves believe that work for any kind of wages, saving at any sacrifice and wealth on any terms not excluding cheating, murder, and theft, are ways of the world still open and beckoning to us. Selah!

Orgne listened and sat staring at the sodden cotton field beyond the somber swamp. Always the swinging thunder of song surged above—Jordan rolled; the rocks and the mountains fled away, the Way was crowded; and Moses went down, away down among the cabins in the cotton patch to the crazy church and hysterical crowd of penitents all praying madly to escape debt. Orgne talked to the planter and said "let my people go." and worked with the tenants seven long years.

Seven years he toiled and in the end had a little nest of land holders owning one large unmortgaged farm in twenty shares; working their crops and buying their provisions in common and dividing them with equal justice. Poor, Orgne came to them and poor he finally went away leaving them poor too but fed and sheltered. They called him Saint. He smiled and looked upward to the star; but the preacher looked down to the dirt and

22-41-121

mortgaged it behind the backs of the trusting flock and ran away with the money.

Saint Orgne cursed and cried how shall we plan a new earth without honest men and what is this thing we call a church. So, angry, disillusioned and weary he came to a land where it was always afternoon, and he laid him prone on the earth and slept.

Seven years he slept and in seven years came a thousand miles and more to Ohio, to teach in college. At high noon he stood before the chapel and heard the singing of a hymn in the haze of early spring time. Around him stretched the wide, undulating valleys of the Miami, the Ohio, and the realm of the Mississippi. He looked up and suddenly hated the walls that shut out the stars; he hated the maudlin words of the hymn quite as much as he loved the lilt of the voices that raised it. He loved the flowers—the violets and morning glory, the blossoming fruit that filled the yards about. Then came the earthquake; then the earth trembled and swayed; far off in San Francisco a city fell and around the nation quivered. In the midst of the rushing, swaying crowd, again Orgne, after seven years, awoke and found the Golden Candlestick in his hands, and heard the low clear revelation of the Star:

Saint Orgne the Damned, behold the Vision of the Seven Black Churches of America,—the Baptist, the four wings of Methodism, the Roman and Episcopal Catholics.

Their five millions of members in 40,000 groups, holding $200,000,000 in their hands, are the most strongly organized body among us; the first source of our group culture, the beginning of our education—what is this church doing today toward its primary task of teaching men right and wrong, and the duty of doing right?

The flat answer is nothing if not less than nothing. Like other churches and other religions of other peoples and ages, our church has veered off on every conceivable side path, which interferes with and nullifies its chief duty of character building.

It has built up a body of dogma and fairy tale, fantastic fables of sin and salvation, impossible creeds and impossible demands for ignorant unquestioning belief and obedience. Ask any thorough churchman today and he will tell you, not that the object of the church is to get men to do right and make the majority of mankind happy, but rather that the whole duty of man is to "believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved;" or to believe "that God is God and Mohammed is his prophet;" or to believe in the "one Holy and Catholic church," infallible and omniscient; or to keep the tomb of one's grandfather intact and his ideas undisputed.

Considering how desperately, great and good men have inveighed against these continuing foibles of priesthood for many thousand years, and how little in essence has been accomplished, it may seem hopeless to return to the attack today, but that is precisely what this generation has to do. The function of the Negro church, instead of being that of building edifices, paying old debts, holding revivals and staging entertainments, has got to be brought back, or shall we say forward, to the simple duty of teaching ethics. For this purpose the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament canon will not suffice. We must stop telling children that the lying and deceitful Jacob was better than the lazy Esau, or that the plan of salvation is anything but the picture of the indecent anger and revenge of a bully.

We can do this, not so much by the attacking of outworn superstition and conventional belief as by hearty research into real ethical questions. When is it right to lie? Do low wages mean stealing? Does the prosperity of a country depend upon the number

of its millionaires? Should the state kill a murderer? How much money should you give to the poor? Should there be any poor? And as long as there are, what is crime and who are the criminals?

So Saint Orgne preached the word of life from Jeremiah, Shakespeare and Jesus, Confucius, Buddha and John Brown; and organized a church with a cooperative store in the Sunday school room; with physician, dentist, nurse and lawyer to help, serve and defend the congregation; with library, nursery school, and a regular succession of paid and trained lecturers and discussion; they had radio and moving pictures and out beyond the city a farm with house and lake. They had a credit union, group insurance and building and loan association. The members paid for this not by contributions but by ten dollars a month each of reguiar dues and those who would join this church must do more than profess to love God.

Seven years he served and married a woman not for her hair and color but for her education, good manners, common sense and health. Together they made a home and begot two strong intelligent children. Looking one day into their eyes Orgne became suddenly frightened for their future. He prayed "Oh life let them be free!"

So soon, so soon, Orgne sighed, the world rolls around its sevens of years. It was midsummer and he was sailing upon the sea. He was bound for Africa on a mission of world brotherhood. Behind and waiting were wife and children, home and work. Ahead was the darker world of men yellow, brown, and black. Dinner was done and the deck empty save for himself; all were within the magnificent saloon massed with tall vases of roses and lilies, priceless with tapestry and gilding, listening to the great organ which the master played. The largo whispered, smiled and swelled upward to tears. Then the storm swept down. Then the ocean, lashed to fury by the wind, bellowed and burned; the vast ship tossed like a tortured soul, groaned and twisted in its agony. But Orgne smiled. He knew that behind the storm and above the cloud the evening stars were singing, and he listened to the rhythm of their words: Hear Ye! This is the Freedom of Art which is the Beauty of Life.

Life is more than meat, even though life without food dies. Living is not for earning, earning is for living. The man that spends his life earning a living, has never lived. The education that trains men simply for earning a living is not education.

What then is Life—What is it for—What is its great End? Manifestly in the light of all knowledge, and according to the testimony of all men who have lived, Life is the fullest, most complete enjoyment of the possibilities of human existence. It is the development and broadening of the feelings and emotions, through sound and color, line and form. It is technical mastery of the media that these paths and emotions need for expression of their full meaning. It is the free enjoyment of every normal appetite. It is giving rein to the creative impulse, in thought and imagination. Here roots the rise of the Joy of Living, of music, painting, drawing, sculpture and building; hence come literature with romance, poetry, and essay; hence rise Love, Friendship, emulation, and ambition, and the ever widening realms of thought, in increasing circles of apprehended and interpreted Truth.

It is the contradiction and paradox of this day that those who seek to choke and conventionalize art, restrict and censor thought and repress imagination are demanding for their shriveled selves, freedom in precisely those lines of human activity where control and regimentation are neces-

22-41-122

22-41-123

sary; and necessary because upon this foundation is to be built the widest conceivable freedom in a realm infinitely larger and more meaningful than the realm of economic production and distribution of wealth. The less freedom we leave for business exploitation the greater freedom we shall have for expression in art.

We have got to think of the time when poverty approaches abolition; when men no longer fear starvation and unemployment; when health is so guarded that we may normally expect to live our seventy years and more, without excess of pain and suffering. In such a world living begins; in such a world we will have freedom of thought and expression, and just as much freedom of action as maintenance of the necessary economic basis of life permits; that is, given three or six hours of work under rule and duress, we ought to be sure of at least eighteen hours of recreation, joy, and creation with a minimum of compulsion for anybody.

Freedom is the path of art, and living in the fuller and broader sense of the term is the expression of art. Yet those who speak of freedom talk usually as fools talk. So far as the laws of gravitation are concerned there can be no freedom; so far as the physical constitution of the universe is concerned, we must produce and consume goods in accordance with that which is inexorable, unmoved by sentiment or dream. But this realm of the physical need be only the smaller part of life and above it, is planning, emotion and dream; in the exercising of creative power; in building, painting and literature there is a chance for the free exercise of the human spirit, broad enough and lofty enough to satisfy every ambition of the free human soul. Limited though it be by birth and death, by time and space, by health and mysterious native gift, nevertheless its realm is so magnificent that those who fear that freedom may end with the abolition of poverty or that disease is needed to insure room on the earth or that war and murder are the only handmaids of courage are all talking utter nonsense.

The freedom to create within the limits of natural law; the freedom to love without limit; the freedom to dream of the utter marriage of beauty and art; all this men may have if they are sufficiently well-bred to make human contact bearable; if they have learned to read and write and reason; if they have character enough to distinguish between right and wrong and strength enough to do right; if they can earn a decent living and know the world in which they live.

The vastest and finest truth of all, is that while wealth diminishes by sharing and consuming and calls for control; Art, which is experience of life, increases and grows, the more widely it is shared. Here lie the rock foundations of Democracy. Selah.

So now again pass seven years. It is midnight of an autumn day; and Saint Orgne, risen beatified on the dark frustration of his soul, to the quiet peace of pain, stands in an old forest amid falling leaves, with the starry heavens above him. He knows where, months before, the heavy fragrance of purple wisteria had hallowed this air and dipped great festoons of blooms down into a scented world. But tonight these are gone. All is death. There is no sound; and yet somehow somewhere beneath lies some Tone too deep for sound—a silent chord of infinite harmony. Saint Orgne lifts his hands and waves back to the skies the seven golden candlesticks and the seven silver stars, and speaks, saying, "It is enough!" But the Voice replies:

"I see a new Heaven and a new Earth." "How can that be," wails Saint Orgne. "What is new about War and Murder? What is new in

deified and organized race hate? What is new in breadlines and starvation, crime and disease? Is not our dream of Democracy done?

The stars shine silently on, but in his own heart Saint Orgne's answer comes—Hear ye! This is the Truth of Democracy and Race.

The world compels us today as never before to examine and re-examine the problem of democracy. In theory we know it by heart: all men are equal and should have equal voice in their own government. This dictum has been vigorously attacked. All men are not equal. Ignorance cannot speak logically or clearly even when given voice. If sloth, dullness and mediocrity hold power, civilization is diluted and lowered, and government approaches anarchy. The mob cannot rule itself and will not choose the wise and able and give them the power to rule.

This attack began in 1787 during the French Revolution and it rose to crescendo sixty years later in 1867 when our fathers were enfranchised. The original dictum of human equality and the right of the governed to a voice in their government has never been universally accepted and only seldom has it been attempted. In the world today, universal suffrage is coerced by force as was true here in the South during reconstruction; or by intimidation as was true in the South after 1876; or by economic pressure, either through threat of poverty or bribery of increased income, as has been true in the United States for years. Today finally we have entered the period of propaganda, when people to be sure may vote but cannot think freely nor clearly because of falsehood forced on their eyes and ears; or equally by the deliberate suppression of the whole truth. It is thus that there has arisen in our day, on an astonishing scale, the fascism of despair; the acquiescence of great masses of men in irresponsible tyranny, not because they want it, but because they see no other escape from greater disaster.

Let us then examine anew the basic thesis of democracy. It does not really mean to say that all men are equal; but it does assert that every individual who is a part of the state must have his experience and his necessities regarded by that state if the state survive; that the best and only ultimate authority on an individual's hurt and desire is that individual himself no matter how inarticulate his inner soul may be; that life, as any man has lived it, is part of that great national reservoir of knowledge without use of which no government can do justice.

But this is not the main end of democracy. It is not only that the complaints of all should be heard, or the hurts of the humblest healed; it is for the vastly larger object of loosing the possibilities of mankind for the development of a higher and broader and more varied human culture. Democracy then forms not merely a reservoir of complaint but of ability, hidden otherwise in poverty and ignorance. It is the astonishing result of an age of enlightenment, when the ruling classes of the world are the children of peasants, slaves and gutter snipes, that the still dominant thought is that education and ability are not today matters of chance, but mainly of individual desert and effort. As a matter of fact the chances of real ability today getting opportunity for development are not one-tenth as great as the chance of their owners dying in child-birth, being stunted by poverty or ending in prison or on the gallows. Democracy means the opening of opportunity to the disinherited to contribute to civilization and the happiness of men.

Given a chance for the majority of mankind, to be educated, healthy and free to act, it may well turn out that human equality is not so wild a dream as many seem to hope.

22-41-124

The intelligent democratic control of a state by its citizens does not of itself and by any mechanical formula mean good government. It must be supplemented by the thrift and unselfishness of its citizens. The citizen of a democracy who thinks of democratic government chiefly as a means of his own advancement, meets and ought to meet disappointment. Only in so far as he conceives of democracy as the only way to advance the interests of the mass of people, even when those interests conflict with his, is he playing the heroic role of a patriot. And whenever he excludes from that mass the interests of the poor and the foolish; the Jew and Negro; the Asiatic and the South Sea Islander; he kills the effort at democracy.

Democracy does not and cannot mean freedom. On the contrary it means coercion. It means submission of the individual will to the general will and it is justified in this compulsion only if the will is general and not the will of special privilege.

Far from this broad conception of democracy, we have increasingly allowed the idea to be confined to the opportunity of electing certain persons to power without regard as to whether they can or will exercise power or for what. Even this choice of the voter, in current democracies, is confined mostly to comparatively minor matters of adminstration; but in the great realm of making a living, the fundamental interest of all; in the matter of determining what goods shall be produced, what services shall be rendered, and how goods and services shall be shared by all, there has been deep and bitter determination, that here democracy shall never enter; that here the Tyrant or the King by the grace of God shall always and forever rule.

It is widely in vain that the basic argument for democratic control has here been brought to bear; that these goods and services are the product of the labor of the mass of men and not solely of the rich and talented; and that therefore all men must have some decisive voice in the conduct of industry and the division of wealth. To be sure this calls for more intelligence, technical knowledge of intricate facts and forces, and greater will to work and sacrifice than most men today have; which is only saying that the mass of men must more and more largely acquire this knowledge, skill and character; and that meantime its wide absence, is no valid excuse for surrendering the control of industry to the anarchy of greed and the tyranny of chance.

This faces us directly with our problem in America. Our best brains are taught and want to be taught in large northern universities where dominant economic patterns and European culture, not only prevail, but prevail almost to the exclusion of anything else.

Naturally these men are then grabbed up with rolling eyes and eager mien by the best Southern Negro schools. Now if these Negro universities have any real meaning it is that in them other points of view, should be evolved. They may or may not be radically different. They may bring something entirely new or be an adaptation of surrounding civilization; but certainly they should logically bring a newness of view and a re-examination of the old, of the European, and of the white, which would be stimulating and which would be real education.

But right here we have not simply little or no advance, but we have attitudes which make advance impossible. On the matter of race, for instance, we are ultra-modern. There are certainly no biological races in the sense of people with large groups of unvarying inherited gifts and instincts thus set apart by nature as eternally separate. We have seen the whole world reluctantly but surely approaching this truth. We have therefore hastened to conclude there is no sense in studying racial subjects or inculcat-

521-17-22

22-41-126

ing racial ideals or writing racial textbooks or projecting vocational guidance from the point of view of race. And yet standing in stark contradiction of all this are the surrounding facts of race: the Jim Crow seats on the street cars every day, the Jim Crow coaches on the railroads, the separate sections of the city where the races dwell; the discrimination in occupations and opportunities and in law; and beyond that the widespread division of the world by custom into white, yellow and black, ruler and eternally ruled.

We American Negroes form and long will form a perfectly definite group, not entirely segregated and isolated from our surroundings, but differentiated to such a degree that we have very largely a life and thought of our own. And it is this fact that we as scientists, and teachers and persons engaged in living, earning a living, have got to take into account and make our major problem. In the face of that, we have these young intellectual exquisites who smile if they do not laugh outright at our writhings. Their practical program is so far as our race or group is concerned: Do nothing, think nothing, become absorbed in the nation.

To which the flat answer is: this is impossible. We have got to do something about race. We have got to think and think clearly about our present situation. Absorption into the nation, save as a long, slow intellectual process, is unthinkable and while it may eventually come, its trend and result depends very largely upon what kind of a group is being absorbed; whether such racial integration has to do with poverty-stricken and half starved criminals; or whether with intelligent self-guided, independently acting men, who know what they want and propose at any civilized cost to get it. No, separated and isolated as we are so largely, we form in America an integral group, call it by any name you will, and this fact in itself has its meaning, its worth and its values.

In no line is this clearer than in the democratization of industry. We are still a poor people, a mass of laborers, with few rich folk and little exploitation of labor. We can be among the first to help restore the idea of high culture and limited income and dispel the fable that riotous wealth alone is civilization. Acting together, voluntarily or by outer compulsion, we can be the units through which universal democracy may be accomplished.

We black folk have striven to be Americans. And like all other Americans, we have longed to become rich Americans. Wealth comes easiest today through the exploitation of labor by paying low wages; and if we have not widely exploited our own and other labor the praise belongs not to us, but to those whites whose monopoly of wealth and ruthless methods have out-run our tardy and feeble efforts. This is the place to pause and look about, as well, backward as forward. The leaders of the labor movement in America as in Europe, deceived us just as they deceived themselves. They left us out. They paid no attention to us, whether we were drudging in colonies or slaving in cotton fields or pleading in vain at the door of union labor factories. The object of white labor was not the uplift of all labor; it was to join capital in sharing the loot from exploited colored labor. So we too, only half emancipated, hurled ourselves forward, too willing if it had but been possible, to climb up to a bourgeois heaven on the prone bodies of our fellows. But white folk occupied and crowded these stairs. And white labor loved the white exploiter of black folk far more than it loved its fellow black proletarian.

Such is the plight of democracy today. Where in this picture does the American Negro come? With few exceptions, we are all today "white folks' niggers." No, do not wince. I

22-11-127

mean nothing insulting or derogatory, but this is a concrete designation which indicates that very very many colored folk: Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Negroes; and, of course, the vast majority of white folk; have been so enthused, oppressed, and suppressed by current white civilization that they think and judge everything by its terms. They have no norms that are not set in the 19th and 20th centuries. They can conceive of no future world which is not dominated by present white nations and thoroughly shot through with their ideals, their method of government, their economic organization, their literature and their art; or in other words their throttling of democracy, their exploitation of labor, their industrial imperialism and their color hate. To broach before such persons any suggestion of radical change; any idea of intrusion, physical or spiritual, on the part of alien races is to bring down upon one's devoted head the most tremendous astonishment and contempt.

What to do? We went to school. But our industrial schools taught no industrial history, no labor movement, no social reform,—only technique just when the technique of skilled trades was changing to mass industry. Our colleges taught the reactionary economics of Northern Schools. We landed in bitter and justifiable complaint and sought a way out by complaining. Our mistake lay not in the injustice of our cause, but in our naive assumption that a system of industrial monopoly that was making money out of our exploitation, was going voluntarily to help us escape it talons.

On the other hand when we turn to join the forces of progress and reform we find again no easy or obvious path. As the disinherited both of labor and capital; as those discriminated against by employer and employee, we are forced to a most careful and thorough-going program of minority planning. We may call this self-segregation if we will but the compulsion is from without and inevitable. We may call it racial chauvinism but we may make it the path to democracy through group culture. This path includes sympathy and cooperation with the labor movement; with the efforts of those who produce wealth, to assert their right to control it. It has been no easy path. What with organized, intelligent and powerful opposition and ignorant and venal and dogmatic leadership, the white labor movement has staggered drunkenly for two hundred years or more and yet it has given the world a vision of real democracy, of universal education and of a living wage. It is the most promising movement of modern days and we who are primarily laborers must eventually join it.

In addition to this, no matter how great our political disfranchisement and social exclusion, we have in our hands a voting power which is enormous, and that is the control we can exercise over the production and distribution of goods through our expenditure as consumers. The might and efficiency of this method of economic reform is continually mimimized by the obvious fact that it does not involve radical change and that without other and more thorough-going changes it can bring no immediate millenium. But notwithstanding for a minority group it is the most powerful weapon at hand and to refuse to use an instrument of power because it is not all powerful is silly.

A people who buy each year at least a half billion dollars worth of goods and services are not helpless. If they starve it is their own fault. If they do not achieve a respected place in the surrounding industrial organization, it is because they are stupid.

Here then is the plight and the steps toward remedy. Yet we are not awake. We have let obvious opportunities slip by during these awful days of depression when we have

lost much of the land we used to own; when our savings have been dissipated; when our business enterprises have failed and when if not a majority a strikingly large minority of us are existing on public charity. We have not asked for the advantage of public housing as we should. We have not taken advantage of the possibilities of the TVA. We have not pushed energetically into plans of resettlement and the establishment of model villages. We have almost refused the subsistence homestead. We have not begun to think of socialized medicine and consumers cooperation. We have no comprehensive plans concerning our unemployment, our economic dependence, the profit economy and the changing technique of industry. The day of our reckoning is at hand. Awake, Awake, put on thy strength Oh Zion.

The martyrdom of man may be increased and prolonged through primitive, biological racial propaganda, but on the other hand through cooperation, education and understanding the cultural race unit may be the pipe line through which human civilization may extend to wider and wider areas to the fertilization of mankind.

It is to this use of our racial unity and loyalty that the United States impels us. We cannot escape it. Only through racial effort today can we achieve economic stability, cultural growth and human understanding. The way to democracy lies through race loyalty if only that is its real and consciously comprehended end. Selah and Amen.

This then is the revelation of Saint Orgne the Damned, as given me by his hand; and the philosophy of life out of which he strove to climb, despite the curse, to broader and more abundant life. Bearing this revelation, Men and Women of the Class of 1938, there return to you today, three pilgrims, and the ghosts of three others, whose memories await us. Fifty years ago we stood where you stand and received the Light of the Seven Stars. We return, not all-wise, but wise; for we have seen ten presidents rule in America and five kings reign in England; we have seen the fall of three great empires; a whole world at war to commit 26 million murders; the rise of dark Japan and fall of darker Ethiopia. We have seen our own race in America nearly double in number from less than seven to more than twelve million souls.

We return home today worn and travel stained, yet with the Light which Alma Mater laid upon our hands; it does not burn so high nor flash so fiercely—yet it has lighted thousands of other candles, and it is still aflame. We hand it on to you, that fifty years hence you give it again to others—and so on forever.

22-41-128

ENVOY

~~No final word is really necessary.~~ These speeches ~~are~~ were snap shots of my mental states over a ~~period~~ of ~~thirty-two years~~, a generation of man. They vary from the narrowness of intense conviction to the vagueness of doctrines that attempt universality. They have, however, as I have said before, a certain historic significance. They tell from one point of view, what the American Negro has thought of that education which was designed to fit him as a citizen of modern democracy. [illegible] all [illegible] may be appropriately summarized and set down as a final philosophy of Negro education of life, ~~and as I declared~~ This I shadowed in allegory on the ~~Day~~ Journey Jubilee of my graduation from college.

1940

There came in the spring of 1940 an upheaval at Wilberforce University caused by political entanglements between the institution and the state of Ohio Every since I left Wilberforce in 1896 I had wanted to go back and speak candidly concerning its possibilities and ways of progress but no opportunity was afforded except at one session of the summer school where such criticism did not seem appropriate. This year, however, the President, D. Ormonde Walker, wired me to come to commencement and speak. I went and talked before the President and the Bishops of the African Methodist Church, the trustees of the State department and the students of the university including the graduating classes.

41-2-100

Envoi

The results of this talk ~~were~~ are not yet clear. Some ~~there~~ were who resented it at the time of the delivery. Only two of the half dozen bishops present came and ~~shook~~ shake my hand. The others avoided me. I was not invited to the dinner which the home economics department gives annually to the trustees, but for that matter the bishops themselves were not invited this year. ~~The~~ President Walker was disturbed and yet he stood his ground. With most of my criticism he agreed, although he was firm in not wishing to turn the institution over to the State, and insisted that the accrediting of Wilberforce was not "conditional", but really a present fact, even though it might eventually be withdrawn. Others there were among teachers, alumni and students who were enthusiastic because of the speech. ~~As usual~~ I, myself, ~~was of two minds~~ believe it was time for it.

Sincerely

41-2-101

Valedictory

These were The Seven Words of Seventy Years

41-2-102

SEVEN CRITIQUES OF NEGRO EDUCATION, 1906-1938

Incomplete draft

W. E. B. Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

SEVEN CRITIQUES OF NEGRO EDUCATION

1908 - 1938

By

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D.

22-41-15

Author of THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE, JOHN BROWN, THE GIFT OF BLACK FOLK, DARKWATER, DARK PRINCESS, BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, BLACK FOLK: THEN AND NOW, DUSK OF DAWN

1940

Explanation

Seven times in seventy years -- mostly in the last thirty -- it has seemed my duty to criticize and evaluate the education of American Negroes. Mostly, but not wholly, I have talked of college training at critical times in the career of various well-known Negro colleges, because I regard the college as the true founding stone of all education, and not as some would have it, the kindergarten. These speeches were made at various times at well-known institutions: one each was made at Hampton and Howard, four at Fisk, and one to a New England audience. Of the speeches at Fisk only two applied specifically to Fisk; the other two were of general application, and I made those because as an alumnus I made my Alma Mater my forum. The speeches represent in each case my firm conviction and emotional reaction against certain trends and facts which I wished to oppose or forward. The spoken word is not usually an attractive form of literature shorn as it must be of its responsive living audience. As I looked these talks over, my first temptation was to edit them into a statement of my present views. But on reflexion, it seemed to me better if they were left standing as they are, as a sort of living record of reaction, written out before delivery and set down with some care. They would in a way tell more of what Negroes have been thinking concerning the development of their education especially in the colleges. I am, therefore, publishing these seven talks with explanations of their occasion and some of the results of their delivery.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Atlanta, 1940

22-41-16

1906

In 1906 the United States was obsessed with what may be called the Hampton-Tuskegee idea of Negro education. It was in a sense logical and sincere and I would have said in 1900 that I believed in it, but not as a complete program. I believed that we should seek to educate a mass of ignorant sons of slaves in the three R's and the technique of work; in a sense of the necessity and duty of good work. But beyond this, I also believed that such schools must have teachers, and such a race must have thinkers and leaders; and for the education of these folk we needed good and thorough Negro colleges.

22-41-12

For several years I attended the Negro conferences held in the summer at Hampton, with the idea of knitting together in thought and statement, the case of higher education and industrial education. But it was in vain. The resolutions passed by these conferences mentioned everything except the Negro college; for instance, in 1902 under "education", agriculture, manual training, religious training, normal schools and kindergartens were mentioned. There was mention of business, religion, domestic economy and sanitation; but not a word was said about the Negro college. This continued for several years. I did not obtrude my views. After all, I was a guest and after publication of my criticism of Booker T. Washington in the SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, in 1903, I was under a certain suspicion. But I said to myself, "I am going to stop attending these conferences until I am especially asked to speak, and then I am going to say precisely what I think." The invitation came in the summer of 1906. It was with something of that inexplicable but magnificent confidence of youth that I stood before ~~embattled~~ Hampton and spoke.

THE HAMPTON IDEA

I have chosen a theme tonight which seems to me most weighty and important -- that contains in a way all the kernel of that message which I have been called to give to men. I am to speak of Self Assertion and the Higher Education: I am going to point out the Great Lack which faces our race in the modern world, i.e., Lack of Energy; and the Great Fear that consciously and unconsciously grips the world lest that Lack be supplied. I want to say that this will be partially realized in the inevitable and needful assertion of the self in each of us -- the self of the race, the self of the individual -- the soul of the man and soul of the man's world. Further than this I particularly wish to impress upon you that this forceful, often rude, but always mighty, assertion of the human self needs a curbing and a balancing -- a niceness of concentering and adjustment -- in fine an education, and an education which is higher and more important and more infinitely meaningful for the world and its wide ideals, than any of the other kinds of important but subordinate training which men must have. And finally, I will say that this strongly asserted but balanced self -- this fully self-conscious but cultured soul will move toward a perfectly definite and clearly conceived goal without faltering or hesitation and from that goal to goals beyond and so forever onward.

22-41-18

This is my theme tonight, and for whatever heresy it contains in time and place I beg your indulgence. For in the world this alone is necessary -- that if a man speak and act, he speak and act the truth and not a lie.

What is it that in the modern world this race of ours most clearly lacks -- what is our greatest need, our greatest failing? At first thought I suppose few persons would agree in the answer to this question: one would say education, one would say wealth, some would think patience and some would think it was ability, especially organizing ability. And yet most of these answers would be comprehended in the one answer which I shall give: Energy. The great Lack of the Negro race and of nearly all the darker races today is Energy, self-assertiveness, the command and use of at least its more conspicuous powers.

Nor is this racial indolence or ease of life, a fault or badge of inferior gift or development. It simply represents a defense of tropical races against a tropical sun. No hurried, worried race could ever have risen out of the blazing suns of Africa -- rather conditions of living there demanded that languid dalliance with nature and her wants which we crudely and harshly call the laziness of the tropics. And this indolence has come down to us by heredity -- not that uncertain and doubtful physical heredity of which we talk far more than we know, but by that immensely more important cause of human rhythmic action which we call social heredity; and social heredity is another way of saying that in general we act and think as our neighbors do and that our closest neighbors are our parents and grandparents. Nor does the lack of energy which we as a race bring down in unconscious imitation of our fathers, deserve today to be denominated laziness. We are not lazy; we work, we work continuously; and more of us work than do other Americans; rather this racial trait of ours today shows itself in a certain lack of initiative -- a timidity in doing: a want of self-confidence, self-assertiveness and self-knowledge -- a kind of spiritual hesitation in a world where spirit rules.

Now the world knows this and the American world above all frequently points to it, and yet when the manifest antidote appears, when the remedy is pointed out, when the course of procedure, which will turn indolence into energy, hesitation into confidence, and self-diffidence into self-assertion -- when the well known and world-tried methods of human awakening are mentioned in regard to us and ours, there falls a strange and ominous hush on the voices of the world; and spoken or unspoken, there arises the Great Fear.

Now the Great Fear has been variously named and designated -- it has been called in the past, Mob-rule, San-Cullotism, the Yellow Peril, the Negro Problem, and Social Equality. Whatever it is called, the foundation of the Great Fear is this: when a human being becomes suddenly conscious of the tremendous powers lying latent within him; when from the puzzled contemplation of a half-known self, he rises to the powerful assertion of a self, conscious of its might, then there is loosed upon

Nor is this racial indolence or ease of life, a fault or badge of inferior gift or development. It simply represents a defense of tropical races against a tropical sun. No hurried, worried race could ever have risen out of the blazing suns of Africa -- rather conditions of living there demanded that languid dalliance with nature and her wants which we crudely and harshly call the laziness of the tropics. And this indolence has come down to us by heredity -- not that uncertain and doubtful physical heredity of which we talk far more than we know, but by that immensely more important cause of human rhythmic action which we call social heredity; and social heredity is another way of saying that in general we act and think as our neighbors do and that our closest neighbors are our parents and grandparents. Nor does the lack of energy which we as a race bring down in unconscious imitation of our fathers, deserve today to be denominated laziness. We are not lazy; we work, we work continuously; and more of us work than do other Americans; rather this racial trait of ours today shows itself in a certain lack of initiative -- a timidity in doing: a want of self-confidence, self-assertiveness and self-knowledge -- a kind of spiritual hesitation in a world where spirit rules.

Now the world knows this and the American world above all frequently points to it, and yet when the manifest antidote appears, when the remedy is pointed out, when the course of procedure, which will turn indolence into energy, hesitation into confidence, and ~~self~~-diffidence into self-assertion -- when the well known and world-tried methods of human awakening are mentioned in regard to us and ours, there falls a strange and ominous hush on the voices of the world; and spoken or unspoken, there arises the Great Fear.

Now the Great Fear has been variously named and designated -- it has been called in the past, Mob-rule, San-Cullotism, the Yellow Peril, the Negro Problem, and Social Equality. Whatever it is called, the foundation of the Great Fear is this: when a human being becomes suddenly conscious of the tremendous powers lying latent within him; when from the puzzled contemplation of a half-known self, he rises to the powerful assertion of a self, conscious of its might, then there is loosed upon

the world possibilities of good or of evil that make men pause. And when this happens in the case of a class or nation or a race, the world fears or rejoices according to the way in which it has been trained to contemplate a change in the conditions of the class or race in question. . .

And thus today ~~also~~ the Great Fear is speaking among men. It is voicing itself more or less articulately against all the darker races, but more particularly against those of Negro descent. It says in its saner moments: these Negroes -- they are, humanly-speaking, brothers; they have some rights and deserve some opportunities; but deal carefully with them. Put their rights in the background; emphasize their duties -- say little of ambition or aspiration; and above all, watch and ward against the first appearance of arrogance or self-assertion or consciousness of great power. Take the eyes of these millions off the stars and fasten them in the soil; and if their young men will dream dreams, let them be dreams of corn bread and molasses.

22-41-20

There has thus arisen what may be called the soothing syrup attitude toward the race problem. This consists in the frequent administration of sweet and pleasant doses so compounded as to put the unwary to sleep and stop his incessant complaints.

This then, young men and women, is the situation: the necessary indolence of our fathers is unsuited to a more active age and more rigorous climate. Yet the world has always feared itself and particularly feared the unconscious sub-stratum. "When the sleeper wakes," it has ever cried, "Beware!" Consequently, there has risen up a policy of harsh repression and gentle discouragement toward you and me and the children we teach, lest in our awakening from our racial indolence to the feverish activity and self-assertion of this modern age we bring catastrophe upon the nation.

Under such circumstances, what is our duty, particularly our duty toward those children whom we are educating? For education is by derivation and in fact a drawing out of human powers. If the extent and character of this development is itself a matter of world-dispute, how shall we govern ourselves?

First we must carefully understand the age in which we live; above all, we must realize that this is an age of tremendous activity; that today no race which is not prepared to put forth the full might of its carefully developed powers can hope to maintain itself as a world-power. On one point, therefore, there can be no question -- no hesitation: unless we develop our full capabilities, we cannot survive: if we are to be trained grudgingly and suspiciously; trained not with reference to what we can be, but with sole reference to what somebody wants us to be; if instead of following the methods pointed out by the accumulated wisdom of the world for the development of full human power, we simply are trying to follow the line of least resistance and teach black men only such things and by such methods as are momentarily popular, then my fellow teachers, we are going to fail and fail ignominiously in our attempt to raise the black race to its full humanity and with that failure falls the fairest and fullest dream of a great united humanity.

22-41-21

If then beyond peradventure or doubt we must strive to develop this Negro race to its very utmost, making them men and not half men, then there comes the great question How? Here the experience of the world comes to our aid: mere self-assertion -- the crude putting forth of powers of which the boy or man has suddenly become conscious, does not in any case mean the fulness of a man's powers; to this initial energy must succeed the long and careful process of co-ordination and development, the balancing and repression, the inspiration and encouragement. The fulness of this process is a matter of a man's whole life, but the beginning of it and the most important part of it -- the crucial and critical period of its effective fulfillment, is in the years which we call specifically and peculiarly the years of education. And we call the higher education that part of human training which is devoted specifically and peculiarly into bringing the man into the fullest and roundest development of his powers as a human being.

While most persons of all ages would without hesitation admit this definition, yet the peculiar character of each age has stamped and changed the practical application of this higher training. . . Today in European culture we have just passed

a peculiar and striking period of history. Always in all ages there went on co-ordinate with the higher training in human development, a training in the technical methods of earning a living. For life with all its higher ends and aims must be a grim struggle with starvation and exposure. In earlier days the training by which men got food and clothes and shelter was not given in schools [redacted]. The slaves and serfs who attended to this work were not supposed to be subjects for education at all. In the 19th century of our era, however, there came a tremendous mechanical development. So that never before have so many of the physical wants of the world been so well satisfied with so small an expenditure of human energy. On the other hand, development in the higher things of life has naturally fallen behind in this advance -- our system of justice, our political life, our moral standards can scarcely be said to have advanced permanently and perceptibly for 2,000 years.

22-41-22

Naturally now with this tremendous emphasis on the technique of earning a living and with the enormous success in this struggle with the jealous material world, there has come a reflex influence on human education. The first evidence of this is the raising of technical education out of the homes and above haphazard methods, into great schools and into careful methods of training. But the influence has not stopped here. On the contrary, there has come a distinct philosophy of education which makes the earning of a living the centre and norm of human training and which moreover dogmatically asserts that the subject matter and methods of work peculiar to technical schools are the best for all education -- that outside them there is properly no higher training. Longer training a man may have, but no higher -- the highest and best training is that which enables a man to earn a living.

Now it is this particular philosophy of education from which I have come here frankly to dissent and to express my dissent to you as teachers as strongly as I am able. And I do this the more willingly, because Hampton is the center of this, as I regard it, educational heresy, and because with all the striking history of this school, the noble lives given to its upbuilding and the peculiar efficiency of its

present organization, there is always present a tone which, as it seems to me, contradicts and almost sneers at the wonderful ideals which founded this great school.

Of course I know that this characterization of the Hampton philosophy is largely a matter of personal interpretation, and yet, in an institution where the President of the United States can with applause tell young men not to hitch their wagons to a star, but to a mule; -- where the sincere old man who spoke on this platform three days ago, can say amid laughter that the great duty of a minister is to teach his flock to raise a good dinner; and where around all and in all, there is an insistence on the practical in a manner and tone that would make Socrates an idiot and Jesus Christ a crank -- in such a place it seems to me no infringement of the rights of hospitality to say that I believe that this doctrine is so fundamentally false as to call for a word of warning.

22-41-23

I know that all these incidents I have mentioned are capable of an interpretation which has its measure of truth. I know that the great duty before you and me and our people today is to earn a living; and yet -- and yet, there is in these doctrines an ineradicable falsification of truth and human history, and I am alarmed not so much that you are going to be misled by the untruth lurking in the truth, as I am alarmed at the case of the students you teach: no one can go through Hampton and believe that the world is simply bread and butter -- they know that it is earth and air -- the wonderful, gleaming sea, and the verdure of flower and fruit; but when you as teachers, have learned a certain Hampton way of expressing yourselves, I am wondering and anxiously wondering, just what picture of the world and life your students are getting.

Now I have said that in order to match the great demands of this age we need to throw off our indolence and use and develop every power that God has given us, and that the higher education is a method of developing these powers. Does this mean that college-bred men, trained in the technique of industry, receive as a matter of fact nothing broader than this! By no means. There is a sort of false distinction

in these matters that has grown up and which does mischief. The college training is supposed to be chiefly ornamental and partly useless; interesting to such as have time, money, and inclination, but otherwise not to be indulged in. On the other hand, industrial training is accused of confining itself to purely technical work after a fashion which is simply untrue of any industrial school.

As a matter of fact the college curriculum or the curriculum of the industrial school depends not so much on its content -- on its actual studies, as on its aim. The aim of the higher training of the college is the development of power, the training of a self whose balanced assertion will mean as much as possible for the great ends of civilization. The aim of technical training on the other hand is to enable the student to master the present methods of earning a living in some particular way. Incidentally the college may and often does give some technical training; incidentally and always the industrial school teaches more than mere technique. It is no criticism of the college to say that its graduates are not technically efficient, just as the industrial school cannot justly be criticized for not turning out men of culture.

22-41-24

But the attitude that we as Negroes must take toward these two kinds of training is this: just as far as the race can afford it we must give to our youth a training designed above all to make them men of power, of thought, of trained and cultivated taste; men who know whither civilization is tending and what it means. The ideal would be to train every man in this way, and toward this ideal we tend. But today only a few can have such training because the time and labor of most men is needed for providing for the world's physical wants. Consequently we must select the most promising for this broader, higher education; and I sincerely hope that you will ever be alert to select from your students those of talent and promise and impress them with the fact that life is more than living -- that necessary as it is to earn a living, it is more necessary and important to earn a life: that is to do for the world -- its thought, its aspiration, its human value, so much that the world will not always continue to ask if life is worth living.

Impress it upon your pupils that potatoes and cows are only valuable because of the heaped up sacrifice, the midnight musing, the morning dreams of men who did not have potatoes enough to keep them alive. Send these talented boys to college -- urge them and push them through, remembering that never in God's world is this Negro race going to hold its place in the world, until it shows by its fully developed and carefully trained powers its undoubted ability to do so. This fact is true. Men know it is true and I am particularly sorry that the college-bred men who write the Hampton conference resolutions have never found courage to say in this matter what they really believe.

After we have sent our most promising to college, then not only the rest, but the college men too, need training in technical schools for the actual technique. Hampton Institute, instead of giving the world the impression that she has no use for college training, ought systematically to attract colored college graduates to post-graduate courses in technique; indeed just as the colleges need technique to complete their training of men for actual life, so the sad and crying need of industrial schools is men with culture and training enough in the broader humanities really to profit by the great technical opportunities of a plant like this.

When now we have gained for our race training in modern industry and for our national leaders self-assertion through a higher training in life and thought and power, then we can move toward the goal. What is that goal? it is at present one great Ideal: the abolition of the color line; the treatment of all men according to their individual desert and not according to their race. This is the one straight way of the Lord, despite all the devious paths which our friends and enemies suggest. Toward this I am pointing you tonight, my young friends. Toward this the voice of Ages points -- a voice crying in the wilderness, "Make straight the way of the Lord."

ENVOY

This was said in 1906 and it was not until 1936 that I was invited back to Hampton. The Hampton folk of 1906 were outraged at my words. Many considered that I had abused their hospitality. But I thought at the time that I was speaking the

Impress it upon your pupils that potatoes and cows are only valuable because of the heaped up sacrifice, the midnight musing, the morning dreams of men who did not have potatoes enough to keep them alive. Send these talented boys to college -- urge them and push them through, remembering that never in God's world is this Negro race going to hold its place in the world, until it shows by its fully developed and carefully trained powers its undoubted ability to do so. This fact is true. Men know it is true and I am particularly sorry that the college-bred men who write the Hampton conference resolutions have never found courage to say in this matter what they really believe.

After we have sent our most promising to college, then not only the rest, but the college men too, need training in technical schools for the actual technique. Hampton Institute, instead of giving the world the impression that she has no use for college training, ought systematically to attract colored college graduates to post-graduate courses in technique; indeed just as the colleges need technique to complete their training of men for actual life, so the sad and crying need of industrial schools is men with culture and training enough in the broader humanities really to profit by the great technical opportunities of a plant like this.

When now we have gained for our race training in modern industry and for our national leaders self-assertion through a higher training in life and thought and power, then we can move toward the goal. What is that goal? it is at present one great Ideal: the abolition of the color line; the treatment of all men according to their individual desert and not according to their race. This is the one straight way of the Lord, despite all the devious paths which our friends and enemies suggest. Toward this I am pointing you tonight, my young friends. Toward this the voice of Ages points -- a voice crying in the wilderness, "Make straight the way of the Lord."

ENVOY

This was said in 1906 and it was not until 1936 that I was invited back to Hampton. The Hampton folk of 1906 were outraged at my words. Many considered that I had abused their hospitality. But I thought at the time that I was speaking the

truth; and as I read the speech over today there is not much that I would change. When I went back to Hampton in 1936, behold, Hampton had become a college and was wondering what to do with her industrial equipment! Indeed so complete was the transformation, that in after years I again took Hampton to task for surrendering the Hampton idea so entirely.

1908

It was in a spirit of stern and lofty criticism that I spoke at Fisk University in 1908, twenty years after my graduation. Much had happened in those years and even in the two years since I had spoken at Hampton. Erastus Cravath, the fine and stately first President of Fisk, died in 1901. In accordance with missionary custom a retired minister was put in his place. It was an unfair task to put upon James G. Merrill. He was a kindly man 68 years of age and did not recognize the change taking place in Negro education. The old afflatus of Reconstruction times and the crusading teacher had gone, and the problem of supporting education by passing the hat was beginning to appear. He was not equal to the task; few people were. Indeed in the end the whole scheme broke down. But Dr. Merrill thought he saw a ray of light. My college school mate, Maggie Murray, became the second wife of Booker T. Washington in 1893. Dr. Merrill thought that through Washington's influence some help might come from monied interests to Fisk University; and to lure this philanthropy he proposed to make certain changes in the Fisk curriculum. Abruptly in the catalogue of 1906-07, Fisk advertised a new department of "Applied Science". This was to be accomplished by a modification and enlargement of old courses and by the introduction of new ones aggregating over 2,500 hours of instruction additional per year. The money was furnished by the General Education Board, the citizens of Nashville, the Slater Fund, and others. There was added to the faculty an associate professor of agriculture and associate professor of mechanic arts. The college work in this department consisted of five courses in agriculture, including animal husbandry, plant breeding, structural botany, and rural engineering. In the mechani-

22-41-26

cal arts, came practical courses in architectural drawing, woodwork and the theory of machines. In domestic science and art, came cooking and sewing. In 1907 and 1908 the teachers of agriculture and mechanical arts became full professors. Two women directed cooking and sewing in both these years.

On the face of it, the proposed department did not look genuine. First of all it was going to teach agriculture without a farm and on the limestone rocks of the city of Nashville. In the second place only two teachers were detailed for all this work, and they were teaching not simply college students but high school and even elementary students. There was no machinery or adequate laboratory. Two other persons who had long been teaching cooking and sewing in the high school and normal courses were regarded as parts of this new department. There was no way in which this proposed department could be regarded as the beginning of a technical or engineering school of college rank. At best it was a poor imitation of what Hampton and Tuskegee were struggling to do. All this seemed to many of the alumni and to me as a Surrender and a Lie: the surrender of college training to the current industrial fad, without the honest effort and equipment which this entailed. We were alarmed. We were fighting for academic life. We were striving for the survival of the Negro college in a day of starvation and ridicule. A current anecdote going the rounds was true enough to be false: one dark collegian asks another: "Is you done yo' Greek?" I remember that George E. Haynes, a graduate of Fisk, then a student in the New York School of Social Work and afterward founder of the Urban League, came to me hot-foot in Atlanta. He said, "You are sure to be invited to speak on your twentieth reunion. You must help save Fisk. She is surrendering to industrialism." I was excited and my crusading spirit aroused. Perhaps we were over-fearful, but I thought then that I was stemming a tide, and so I spoke to the graduating class.

23-41-20

GALILEO GALILEI

The man whom we know as Galileo was born in 1564 and died in 1642; born just after Elizabeth of England ascended the throne and died as the Thirty Years' War was about to end; and yet this tells us little until we understand the meaning of

the Age in which he lived -- the waning 16th and the dawning 17th centuries; and unless above all it happens that we catch tonight the peculiar way in which his life and problems concern us and our problems both as individuals and as graduates of Fisk University.

Galileo was born of noble rank in Pisa which we all know for its leaning tower and bronze doors, but which stood then for a memory and a prophecy -- a memory of former glory of artist, merchant, and warrior, there where its marble palaces cunning in handiwork looked down on the Arno and the Sea.

He became a learner and teacher of men and in this life career what did he accomplish three hundred years ago? The simple unexplained record is in itself wonderful: he found the law of falling bodies, he invented the telescope, he discovered the moons of Jupiter, he explained the reflected light of planets; he laid down the laws of cohesion, he studied the law of the pendulum and applied it to the clock, and above all he adduced irrefragable proof of the correctness of the Copernican doctrine that the sun and not the earth is the centre of our universe. Simply and barely stated this accomplishment is tremendous. To few human beings has it been given, in a life of four score years, to advance so momentously the sum of human knowledge. But this bare recounting does not do justice to his genius. Judge this World Genius not simply by the things he learned, but rather by the ignorance of his Age. This was a day when falling and gravitation were things too slight for human minds to ponder over; when the sky was regarded as a decorated changeable roof of the world; when time depended on sundials and hour glasses; and when the grand old legend of Joshua and the sun in Ajalon was regarded as a plain and literal statement of fact. It was a day when men assumed knowledge of the whole Truth and argued down to the individual fact, instead of ceaselessly, endlessly, and minutely studying the fact and then guessing as we do today cautiously at the mighty shadow of Reality. Here then was a human soul that walked into this world naked and unashamed, that dared to see what his own eyes saw and think whither his own clear logic. A dangerous soul -- a Revolutionist greater than Robespierre, a

22-41-28

socialist wilder than Marx or Gorky -- a very creator of a new heaven and a new Earth.

And here if I were minded I might end, with this triumph ant record; and with a dim hint at jealousy o'erpassed and persecution surmounted, of physical blindness and suffering ignored, celebrate a triumphant death in the year of Newton's birth; and tell of the tomb that sits today in Florence to his honor -- there where the golden Arno fragrant with memories sings to the sea beneath the olive-crowned marbles of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

But it is in such half-finished biography that men do mischief in the world and blind the eyes of young men and women like these graduates here. It sweeps dust in their eyes and discord in their ears, and to the eternal thunder of the questioning, "How?" it returns only the answer to the answered question, "What!" Easy it is to tell what men have done in this world -- Lincoln freed the slave, Grant freed Lincoln, and Hamilton made us a nation. But how -- How? asks the men who will do. Stars there are; them we see and know, but -- How do men reach them -- what of the Way, the Power, and the Opposition?

22-41-29

So in Galileo's life I want to turn now to three things: what was the Impulse that gave him power to do? What were the Obstacles he encountered? And How did he surmount them?

The impulse was a new vision of the world. From the time of Dante in the thirteenth up to the blossoming of Petrarch in the fifteenth century Italy had been seeing life anew. Galileo was child of this awakening. The impulse behind him was the Wonder of an open mind at the mechanism of the universe. Two things in the world are ever Miraculous -- thought and motion. After the death of the dark age, the European world awoke in the Italian Renaissance to a sense of the Wonders of human thought -- their own keen speculation and the marvels of the rediscovered thought of the ancient world; then imperceptibly, the Things thought of displaced the thought of the thinking, and motion, form, movement, held the attention of men and the genius

socialist wilder than Marx or Gorky -- a very creator of a new heaven and a new Earth.

And here if I were minded I might end, with this triumph and record; and with a dim hint at jealousy o'erpassed and persecution surmounted, of physical blindness and suffering ignored, celebrate a triumphant death in the year of Newton's birth; and tell of the tomb that sits today in Florence to his honor -- there where the golden Arno fragrant with memories sings to the sea beneath the olive-crowned marbles of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

But it is in such half-finished biography that men do mischief in the world and blind the eyes of young men and women like these graduates here. It sweeps dust in their eyes and discord in their ears, and to the eternal thunder of the questioning, "How?" it returns only the answer to the answered question, "What!" Easy it is to tell what men have done in this world -- Lincoln freed the slave, Grant freed Lincoln, and Hamilton made us a nation. But how -- How? asks the men who will do. Stars there are; them we see and know, but -- How do men reach them -- what of the Way, the Power, and the Opposition?

22-41-29

So in Galileo's life I want to turn now to three things: what was the Impulse that gave him power to do? What were the Obstacles he encountered? And How did he surmount them?

The impulse was a new vision of the world. From the time of Dante in the thirteenth up to the blossoming of Petrarch in the fifteenth century Italy had been seeing life anew. Galileo was child of this awakening. The impulse behind him was the Wonder of an open mind at the mechanism of the universe. Two things in the world are ever Miraculous -- thought and motion. After the death of the dark age, the European world awoke in the Italian Renaissance to a sense of the Wonders of human thought -- their own keen speculation and the marvels of the rediscovered thought of the ancient world; then imperceptibly, the Things thought of displaced the thought of the thinking, and motion, form, movement, held the attention of men and the genius

of Galileo. Something of the same thing has happened in our day; the schools have long studied Human Thought in literature, logic and speculation. Today has come attention to the more neglected wonders of the Things round us and the technique of the world. With eye and imagination thus fixed on the mystery of motion in falling body and whirling earth and moving star, Galileo started to know, to observe, to prove, to dream.

In so doing he met the Opposition -- the obstacles that ever block the way of the man who proposes in thought or deed, something New. First it took the cruder and uglier form of jealousy. We tell but half a truth to young men and women when we say: do well and you will be successful. They are apt to interpret success in term of the world's applause and it is not true that the world ever applauds well-doing. In his own alma mater, the ancient University of Pisa, Galileo did well as student and professor of physics at the early age of twenty-five. But his new teachings offended a man. If that man had been an ordinary mortal, it might not have mattered; but he was Giovanni de Medici, prince of a princely house, and in three short years, at the very outset of his career, Galileo was out of a job. A year later he was called to the University of Padua and finally to Florence itself. The students of all Europe flocked to him and his inventions and discoveries spread his fame. And as his fame rose so rose the jealous opposition.

22-41-30

And now men said not that he offended man, but that he blasphemed God. Blasphemy, heresy, transgression of the Dogma of the Catholic Church, were serious things in the Sixteenth Century. They meant disgrace, poverty, persecution, and death if known and proven. At first then the thing was whispered as jealous rumor; then it swelled to an open war of pamphlets and books; sermons were preached and formal denouncement of the heretic was made. The Holy Office, which we know as the Inquisition -- that dark and cruel child of the Reformation, with its servant the Society of Jesus -- took up the matter, and finally the opposition culminated in a summons to Rome and trial before seven Cardinal princes of the Holy Catholic Church.

Such was the Impulse and such the Opposition. Whither was the Path -- the way through, which Galileo pursued his journey to the End? When the man who has a clear

vision of Right, finds himself successfully approaching the goal, how shall he meet the Jealousy, Error, Selfishness and Ignorance? The world has given many answers to this, perhaps the greatest moral problem that rises. Tonight I have to tell the answer that Galileo Galilei gave: For 50 years:

He hesitated;

He explained to his friends;

He conciliated his enemies;

He promised to cease;

He argued

and finally at the age of 70

He lied -- he deliberately and with full knowledge; publicly and unequivocally he made one of the straightest and most uncompromising denials of what he knew to be the truth, ever recorded and, as the legend is, sealed that falsehood by a whispered statement that he knew he was lying.

22-41-21

I am at present neither defending nor condemning Galileo. I am simply stating the case, and showing you the way in which a man whose service to humanity is unquestioned, chose to save his life. For a long time Galileo had been successful in dodging the main issue, namely, Does the doctrine that the sun is the centre of our universe contradict the Bible? He was full seventy years of age when he was finally brought to trial. It was an imposing sight: on the rear wall of a room in the great palace of the Vatican, rose the soft outlines of a famous fresco of Raphael. Before it stretched a long, crimson-coated table. Here sat the prelates of the church in their gorgeous robes -- the bishops of seven seas, the princes of the greatest human organization in modern times. A golden crucifix adorned one end and the other held seven golden candlesticks with their lighted tapers. Before the table stood two scarlet cardinals, and a corsetted soldier with drawn sword. In the midst kneeled Galileo -- a little old man of seventy years, decrepit, and half blind. With palsied hands and trembling lips he said these words:

"I, Galileo Galilei, of the age of seventy, being on my knees in the presence of you, most eminent and most reverend Lord Cardinals of the Universal Christian Common-

wealth, having before my eyes the holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands, swear that I have always believed, and now believe, and God helping, that I shall for the future always believe, whatever the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church holds, preaches, and teaches. But because this Holy Office had enjoined me by precept, entirely to relinquish the false dogma which maintains that the Sun is the center of the world and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center, and moves; not to hold, defend, or teach by any means, or by writing, the aforesaid false doctrine.

"Therefore, being willing to take out of the minds of your eminences, and of every Catholic Christian, this vehement suspicion, of right conceived against me, I with sincere heart, and faith unfeigned, abjure, execrate, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and generally every sect contrary to the above-said Holy Church; and I swear that I will never more hereafter say or assert, by speech or writing, anything through which the like suspicion may be had of me; but if I shall know any one heretical, or suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor and Ordinary of the place in which I shall be. I moreover swear and promise, that I will fulfill and observe entirely all the penitences which have been imposed upon me, or which shall be imposed by this Holy Office. But if it shall happen that I shall go contrary (which God avert) to any of my words, promises, protestations, and oaths, I subject myself to all the penalties and punishments, which, by the Holy Canons, and other Constitutions, general and particular, have been enacted and promulgated against such delinquents: So help me God, and his Holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands."

22-41-32

Thus he spoke; but as he rose from his knees some say he whispered, "But it does move." Nine years later the blind and aged sufferer after long imprisonment and torture, died.

Students and graduates of Fisk University, let us judge this man: on the one hand range his service to mankind: his discovery of the great laws of motion in the solar system; and on the other, place the cowardice of his lie; on the one hand the advantages of a

mechanical knowledge of the universe and on the other the necessity of faith in one's fellow-men as the foundation stone of society; which is the greatest? Which is the sorest wound to human progress -- the loss of a valuable body of knowledge or the voluntary misdirection of human faith? A blow at the upbuilding of Truth or a blow at its very foundations?

Science is a great and worthy mistress, but there is one greater and that is Humanity which science serves; one thing there is greater than knowledge and that is the Man who knows. In the midst then of society whose life blood is faith, and in the name of Science which will know the truth that the truth may make it free, the verdict of civilization must be, that not even the splendor of the service of Truth done by Galileo Galilei, can wipe away the blot of his cowardly lie. By that lie, civilization was halted, science was checked and bigotry was more strongly enthroned on its crimson glory. And for what? To aid the discovery of truth? No, for Galileo's great work was done twenty years before he was tried for his life. No, it was for the sake of nine years of pitiable blindness and suffering, for an aged and broken man who did not dare to die for the glory of a great cause and make it thus more glorious in his courageous death.

22-41-33

Nor did he lack example. Only 43 years before his birth, a German monk had faced Christendom for one principle and cried when they shrieked, "Retract", -- not I will not, but "I cannot do otherwise." In the midst of Galileo's young manhood, right there in Rome, Giordano Bruno almost the very same age of Galileo, a defender of the same Copernican system, and unswerving searcher for truth, suffered himself to be burned alive after seven years in prison, rather than to lend himself to a lie to the glory of the Church.

Did it pay? Was the truth worth a lie? Which was the fool, Bruno or Galileo? I know that in this my judgment I speak today to ears that hear faintly and to hardening hearts. And with reason, for I speak to an age that differs from and at the same time resembles Galileo's. His age was beginning to see and sense and appre-

ciate the rhythm of Things -- the miracle of motion, the sweep of space and the dominion of matter; we today emerge from a century steeped in the awe and worship of Matter, triumphant in its mastery, insolent in its prophesy. Despite our strongest endeavors a shade of contempt for mere thought and theorizing, for feelings, emotions, and principles tinges our culture and our life. Two miracles the world holds, as I have said: Thought and Motion; and the Age of thought which was the age before Galileo, forgets the miracle of Motion; and the Age of Motion which is our age condemns the miracle of Thought. Yet above contempt and neglect sweep both as the ultimate Wonder of Life and woe to the world that blasphemes them.

22-41-34

Today and on us the pressure is tremendous. What is the world, cries the present Philosophy? It is the growing of grain and the weaving of cloth, the moving of wheels and the building of walls; it is the ability to do, the earning of livelihood, the creation of wealth. And then by natural logic this doctrine advances and says, if this is Life, train men for life in natural ways: not by Latin and Greek, but by arithmetic and mechanics. Is this philosophy false? No, but almost as dangerous, for it is half-true. As one-sided as the world that stood in judgment over Galileo and said: With the Bible of God and the Logic of Aristotle to read, what else is there worth studying in the world? The influence of this dogmatism has lasted until our day. There can be no doubt that the college curriculum of the past generation shamefully neglected the World of Things -- the tangible visible universe and its laws and ways. It is certain that in the University of tomorrow, the field of knowledge will include a knowledge of what the present world has done and is doing with its physical resources as well as a knowledge of its Thoughts and feelings. For this momentous change in curriculum, all true educators are looking and preparing; but this does not mean a stampede to industry as a substitute for life -- to mechanics as an antidote for thought, or to technique in place of Reason.

Simply because in the world of education, we are fighting for change and larger fulfillment of true prophesy, does not mean that any industrializing of a college curriculum, or any substitution of hands for brains, is the true heralded change.

For it may easily happen (and this is the gist of my message) that a mere specious and popular promise of longer and easier life, may prompt the Galilean spirit of 1908, as it did in 1608, to seek to establish the mechanical success of the future building by tearing down the spiritual foundations of the past.

Many men would argue in judging Galileo: Are not the laws of Motion worth a lie? Is not the support of a great Negro College worth some deception or surrender? But the Spirit of the Ages answers, No. The foundations which Galileo's lie threatened, were of more infinitely difficult building and perfecting than the great discoveries he made were worth. In travail of soul and gushing of blood; in anger, hatred, sorrow, and strife; in the rise and crash of empires, from Egypt and Babylonia to beautiful Greece and imperial Rome -- on all this was the world-Kingdom of Law and Order and Truth raised. They only can speak lightly of the change from the Time when each man flew at every one's throat, to that when we safely look for Universal Peace among all nations -- they only lightly pass that vision by who never knew of the raging billows of sorrow and blood through which this world has staggered to this goal. Which is greater, the discovery of the telephone or of universal suffrage? That man is mad who hesitates to answer. So then when a man offers a discovery for a lie, or Education for a bribe, then must the watchman on the outer wall cry Halt -- In the King's name!

22-41-35

And you graduates of Fisk University, are the Watchmen on the outer wall. And you Fisk University, Intangible but real Personality, builded of Song and Sorrow, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, are as one standing Galileo -- wise before the Vision of Death and the Bribe of the Lie. Not that I for a moment suppose that anyone now in authority here proposes any decisive change in the attitude or meaning of this University. But the personality of an institution is a peculiar thing. The apparently isolated -- almost unconscious movements of individuals, guided by the outside pressure of powerful interests, easily bring that to pass of which they themselves had not dreamed. And so today this venerable institution stands before its problem of future development, with the bribe of Public Opinion and Private

For it may easily happen (and this is the gist of my message) that a mere specious and popular promise of longer and easier life, may prompt the Galilean spirit of 1908, as it did in 1608, to seek to establish the mechanical success of the future building by tearing down the spiritual foundations of the past.

Many men would argue in judging Galileo: Are not the laws of Motion worth a lie? Is not the support of a great Negro College worth some deception or surrender? But the Spirit of the Ages answers, No. The foundations which Galileo's lie threatened, were of more infinitely difficult building and perfecting than the great discoveries he made were worth. In travail of soul and gushing of blood; in anger, hatred, sorrow, and strife; in the rise and crash of empires, from Egypt and Babylonia to beautiful Greece and imperial Rome -- on all this was the world-Kingdom of Law and Order and Truth raised. They only can speak lightly of the change from the Time when each man flew at every one's throat, to that when we safely look for Universal Peace among all nations -- they only lightly pass that vision by who never knew of the raging billows of sorrow and blood through which this world has staggered to this goal. Which is greater, the discovery of the telephone or of universal suffrage? That man is mad who hesitates to answer. So then when a man offers a discovery for a lie, or Education for a bribe, then must the watchman on the outer wall cry Halt -- In the King's name!

22-41-35

And you graduates of Fisk University, are the Watchmen on the outer wall. And you Fisk University, Intangible but real Personality, builded of Song and Sorrow, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, are as one standing Galileo -- wise before the Vision of Death and the Bribe of the Lie. Not that I for a moment suppose that anyone now in authority here proposes any decisive change in the attitude or meaning of this University. But the personality of an institution is a peculiar thing. The apparently isolated -- almost unconscious movements of individuals, guided by the outside pressure of powerful interests, easily bring that to pass of which they themselves had not dreamed. And so today this venerable institution stands before its problem of future development, with the bribe of Public Opinion and Private

Wealth dangling before us, if we will either deny that our object is the highest and broadest training of Black Men, or if we will consent to call Higher Education that which you know and I know is not Higher Education. And I say we, in this case advisedly; for my brothers and sisters, if this happens: if the ideal is lowered or the lie told, the responsibility rests on us. We are the University -- we on whose brow it has laid immortal hands, who wear its sign and seal upon our forehead. For us the trustees hold this property; as our representatives these teachers teach. If this republic of letters suffers harm, the guilt lies on us and on our children's children.

22-41-36

Three gifts a graduate may bring back to his Alma Mater -- a gift of Gold, and surely today this is needed, for more and more the burden of Negro education is destined on Negro shoulders, and the support of a College like this will eventually come from its alumni. Yet the gift of Gold is not possible to us all, nor is it the greatest gift. The second and greater gift is the gift of Accomplishment -- of things done, success achieved, knowledge advanced and fostered. Too little of this proof of our training have we brought to Fisk, but a full glorious return did Galileo make to Pisa. Yet this is not the greatest and in making the Greater Gift, this Man missed and marred the greatest. For the greatest gift that a scholar can bring to Learning is Reverence of Truth, a Hatred of Hypocrisy and Shams, and an absolute sincerity of purpose. And if after twenty years, we of the class of '88 return with little Gold, with but pitiable accomplishment, -- God grant we bring to this alter, the incense of clean hands and unbending devotion to what we know is the Truth.

First of all then, the thing for which we stand must be clear. We are not opposing industrial education. The vocational training of children is one of the greatest and most promising movements of modern days. But the place for that kind of training is not the College department of Fisk University. To do this would be like using a surgeon's knife for chopping wood. The world needs wood but it has axes for cutting

it. There are good and deserving schools for trade teaching. There are but two or three colleges. These colleges are devoted to higher training and they must not be diverted from it. But it may be asked are not technical and mechanical courses of study possible subjects of higher training? They are. The college course of the future is going to be enriched by the inclusion of many courses based on the technique of modern industry and the physical properties of matter. But that does not mean that every part of such knowledge is fit for the college curriculum. The milking of cows is a worthy industry but it is not a cultural study upon which any honest college can base its bachelor's degree. On the other hand the great chemical and physical laws which underlie the making of many food products are matters which could profitably be treated in a college course. And the decision as to the adaptability of certain lines of thought or bodies of knowledge is not a thing to be arrived at by majority vote or racial prejudices, but is a matter of expert study.

22-41-37

If Fisk University wants to know what technical and engineering subjects are fittest to a College course -- there are in the United States, France, and Germany, hundreds of universities and other institutions of the very highest standing, whose curricula have been matters of thought, study and development among the best educational philosophers of the world; learn of these and copy their courses and hold their standards. But if, on the other hand, the standards of a great Negro College are to be set by schools of lower and different object, whither are the ideals of this University falling? If you find that you cannot give technical courses of college grade, then give high school courses or kindergarten courses and call them by their right names. There may often be excuse for doing things poorly in this world, but there is never any excuse for calling a poorly done thing, well done; -- of denominating a series of lessons in the training of servants, a course in mechanical engineering.

You will, I am sure, pardon this frank warning and exhortation. The times are perilous. A stubborn determination at this time on the part of the Negro race, to uphold its ideals, keep its standards and unceasingly contend for its rights, means victory; and victory a great deal sooner than any of you imagine. But a course of

it. There are good and deserving schools for trade teaching. There are but two or three colleges. These colleges are devoted to higher training and they must not be diverted from it. But it may be asked are not technical and mechanical courses of study possible subjects of higher training? They are. The college course of the future is going to be enriched by the inclusion of many courses based on the technique of modern industry and the physical properties of matter. But that does not mean that every part of such knowledge is fit for the college curriculum. The milking of cows is a worthy industry but it is not a cultural study upon which any honest college can base its bachelor's degree. On the other hand the great chemical and physical laws which underlie the making of many food products are matters which could profitably be treated in a college course. And the decision as to the adaptability of certain lines of thought or bodies of knowledge is not a thing to be arrived at by majority vote or racial prejudices, but is a matter of expert study.

22-41-37

If Fisk University wants to know what technical and engineering subjects are fittest to a College course -- there are in the United States, France, and Germany, hundreds of universities and other institutions of the very highest standing, whose curricula have been matters of thought, study and development among the best educational philosophers of the world; learn of these and copy their courses and hold their standards. But if, on the other hand, the standards of a great Negro College are to be set by schools of lower and different object, whither are the ideals of this University falling? If you find that you cannot give technical courses of college grade, then give high school courses or kindergarten courses and call them by their right names. There may often be excuse for doing things poorly in this world, but there is never any excuse for calling a poorly done thing, well done; -- of denominating a series of lessons in the training of servants, a course in mechanical engineering.

You will, I am sure, pardon this frank warning and exhortation. The times are perilous. A stubborn determination at this time on the part of the Negro race, to uphold its ideals, keep its standards and unceasingly contend for its rights, means victory; and victory a great deal sooner than any of you imagine. But a course of

self-abasement and surrender, of lowering of ideals and neglecting of opportunity -- above all, a philosophy of lying in word or deed for the sake of conciliation or personal gain, means indefinite postponement of the true emancipation of the Negro race in America, for the simple reason that such a race is not fit to be freed.

High above the yellow marbles of Florence glistening among the shining olive leaves hangs the ancient church of the Holy Cross. Below it winds the yellow Arno past Pisa to the azure of the Midland sea; and beyond the Sea lies Africa. Once in the past the surging billows tossed a Florentine barque aloft on the thunders of a Storm. All seemed lost in the purple blackness of the night: with wild voices the sailors prayed to all the Saints of Florence, till suddenly one cried -- "A vision -- a vision: The Holy Cross," and pointed far aloft where seemed to gleam the marble splendor of the Florentine Church. They whirled the ship toward it; it leapt and dashed itself to death on the black and beatling rocks full fifty miles from where, in far off Florence, the Church of the Holy Cross raised silently its towers to God. And beneath these towers slept and sleep the bones of Galileo Galilei.

22-41.3 8

Sp?

ENVOY

The repercussions of this speech were immediate. President Merrill resigned in the summer. I was sorry for that. I did not mean this for a personal attack. I was attacking a system and a tendency. The professor of mechanics was dropped in the fall, and the "Department of Applied Sciences" disappeared. in ~~1910~~ 1909. ~~In 1910,~~ In 1910, Booker Washington joined the Board of Trustees and remained a member until his death in 1915. But he was not active and brought no additional funds to Fisk. It was many years before the philanthropy of the North was willing to support higher education among Negroes with anything like generosity. From 1908 until 1925 Fisk had a severe struggle for existence. Perhaps one cause of this was my speech.

1910

It was the last year of my first sojourn in Atlanta University where I had taught for thirteen years. Academically our success in these days was marked. Our graduates were among the best teachers of Negroes in the South; principals of schools and professors in colleges. Tuskegee without their assistance could not have kept its doors open. They were beginning to enter the professions. Their careers and those of their fellows as shown by our initial study of the college-bred Negro ~~was~~ were remarkable and encouraging. We had begun at Atlanta University the first systematic study of the American Negro made anywhere in the world; and yet Atlanta University was starving to death. Its support, its funds were dwindling. It had continually to retrench. It was threatened with debt. Dr. Bumstead, the calm, hardworking apostle of the Negro college of the day, was giving his whole life to collecting funds and once in a while I left my teaching to go North to help him. On a certain occasion I spoke to the white rich and well-born in Brookline, Massachusetts, and tried to impress upon them not simply the use, but the indispensable need of the college-bred man in the South. I was speaking no longer with magnificent confidence of young manhood or the harsh criticism of mature years, but as a social scientist and observer convinced of my facts.

22-41-39

THE COLLEGE-BRED COMMUNITY

Atlanta University is primarily a college. To be sure it has a large high school connected with it and an efficient normal school; but the students in the normal school are all of college rank, and the high school is retained because there are no public high schools in Georgia for black folk. The center, therefore, of our work in Atlanta University is the College. To the up-building of this Department our chief energies are directed; by the results of this Department our work must be judged; and on the basis of this Department we ask the support of the philanthropic world. Probably no other institution in the world is so entirely a Negro college as ours and certainly none in the South has as large a proportion of college students. We are, then, primarily a college. When, now, this statement is frankly made, there are a great many people who wish to help good causes in the world, who wish us well, and who with equal frankness decline to contribute to our work. They say plainly, "We are not interested in giving black boys college training. We think that the class of Negroes who have reached the plane where they can profit by such higher training have also reached the plane where they do not need outside aid. Such people, white or black, can be left to themselves to make their own way in the world." They say, "We are interested in the submerged classes of those poor people who are struggling up out of the depths. Such people we want to help, but, on the other hand, while theoretically we would be glad to help all people to a broader vision, yet on account of limited ability we are obliged to confine ourselves to cases of pressing necessity; therefore, we cannot give to Negro college work." If, now, the assumption thus stated be true, I would not only not blame philanthropists for refusing to support Atlanta University, but I would go further and change my own work; because the work which lies nearest my heart is not that of the talented few in opposition to the needs of the submerged many. But I have come here tonight purposely to set before you argument which proves to me, and I trust will prove to you, that the assumption which I mention is false, and that the first step toward

22-41-40

lifting the submerged mass of black people in the South is through the higher training of the talented few.

There are many of us who are still surprised, not to say indignant, that it took ten years of Reconstruction even to begin the settlement of the problems raised by slavery and war. Such people strongly suspect that only the incompetence and rascality of the Reconstruction politicians can explain such an extraordinary fact. And yet, when we come to consider the matter, how few of us realize what slavery meant in the South! To kidnap a nation; to transplant it in a new land, to a new language, new climate, new economic organization, a new religion and new moral customs; to do this is a tremendous wrenching of social adjustments; and when society is wrenched and torn and revolutionized, then, whether the group be white or black, or of this race or that, the results are bound to be far reaching.

22-41-41

When, therefore, you say that the South had a system of slavery for 250 years, you mean that the victims of that system lost their own social heritage; gained new bonds binding them to a new community, and began to forge in that new community, new machinery for carrying on the new social life; or, in other words, religion, moral customs, family life, economic habits, literature and traditions were taken from the Africans. They became a part of a rigid caste system, out of which they could seldom legally rise, and their social organization among themselves was reduced to the barest minimum for existence.

When, after two and one-half centuries of storm and stress, the race was adjusted to these new social environments, there came abruptly a new revolution. That revolution ushered them into what was called freedom; the social heritage and the bonds which tied them to their community were again broken, and they were left with no machinery for carrying on their social life. Or again, to make the matter more explicit, the Negro was freed after he had lost his own native traditions and moral and economic habits and had only begun to learn other habits from his master. Moreover, as a freedman, it was made increasingly impossible for him to learn such things from his masters because he was separated more and more from the master-class.

Thirdly, having forgotten or never known the methods of modern organization, it was quite impossible that he should immediately take up and guide the development of his own institutions.

What, now, was the one great pressing need? Of course this need has been variously expressed and emphasized. To some the first thing that freedom meant was work; to some it was a release from the bonds of poverty; to others it was education and the organization of religious institutions. But yet I think if we consider the matter, all of these reduce themselves to one single thing, looked at from different points of view; namely, what the Negro needed was experience, i.e., a knowledge of how the world accomplishes its necessary work today. And when you say that the freed Negro was ignorant of this, you mean more than mere illiteracy -- for illiteracy is the cause of evils rather than the evil in itself. You mean more than shiftlessness and unmoral customs. In fact, you mean all these things together and other things added, which in the total show that the Negro did not know the accumulated wisdom and methods of the world in which he was asked to take part. Now, how was he to get this unknown experience and wisdom? There were people simple-minded enough to suppose it was a mere matter of teaching him to read and write. I remember meeting a good friend of the race not long since who said with a rather puzzled expression that he "did not understand why all Negroes were not fairly well-educated, since they had had primary schools for a generation." He was doubly wrong; first, because as a matter of fact, not one-third of the Negro children have primary schools. Primary schools are simply one means of making education possible. The chief and great method, of course, by which a people come into the great social heritage of the modern culture world and by which they gain close and efficient knowledge of the methods of the world's work is the training which comes primarily and essentially from human contact -- a contact of those who know with those who are to learn.

Now, the great mistake which some of you and many others make, when they talk and think about the South, is to assume that there are in the South the same facilities for the transmission of culture from class to class and man to man as exist in the

North. If this were so, then my argument today would be quite out of place. But I come to emphasize in your minds a thing which you all know; namely, that racial separation in the South means the voluntary and persistent isolation of those who most need to learn by race contact. People who have easily and rather lightly accepted a programme of race separation in the South have, I fear, seldom thought of this. In the North, of course, in the last twenty-five years, the development has been exactly in the opposite way: it has been toward greater and more frequent and broader contact of the more favored classes of society with the less favored; a contact not simply in matters of alms-giving and economic organization, but in all of the deeper matters of human interest. The result of this is that Northern people are apt to assume that this same great social movement is in progress in the South, and consequently when there comes from the South word of certain kinds of movements, they assume that these things are in addition to the natural growing contact of the extremes of society. Yet you have but to think a moment to know that this is not true. There is in the South a social separation between workman and employer, the ignorant and the learned, society and its servants, the high and low, white and black, which goes to an extent and reaches a degree quite unrealized by those who have not studied the situation.

22-41-43

I pause simply to remind you that white people and black people in the South do not, as a rule, live on the same streets or in the same sections; do not travel together in train or street-car; do not attend the same churches, do not listen to the same lectures, do not employ the same physician, do not go to the same schools; do not, for the most part, work at the same kinds of work; do not read the same books and papers, are not taught the same traditions, and are not buried in the same graveyard.

Now, outside of all questions of the wisdom or necessity for such a situation, the question which interests us today is this: How far and in what way can there be any transmission of human culture and experience or knowledge of social organization

and social methods or of education, in any sense, from the white group to the black? Of course, some such transmission there is and always will be -- it is impossible perfectly to isolate people; but the chance of such transmission is in the South reduced to a minimum.

Mind, I make no argument for or against racial separation. But I am saying, with emphasis: State in your own mind, every argument for racial isolation at its full strength; conclude, if you will, that my child shall not be educated with yours; that it is indiscreet to eat with me at the same table; that you have definite matrimonial plans for your sister which do not include me; and that black people and white cannot righteously worship God from the same pews. Assert these beliefs, either for yourselves or in sympathy with others who passionately insist upon them, and then remember that the stronger this argument is for racial isolation, the more compelling is the righteous demand of black folk for their own social leadership, their own fountains of knowledge, their own centers of culture; and this is not for their amusement or delectation; not to flatter their vanity, but to give them the absolute and indispensable foundation for solid and real advance in civilization and social reform, the uplifting of their masses, and rational guidance in health, work, and morals.

22-41-44

If, then, you propose to educate the Negro into the possibility of full citizenship in the modern world of culture, one thing you have got to admit at the very outset; and that is, he cannot, to any appreciable extent, get that education from the white people about him. Now, this is true, on the whole, of no other constituent part of the American people. If higher college training is asked for poor American boys, for Armenians, or for white mountaineers, it is sufficiently just to say there is at present a more crying need for certain forms of elementary training among these boys than for college training. Their guidance and training in the higher matters of social evolution can be safely left to the result of their contact with the best of their fellow citizens. But with the Negro this is not true. By the silent decree

of the Nation he is, in the South, shut off and isolated. And much of this programme is being easily accepted in the North.

What the Negro needs, therefore, of the world and civilization, he must largely teach himself; what he learns of social organization and efficiency, he must learn from his own people. His conceptions of social uplift and philanthropy must come from within his own ranks, and he must above all make and set and follow his own ideals of life and character. Now, this is putting upon a people just emerged from slavery, with neither time, traditions, nor experience, a tremendous task. In strict justice, it is asking more of this people than the American nation has any right to ask. Nevertheless, this race is not stopping to await justice in this matter; it is not asking about the righteousness of past conduct; it is not even pausing -- as perhaps it ought -- to discuss the advisability of present policies; but it is asking you, here and now, to place in its hands the indispensable facilities for teaching itself those things which it must know if it is going to share modern civilization.

22-41-45

Moreover, just as in justice you cannot ask a man to raise himself by his own boot-straps, just so you cannot logically and justly expect that a people will furnish itself, under such circumstances, with its own chief means of uplift. The natural temptation for a group in our situation is to look around them upon their neighbors, pick out that which in their inexperience seems to be the cause of success and, advancing and seizing it lightly, try to march on. If the thing which they choose is momentarily popular they will receive for choosing it exaggerated applause; just as they were applauded in 1868 for political acumen because politics were popular, just so today they are applauded for showing signs of industrial shrewdness, because industry is the ruling movement today. Now, both politics and industry are the leading and main foundations of every successful state, but the great point is that any people to be successfully civilized must know how to handle those great tools of advance, and they can only learn this from a knowledge of the world's experience through the teaching of a cultured class.

The community must be able to take hold of its individuals and give them such a social heritage, such present social teachings and such compelling social customs as will force them along the lines of progress, and not into the great forests of death. What is needed then, for any group of advancing people, is the **COLLEGE-BRED COMMUNITY**; for no matter how far the college may fail in individual cases, it is, after all, the center where knowledge of the past connects with the ideal of the future. Every community, therefore, must be college-bred; and that does not mean that every individual must be a college graduate; it may be that the proportion of college-bred men may be small, even infinitesimal; and still the community, by tradition and heritage, will hold fast to what the past has taught the world of high and ideal future accomplishment. But, given a group or community which does not know the message of the past and does not have within its own number, the men who can tell it, and is separated from contact with outside groups who can teach it -- given such a community and you have a desperate situation, which calls for immediate remedy. It is such a situation among the Negroes in the South that calls for schools like Atlanta University.

22-41-46

There ought to be in the South today at least five institutions with an endowment of a million dollars each, whose business it would be to furnish the teachers and professional men and thinkers and industrial leaders for the masses of the black people of the South. Such colleges would represent, not the capstone of the social organization of the South but rather its vast foundation. As a matter of fact, such institutions today, tremendously hampered as they are in their work, have, nevertheless, begun this work of giving communities college training and have so far, done remarkably well. To them is due the establishment of the Negro School system in the South with 21,000 teachers; the establishment and conduct of the great and efficient industrial schools; the development and guidance to a considerable extent of the 35,000 Negro churches and the accumulation personally and through their influence of the more than $650,000,000 worth of Negro wealth. It would, of course, be wrong to say that Negro colleges were responsible for every step which the black

man has taken in advance since the war; but it is not too much to say that but for the black men trained in the colleges North and South, and the students who were in turn trained by them, the major part of this progress would have been utterly impossible. Moreover, it is not simply in education that the Negro college accomplishes its mission of human culture. Nearly all the adjuncts by which culture is diffused in the North have been absent among Negroes in the South: the public lecture and public library; the sympathetic newspaper, organized charity and social settlements; the Young Men's Christian Association and Women's Clubs, etc. Today, all these instruments of culture are making their appearance slowly but surely, and they are coming directly from the Negro colleges and from centers of influence where the graduates of such colleges are working. The COLLEGE-BRED COMMUNITY, therefore, in the South is already beginning to be a reality, but it needs tremendous reinforcement and continual impulse.

22-11-47

In the North the ordinary boy, whether he actually attends college or not, gets some college training from his surroundings. It is impossible for a boy to grow up here in Boston without getting from the air which he breathes something of that for which Harvard stands. On the other hand it is possible for a black boy to grow up in the South and be a perfect barbarian. It is for you and me to make this more and more impossible in the future by giving such support to the best of the Negro colleges as will really plant ideals of social efficiency and culture in the center of black communities and enable them to work and save and act according to the best traditions of civilized men.

To the existence of such group development and feeling among black men there can be but one objection, and that is the objection of those people who mean by "race separation" not separation but subordination; who plainly and frankly say that the Negro is to be separated from all contact with culture in order that he may never become an efficient, self-reliant, thinking race; who hope that there shall grow up in the nation, not the democracy dreamed of by the Pilgrim Fathers but a new caste ideal such as was made the corner-stone of the Confederacy. With such objections I am

sure you have no sympathy and I only hope that with your willing desire to help the lowly of all races and peoples, you will use this method of approaching the problem of the submerged mass in a particular race, and through a Negro college, in a larger sense, you will be willing to help a people to help themselves.

ENVOY

22-41-48

To these and similar speeches of mine and appeals of Dr. Bumsted and others, there was some, but not great response. Between 1910 and 1925 the case of college training for Negroes in the South became desperate. I began to feel that one of the reasons that Atlanta University did not get funds was my presence and I therefore accepted a chance to change my scientific career to a career of propaganda in New York with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as editor of The Crisis.

1924

From 1910 to 1924, I was out of direct touch with Negro education. There came the world of war during which I had sent my daughter to Bedale's School in England, thinking the war would be short. She was forced to come home in 1914, and went to the Brooklyn High School. She did not like it. The teaching methods, and the atmosphere were strange to her. She stuck it out and graduated, but was indifferent to a college course. It occurred to me that she might be as thrilled as I once was, if she went south to Fisk. I applied for admission after she was graduated from high school and there was some rather curious and to me inexplicable hesitation, but she was finally admitted. She seemed happy there. She made no complaints. Yet there filtered through certain criticisms of the Fisk of 1924, and once when I was visiting there a student came to me, slipping up almost furtively in the twilight.

It was my first talk with George Streator, then a junior. He said to me: "Don't you want to know what is going on at Fisk?" Afterward I opened my ears. I listened, wrote and investigated, and I was astonished at a state of affairs of which I had not dreamed. When I complained to my daughter for not telling me of conditions, she answered placidly: "I thought you knew!" The student discipline at Fisk had retrograded so as to resemble in some respects a reform school. The administration of the school seemed based on organized gossip. The desperate attempt to get funds had led to a surrender to Southern sentiment compared to which the overtures of Dr. Merrell were but faint and unimportant. The spirit of the school seemed wrong and from time to time teachers, students and graduates appealed to me.

Again it was the date of one of my continually recurring reunions. In 1923, I had been graduated thirty-five years. I had not spoken that year because my daughter was graduating the next year; and so in 1924 I came to Fisk University determined to do an unpleasant duty and do it thoroughly. I determined to voice the widespread criticism of alumni, students and friends of Fisk University at the way in which the President, trustees, and faculty were conducting the school and I was going to do it at Fisk, face to face with its officials. And so in the Memorial Chapel with my back to the great organ and with the president and his wife sitting in front of me and the alumni ranged row on row, while the undergraduates looked down from the gallery in suspense, I literally "lifted my voice and taught them saying":

"DIUTURNI SILENTI"

~~Some Latin~~

You who have not wholly forgotten your Latin, will remember that the two words of my subject are taken from the beginning of Cicero's oration in defense of Marcellus. I recall the stilted translation thereof which I committed to memory in my boyhood. "To my long continued silence, Conscript Fathers, which I have made use of in these days, not on account of any fear, but partly from grief, partly from shame, this day brings an end and also a beginning of my speaking according to my former custom what I think and what I know."

~~My Relations with Fisk~~

22-41-50

To make these perhaps somewhat cryptic words more clear to you, may I say a few words concerning my connection with Fisk University. I was graduated from Fisk thirty-six years ago this month after three years of splendid inspiration and nearly perfect happiness, under teachers whom I respected and amid surroundings that inspired me. I regarded the ten years after my graduation from 1888 to 1898 simply as a sort of prolongation of my Fisk college days. I was at Harvard but not of it. I was a student of Berlin, but still the son of Fisk, and I came back to Fisk to deliver the commencement address in 1898 and to make that address a welcome to my younger fellows into the high calling of those who had gone forth from this institution with fine determination and splendid inspiration.

Ten other years passed and when I returned here as alumni speaker in 1908, there was a shadow as it seemed to me already across this institution. The trend toward industrial education was to my mind beginning to lower the standards and vitiate the ideals for higher college training which were the heritage of Fisk University. I spoke my complaint clearly and sought to warn this institution that it would never do, for purposes of expediency, to lie to the world as

Galileo once lied when he knew that his heart held the truth. This speech of mine was received with much criticism, and from that time to this, sixteen years, I have not been invited to speak at this institution. Once or twice when I happened of necessity to be on the grounds I have been invited to say a few words and have made perfunctory remarks knowing that nothing further was expected. I knew too that my thoughts and ideals were distasteful to those from whom Fisk at this time was expecting financial aid, and as I had neither money nor monied friends I took refuge in silence even when I sensed wrong.

~~My Purpose~~

22-41-51

Today I recognize that my invitation to address the alumni is largely a matter of circumstances and not of deliberate choice on the part of this institution. Nevertheless I have come to address you and I say frankly, I have come to criticise. I have known and been connected more or less intimately with many colored institutions of learning, but I have never known an institution whose alumni on the whole are more bitter and disgusted with the present situation in this university than the alumni of Fisk University today. This, of course, is not true of all the alumni, but it is true of so great and so important a part that Fisk University ought to know it. ¶ I have come therefore to criticise and to say openly and before your face, what so many of your graduates are saying secretly and behind your back. I maintain that the place to criticise Fisk University is at Fisk University and not elsewhere, and above all I maintain that this is the time and the critical time in the history of this institution when the opinion of its alumni and constituents must be known and decision must be taken by the trustees and faculty as to the future policy of Fisk University. And it is for this reason that I say: "To my long continued silence, Conscript Fathers, which I have made use of in these days, not on account of any fear, but partly from grief, partly from shame, this day brings an end and also a be-

ginning of my speaking according to my former custom, what I think and what I know."

~~These Two Theses~~

I come to defend two theses, and the first is this: Of all the essentials that make an institution of learning, money is the least. The second is this: The alumni of Fisk University are and of right ought to be, the ultimate source of authority in the policy and government of this institution.

~~Freedom of Spirit~~

22-41-52

Taking up the first thesis I do not, of course, mean for a moment to be so foolish as to say that a university does not need money. Fisk University does need money; any institution needs to day physical equipment, buildings, laboratories and salaries and needs them imperatively; and yet I do maintain that this equipment is not the greater need. I maintain that there is a spiritual equipment, without which no institution can really exist as a center of culture, and I trust that it will never be necessary to say of Fisk University as was once said of Brown University: "Yesterday Brown University had a president; today it has a million dollars."

Three great things are necessary for the spiritual equipment of an institution of learning: Freedom of Spirit, Self-Knowledge and a recognition of the Truth. These are trite phrases, but they are none the less eternally true; and first of all comes Freedom of Spirit.

It is a beautiful figure that we continually use in depicting the relationship of college and student; Alma Mater - Fostering Mother. We see always in this true relationship the arm of this old mother about the shoulders of her sons and grandsons and grandsons' grandsons, whispering to their ears. "Behold the beautiful land which the Lord thy God has given thee!" And nowhere is this

inspiration needed more than in the case of colored students today. They come out of the Valley of the Shadow with souls that have been hurt and crushed, and the great duty of the Negro college is to say to these students that the little sordid things of earth and of ordinary life where they lack so much of freedom, are as nothing compared with the great free realm of the spirit.

I have often told audiences of my experience when I went first to see the Bernese Oberland. I stood on the plaza of the cathedral at Berne and looked upon the Alps. I saw the great green hills and rising mountains. They were fine and I was glad. I started to turn away, and then, almost by accident, I lifted my eyes up to the sky, and there, above the hills and above the mountains, up where I had thought of nothing but mists and clouds, blazed in unearthly splendor the snow-capped Alps - sublime, magnificent. And so it is with these colored students. It is inspiration and light and the free, untrammeled spirit that rises above the earth which they seek in college. Through this very freedom comes discipline, and through discipline comes freedom.

22-41-53

~~Present Discipline~~

What now is Fisk University doing to uphold and to spread the spirit of freedom in this institution? It is not doing what it should. In Fisk today, discipline is choking freedom; threats are replacing inspiration, iron-clad rules, suspicion, tale bearing are almost universal. A favorite expression is, "If you don't like Fisk University, get out!" If you do not agree with all the policies of the institution go elsewhere. Students are made to promise in writing not simply to obey the rules of the institution but to obey all future rules that may be made. Even during my short stay of a few days, I have seen crass instances of discipline. At the senior chapel, the last, and as it should have been, holiest exercise, everything was held up for five minutes until the

presiding official publicly disciplined a few giggling girls.

Instances of discipline have occurred here, almost criminal in their miscarriage of justice. I have known a girl to be sent home for theft because she could not satisfactorily explain her possession of a five-dollar bill; and when afterward it was proven beyond a doubt that the money was rightfully hers, no apology was ever made. She was simply told quietly that she could come back. She has since graduated with honor at Howard University. To illustrate in what glaring contrast the present discipline of Fisk University stands with the discipline of my day let me recall one instance.

22-41-54

I was seventeen years old. Perhaps my older class mates were having fun at my expense, but at any rate I was told that at commencement time the ordinary rules did not hold. I consequently walked boldly up through yonder white gates and invited Dickey to take a walk. (She was called Dickey because her father wanted a son and named her Richard anyway.) We sauntered out the front gate in broad day light, down the long path, past Livingston, called at the city home of one of our fellow students, Lizzie Jones, found other students there and danced and ate. Then we walked back in the dying day and came to Jubilee Hall about sunset. It looked as though the roof of the hall was about to rise. The matron was furious. "But I didn't know that I was breaking any rule," I stammered. I was given to understand that I ought to have known, which did not seem to me a bit logical; and then I came before the president. He was a tall, white-haired man with bushy eyebrows and deep eyes, in the depths whereof always lurked a smile. And he said to me quietly, "Don't do it again." And I didn't. He bound me to him for time and eternity by that one wise judgment. He knew perfectly well that if a boy is up to a nasty trick he doesn't walk out of the front gate in full daylight.

I do not for a moment doubt that the objects which Fisk today wishes to gain by her discipline are in themselves perfectly good objects; but the trouble is that she is trying to accomplish her ends by methods which are medieval, and

long since discredited. The second and third generation of colored students present their problems of discipline and guidance, but those problems in the long run are no greater than the problems presented everywhere in the training of youth throughout the colleges of the United States and the world; and of all ways of treating these problems and settling them, the method of piling rule on rule and threat on threat is the worst and most ineffective, and it makes not men but hypocrites.

Fisk University wishes to be recognized by the great institutions of learning, and yet at other institutions students are being taught discipline through freedom. When Bertrand Russell was not allowed to speak at Harvard University the students protested not simply to the faculty but to the overseers, and their right to protest was freely recognized. No protest would for a moment be tolerated on the part of the students of Fisk. If a student even feels disagreement with the policies of Fisk he is given to understand that he is not wanted. It is the spirit of freedom that has built the great universities of the world, and Fisk can never be great until it recognizes that spirit. The pall of fear which envelops the student body of this institution is the most awful thing here.

22-41-55

~~Self-Knowledge~~

7

The second great thing that characterizes an institution of learning is Self-Knowledge, the principle ancient as Greece and older: "Know Thyself." The students are in college for purposes of self-expression and experiment; to test their own wings, to find ability and strengthen character, to learn self-control. In such self-experience on the part of the young, there is a cost to pay, a certain waste that is inevitable; the appearance of youthful swagger and impudence; and yet the wiser world has learned that in youth even as in age, the Cost of Freedom is less than the Price of Repression. At Fisk Univer-

sity the temptation and the tendency is to cramp self-expression, reduce experiment to the lowest terms and cast everything in an iron mould. College women are put in uniforms in a day when we reserve uniforms for those who are organized to murder, for lackeys and for insane asylums and jails. Not only is the system of uniforms at Fisk ineffective and wasteful, but its method of enforcement is humiliating and silly.

22-41-56

The students are allowed to do almost nothing of their own initiative. They can have no organization except such as are not simply supervised by the faculty but are in part run by the faculty with membership determined by the faculty, with some long-eared member of the faculty sitting in at every meeting to listen.

There can be no opinion expressed by the students in any public way. If I have any knowledge of the English language and any facility in expression it began with the three years that I spent on the editorial staff of the Fisk Herald. The Fisk Herald was for a long time one of the oldest student papers in the United States. It was a shame to suppress it. Other colored institutions even below college grade and practically all white institutions have their student papers. Fisk University is not allowed to have one. Athletics are hampered and threatened with extinction by faculty action.

Thus self-expression and manhood are choked at Fisk in the very day when we need expression to develop manhood in the colored race. We are facing a serious and difficult situation. We need every bit of brains and ability that we have for leadership. There is no hope that the American Negro is going to develop as a docile animal. He is going to be a man, and he needs therefore his best manhood. This manhood is being discouraged at Fisk today and ambition instead of being fostered is being deliberately frowned upon.

I met a young man the other day in an institution far from here. He walked

up and stuck out his hand and said, "I am Hunter's son." I remembered Hunter in my college days at Fisk, -- a big, strong, muscular black man. He got angry once at some of my pert criticism and gripped me. I thought my arm was coming off. These were the days before the legal "Jim Crow" car law, but the brakemen used to take it upon themselves to force all colored passengers into the smoking car. Hunter went down with the other students after commencement to board the train. The brakeman barred the way to the passenger coach. Hunter swept the brakeman aside with one arm and with the other beckoned the students. They walked into the coach singing. This was Hunter's son. I looked at him with interest. Why wasn't he at Fisk University? Is Fisk University afraid of men of this sort? Is this the kind of person that she expels for impudence? Is Fisk trying to make the roll of her expulsions a sort of roll of honor? Is she afraid to have these students know themselves?

22-41-57

The third thing that a university stands for is the recognition of Truth, the search for Truth. We say this glibly now, but we must remember that in every age while institutions of learning have accepted and taught certain parts of the truth there are other parts about which they have hesitated. For a long time geology could not be taught in our institutions because it interfered with the biblical "six days". Today some people are trying to enjoin the teaching of Evolution; and continually in our day the teaching of the truth concerning our social structure and economic development is being hindered and suppressed. That this is dangerous goes without saying; but the greatest of dangers faces those institutions of the South, white and colored, who are afraid to tell the truth concerning the difficult social environment in which the youth of the South is growing up.

One can imagine, of course, two extreme attitudes which a Negro college might take with regard to the surrounding South; it might teach that the case is hopeless; that no Negro can expect to be a man in this country with the present attitude and determination of the whites. Or it might go to the opposite extreme and say that all is well; that the best thought of the country is tending toward justice and that the Negro's only hindrance is himself. Neither of these positions is tenable, and a real university with honest purpose today ought frankly to face the fact that there are here forces of advancement and uplift and that there are forces of evil and retrogression and that it is for the educated man to find a way amid these difficulties.

Fisk University is not taking an honest position with regard to the Southern situation. It has deliberately embraced a propaganda which discredits all of the hard work which the forward looking fighters for Negro freedom have been doing. It overpraises the liberal white South. It continually teaches its students and constituency that this liberal white South is in the ascendency and that it is ruling; and that the only thing required of the black man is acquiescence and submission. Thus the Fisk News, speaking without right and without warrant for Fisk University, for its alumni and its constituency, is advocating and spreading a doctrine which every student in this university knows is dishonest. They know and they appreciate the things which the white friends of humanity living in the South are doing, but they know that these liberal white folk are not triumphant, that they are facing a terrific wall of prejudice and evil; and every day these students in their lives are experiencing this evil. They know "Jim Crow" cars; they know the effects of disfranchisement; they know personal and persistent insult. You cannot teach these children honesty as long as you dishonestly deny these truths which they know all too well.

Let me bring two things to your mind, - and I am speaking now not of lawless

lynchings and of the mob, but of the acts of Southern white men of the better class. There was a man in south Georgia, a colored man, upon whose land I once stood. He owned ten thousand acres free of debt. He had schools and churches, white tenants and colored tenants. The other day he died without a will and at the request of his inexperienced widow, his friend, the white banker, undertook to settle his estate. In less than a year every cent of this man's property was gone and today his girls are dancing in a cabaret in New York to support themselves and the widowed mother. ¶ Or, to take another phase: In Birmingham, Alabama, the condition of the colored schools has long been a shame. At last in order to get a large bond issue of three million dollars, the best white citizens solemnly promised to spend five hundred thousand dollars upon the Negro schools. They proposed to put up a Negro high school to cost three or four hundred thousand dollars and one large secondary school. They had, however, as principal of the colored high school a Negro tool and lickspittle. He assured them that the colored people didn't need any school as costly as they proposed. He asked for a straggling one story building with a little brick and a a great deal of stucco and at a cost of about half what they had proposed to spend. He achieved a partly finished high school. It is precisely such lickspittles and cowards that the propaganda carried on by the Fisk News is developing, and it will never be successful because it holds within itself its own contradiction and denial.

22-41-59

The truth concerning the present racial situation is systematically kept from Fisk students as well as the truth concerning the great liberal movements of the world. Representatives of the International Youth Movement complained that Fisk was one of the few American institutions where they were not allowed contact with the students. Representatives of colored fraternities with their "Go to High School, Go to College" campaign were not allowed to speak at Fisk.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has done more than any organization for the freedom of the Negro race and for making the interracial movement possible, has never been represented at Fisk University. And yet Fisk University pretends to be an institution for the presentation of the truth.

~~THE REASONS~~

22-41-60

To recapitulate, Fisk University is choking freedom. Self-knowledge is being hindered by refusal of all initiative to the students. Fisk University is not teaching the truth about the race problem.

What is the reason of this state of affairs at Fisk? We colored people, talking among ourselves of the action of white folk toward us, continually bring in one general essential cause and that is Total Depravity, - the determination on the part of the white world to do us all possible ill.

Such a reason is, of course, fanciful in nearly all cases, and in this case I do not believe that those in control of Fisk University wish or desire anything but the welfare of the colored race. But the difficulty is that they do not know what is for our good or what we think is for our good. They have not before them facts that are well known to us and points of view and considerations which are to us of tremendous importance. It is in this case, as in so many others, ignorance that leads to evil.

Have you ever seen a king "By the grace of God"? I have. I remember as a young man walking down the Unter den Linden from the Royal Palace past the university and toward the Brandenburg gate. Suddenly there would be a signal and the crowd would turn to the curb and stiffen, standing at attention. Far up the broad avenue came the flash of cream and silver, the waving of plumes and the prancing of horses; and then He flew by, erect, stern and splendid, "Wilhelm, von Gottes Gnade, Koenig von Preussen, Deutscher Kaiser." He has

passed today. He was not a bad man, he was a mistaken one. He did not know. He did not call the real German people to council, and he failed because he did not know. And so whenever a man or a group of men assume to rule over others who are separated from them by class or racial or economic interest they are going to make terrible mistakes if the ruled and the rulers do not sit down and take counsel together. The theory of democracy is not that the people have all wisdom or all ability, but it is that the mass of people form a great reservoir of knowledge and information which the state will ignore at its peril.

So in Fisk University. There are at the service of the Trustees, the President and the Faculty great streams of knowledge and experience; the knowledge and experience of these students here; the knowledge and experience of the whole black world in America which is more and more becoming bound together in organized unity. Fisk University is systematically ignoring these sources of information. It is not consulting the students, it is ordering them about. In only one of the commencement exercises that I have seen did the students have any chance to speak or express themselves, and in that case the President and Faculty were conspicuous by their absence, while the speeches were evidently carefully censored.

22-41-61

In the business which I conduct I pay out over fifty thousand dollars a year; and yet in the fifteen years that I have conducted that business I have never been so threatened with penalties for debt as I have in the last four years in trying to pay my daughter's expenses at Fisk. It was almost impossible, in the first place, to find what ~~the~~ sums were due and when they were to be paid; and when finally I did get notice it was almost invariably too late for me to forward a check before the date on which some penalty for non-payment was due. Several times I have telegraphed funds. And I know of one father, one of the wealthiest graduates of Fisk, whose daughter was publicly denied the right to get books at the book store while across the road at the treasury there lay a balance to her credit. Par-

ents who try to get into sympathetic touch with this institution find no encouragement and those who visit it are usually treated with the scantiest courtesy.

The alumni have no voice in the policy or conduct of the institution. They get no communications except a demand for ~~funds~~ contributions. Almost nothing is done to encourage alumni reunions. No careful record is kept of ~~their~~ alumni activities, and while from time to time one or even two alumni are upon the Board of Trustees, they are alumni selected by the President and the Trustees and not by the Alumni Association; and they may or may not represent the opinion of the alumni.

22-41-62

The colored world of Nashville is entirely out of sympathy and out of touch with Fisk University. They attend the exercises held in dwindling numbers. I was present this year at one of the Mozart Society concerts. It was a fine exercise, with excellent singing and some of the greatest colored soloists in America, including Florence Cole Talbert. But the society sang to empty benches. I doubt if there were two hundred people in the chapel. And yet I have known the day when a young black boy from west Tennessee, almost untrained, sang that incomparable tenor solo from the Elijah, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my People," to an audience that covered every inch of the old chapel in Livingston Hall. Today even at the exercises of Commencement Week there is plenty of room for everybody and sometimes wide empty spaces.

The black world of Nashville, and not simply the educated, but the ordinary colored people, know that Fisk University does not want them; that it is straining every effort to attract Southern white people and is segregating and insulting its colored auditors.

~~CLOTHES~~

Suppose that instead of this attitude the authorities of Fisk University took the trouble to consult their alumni and their constituents and their students. Take, for instance, the matter of clothes. There was once a colored

leader who sneered at the pianos in the homes of poor colored people, but it was pointed out to his quick discomfiture that it was a fine thing for the poor to spend on music even that which they might have spent on bread. Did it not show the innate beauty of their souls? And so today Fisk University sneers and raves and passes all sorts of rules against the overdressing of its students, particularly of its women; and there is no doubt but what colored people of the better class ~~chose~~ waste money in personal adornment. At the same time consider for a moment the reasons: Have you ever ridden on a "Jim Crow" car? I have. I have just come here from riding on many. For the most part they are dirty, ugly, unpleasant. Have you ever been in the colored section of a Southern city? Despite the effort of the colored people to beautify their homes ~~and build beautiful homes~~ the city leaves this section as muddy and nasty and unkempt and unprotected as possible. I just looked upon a new graded school in Atlanta. It was the ugliest building I have ever seen. It went out of its way to be ugly. I thought at first it was a factory of the meaner sort. ~~And so~~ All through the life of colored people and of their children the world makes repeated efforts to surround them with ugliness. Is it a wonder that they flame in their clothing? that they desire to fill their starved souls with overuse of silk and color? They may fail in their object or overdo it, but now and then they do achieve startlingly fine results. I saw upon the campus this afternoon two girls. (Do not worry, they were not from Fisk University and did not break your rules.) They were dressed in filmy garments with scarfs of crimson and blue about their necks and the setting sun beyond Jubilee Hall threw its glory over them. They were a startlingly beautiful sight. I do not for a moment dispute that the parents of the girls of Fisk University tend to waste money on their clothes, but I do say that New England old maids, dressed like formless frumps in dun and drab garments, have no right utterly to suppress and

22-41-63

insult these children of the Sun even if they want to wear silk; and that to inculcate good taste in dress is a far more subtle matter than stiff rules and harsh judgments.

~~FRATERNITIES~~

Consider the matter of fraternities. Fisk University is the only one of the larger colored colleges which does not allow fraternities. There are many sound reasons back of this attitude. We know what fraternities have done in the matter of snobbishness and disintegration in many of our large institutions. On the other hand, those institutions have not abolished fraternities and they must have their reasons. Moreover in the case of the colored fraternities their whole inner spirit and the reason for their being differentiates them entirely from white college organizations. They grew up in white northern colleges where colored students were suffering a social ostracism which interfered seriously with their college work. They spread to colored colleges because of the serious efforts which they were making to increase and vivify the college spirit. The "Go to High School, Go to College" campaign carried on annually by the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity has been one of the greatest incentives in America to push colored youth toward higher education. Not only is that fraternity not allowed in Fisk University, but its representatives could not even come there to speak on the higher education campaign. Another colored fraternity has its "Guide Right" campaign seeking to guide colored graduates into proper ~~employment~~. The sororities are offering scholarships and prizes to colored graduates ~~and prizes~~. Fisk University has no right autocratically and without consultation with or listening to the advice of students, parents, and alumni to ban these powerful and influential organizations and cut their graduates off from the best fellowship for life.

22-41-64

~~THE CLEVELAND SPEECH~~

In northern Ohio there is the city of Cleveland. For fifty years the colored group in Cleveland has fought for municipal recognition and equality and it has accomplished a splendid work. Our great colored author, Charles W. Chesnutt, is a member of one of the leading literary and social clubs. A colored lawyer, Harry Davis, is a member of the Cleveland City Club and long has served in the Ohio Legislature. We have colored councilmen. We have colored teachers in the public schools who teach without segregation or discrimination. There is not a single "Jim Crow" institution in the city, and this is because with fifty years' fighting we have achieved real democracy in Cleveland. [redacted] Last year, Fisk University went to Cleveland and arranged a dinner and meeting with influential citizens, at which the President of the Board of Trustees and the President of the University spoke. No colored people were invited nor expected. No colored people were consulted as to what ought to be said in that city, and The next day the papers reported that Fisk University believed in segregation for colored people and thought it was inevitable and permanent! I am aware that explanations were made afterwards; that the speakers affirmed that they were expressing a fact and not a theory; but the best that can be said of them is that they awkwardly and maladroitly made statements that hurt the cause of the Negro in Cleveland and did the cause of Fisk no good. Suppose that before they staged this meeting they had had a little private talk with their alumni in Cleveland; or with Mr. Chesnutt or with Mr. Davis? They could have accomplished everything that they wanted to accomplish in this great and generous city and at the same time avoided affronting and discrediting a brave and struggling group.

How different it is in other institutions and in those very institutions with which it is the ambition of Fisk University to be recognized as of equal

standing in scholarship! The president and authorities of Harvard University made up their minds to ban the Negro and the Jew; but when protest came from the alumni and the public they did not ignore it, they even encouraged it. They listened to it and they followed it, and they gave up a public policy which was as extraordinary as it was wrong.

[redacted]

The whole policy of segregation as it is developed at Fisk University is a menace and a disgrace. I am told that this year the Jubilee Club gave a concert downtown. Not only was the colored audience "Jim-Crowed" and segregated but the colored teachers were separated from the white teachers and different windows were furnished where colored and white people were to buy their tickets!. When Isaiah Scott, a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, went innocently to the white window, he was refused service and insulted. I am told that the President of Fisk University took [redacted] fifteen or twenty girls from the Glee Club, girls from some of the best Negro families in the United States, carried them downtown at night to a white men's club, took them down an alley and admitted them through the servants' entrance and had them sing in a basement to Southern white men, while these men smoked and laughed and talked. If Erastus Cravath, the first president of this institution, knew that a thing like that had happened at Fisk University he would, if it were in any way possible, rise from the grave and protest against this disgrace and sacrilege.

22-41-66

~~THE CORRUPT BARGAIN~~

I have said that these things are taking place at Fisk University mainly through ignorance, mainly because the present workers of this institution do not realize what they are doing or why they should not do these things. But there is, I confess, one other reason, a reason so sinister and so unfortunate that I hesitate to mention it; [redacted] it is this: For a long time a powerful section

of the white South has offered to give its consent and countenance to the higher training of Negroes only on condition that the white South control and guide that education. And it is possible that for a million dollars the authorities of Fisk University have been asked either openly or by implication to sell to the white South the control of this institution. It is not the first time that a Corrupt Bargain of this kind has been attempted. Its earlier form at Hampton and Tuskegee included an understanding that these institutions were not to do college work and that they were to furnish servants for white people.[12] Sincere and long continued attempts were made to carry out this program and they failed. Hampton has become a college and is increasing its college curriculum. The graduates of Tuskegee are not servants for white people and never will be. They are entering college and the professions in larger and larger numbers. Now comes the suspicion of a similar attempt at Fisk. Pressure has been put upon Fisk graduates to go into Southern domestic service, that branch of human activity which is, as the world knows, the chief source of prostitution and the degradation of human independence. If any such bargain as I have outlined has been consciously or unconsciously, openly or secretly entered into by Fisk University, I would rather see every stone of its buildings leveled and every bit of its activity stopped before the Negro race consents.

22-41-67

Back, of course, of suggestions and bargains like this lies the doctrine of the inferiority of the Negro race, and I shall never believe that an institution once taught and guided by men like Cravath and Spence and Chase can ever for a moment take a stand which does not regard the black race as an equal of any other race on earth.

This brings me to the second of the two theses which I outlined, namely, that the alumni of Fisk University are and of right ought to be the ultimate source

of authority in the policy and government of this institution. The duty of rescuing Fisk rests upon us as graduates. It is a duty which we may not shirk and before which we cannot longer hesitate. I know the thing that leaps to the minds of all of us. We are aware that every great institution in this land is conducted in the last analysis by its alumni, but we echo in our own case the criticism that is so often flung at us, namely, that we have not supported this institution, that very little of this new million dollar endowment has come from us.

I resent this criticism. The students of Fisk University pay as large a proportion of their expenses as the students of Harvard or any other great Northern institutions. The money which their parents have given to Fisk University and to other public purposes forms a greater proportion of their income and a more costly amount of personal sacrifice than any money that any white group has given or ever will give to this institution. It is recognized the world over today that institutions of learning are the property of the community; that the community ought to support them and that the money given for that support, either given from the public treasury or from private sources, is not a dole to beggars but a debt to society. I resent, therefore, with every ounce of my energy the sneer that the graduates of Fisk University are beggars with no right to rule this institution simply because they are for the most part men who have struggled and toiled and done their duty for low wages and little incomes, amid mob law and prejudice:

"If blood be the price of admiralty, --
If blood be the price of admiralty, --
If blood be the price of admiralty,
Lord God, we have paid in full!"

Our duty is clear before us and our right to perform that duty. The steps that we should take include, first, Publicity. We must let the whole world know just what is happening at Fisk University. Secondly, Organization; instead of

22-41-68

the loose, ineffective Alumni Association, the alumni and friends of this institution must be firmly knit together to rescue Alma Mater. Thirdly, we must demand elective representation on the Board of Trustees, beginning with one or two members and gradually as the years go on increasing until in another generation we shall control the Board.

Finally, while we are taking these steps and as long as present conditions at Fisk University continue, we must actively support by our advice the boycott of this institution which has already begun. The student body at Fisk is beginning to dwindle, and the dwindling has begun with the men because the men have more economic independence than the girls. Livingston Hall houses today about one-half the number of men students which it should house. Other schools are graduating dozens of students who either began their work at Fisk University or would have been glad to go there if they could have expected the treatment of men and women. And unless that treatment is forthcoming we must not encourage colored students to go there.

22-41-9

I know just what this means to us of sacrifice. We love Fisk. We are its children. We believe eternally in its undying spirit; but we cannot sacrifice the ideals of the Negro race and the democracy of the world to our personal selfishness. The Negro race needs colleges. We need them today as never before; but we do not need colleges so much that we can sacrifice the manhood and womanhood of our children to the Thoughtlessness of the North or the Prejudice of the South. Ultimately Fisk will and must survive. The spirit of its great founders will renew itself, and it is that Spirit alone, reborn, which calls us tonight.

"Oh, be swift my soul, to answer Him, be jubilant my feet!
Our God is marching on!"

the loose, ineffective Alumni Association, the alumni and friends of this institution must be firmly knit together to rescue Alma Mater. Thirdly, we must demand elective representation on the Board of Trustees, beginning with one or two members and gradually as the years go on increasing until in another generation we shall control the Board.

Finally, while we are taking these steps and as long as present conditions at Fisk University continue, we must actively support by our advice the boycott of this institution which has already begun. The student body at Fisk is beginning to dwindle, and the dwindling has begun with the men because the men have more economic independence than the girls. Livingston Hall houses today about one-half the number of men students which it should house. Other schools are graduating dozens of students who either began their work at Fisk University or would have been glad to go there if they could have expected the treatment of men and women. And unless that treatment is forthcoming we must not encourage colored students to go there.

22-41-9

I know just what this means to us of sacrifice. We love Fisk. We are its children. We believe eternally in its undying spirit; but we cannot sacrifice the ideals of the Negro race and the democracy of the world to our personal selfishness. The Negro race needs colleges. We need them today as never before; but we do not need colleges so much that we can sacrifice the manhood and womanhood of our children to the Thoughtlessness of the North or the Prejudice of the South. Ultimately Fisk will and must survive. The spirit of its great founders will renew itself, and it is that Spirit alone, reborn, which calls us tonight.

"Oh, be swift my soul, to answer Him, be jubilant my feet!
Our God is marching on!"

ENVOY

The result of that speech was an upheaval. The students danced and celebrated in exuberant glee. My daughter even feared that she might be deprived of her degree. The leading colored citizen of Nashville threatened me with personal violence if I returned. The board of trustees was angry. The President of the university was outraged and many of the alumni thought I had done a cruel and unnecessary thing. One of them wrote me, "You may be right but you'll never succeed in ousting the President." Another, a woman, took the floor after my speech and raged for ~~15~~ fifteen minutes. I realized that the uplift which one gets in doing what seems to be an unquestioned duty, cannot altogether compensate for its cost in friendships, in motives impugned, in lives disturbed. I went away sorry for the little president. I had no personal animus against him, but he was angry and stubborn and determined to stick to his program and fight the battle to the bitter end. He would have no elective alumni representation upon the board of trustees. He insisted that unless we followed his program of yielding to the South, Fisk would not get the endowment which he had started to raise. I organized the New York Alumni and began to re-publish the suppressed Fisk Herald. I published my speech and a series of unanswerable documents with signed testimony. Paul Cravath, chairman of the board, stubbornly stood by McKenzie and ~~he~~ the president, encouraged, instead of loosening, tightened the already severe student discipline. A year later, the students, led by George Streator, openly rebelled, and the president capped the climax by sending a half dozen of them publicly to jail. This proved the last straw. The black city rose in protest and the trustees reluctantly sent Fayette McKenzie away.

22-41-20

1931

Between 1910 and 1931 many changes came. Booker Washington died in 1915. The Amenia Conference had cemented understanding between his followers and those of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Crisis circulated widely and my word was read and listened to. It occurred to George Crawford, trained at Tuskegee, graduated at Yale and trustee of Talladega and Howard, that this would be a fit time to crown the marriage of college and industrial education by having Howard University confer at once upon me and the President of Tuskegee an honorary degree. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard, gladly assented and so for a moment on the campus of Howard, above the capitol of the United States, I stood upon the mountains and looked down upon my life and the life of a thousand students and reviewed that controversy whose thread had so colored and patterned my educational thought. With the blue and white hood of Howard upon my shoulders I said:

22-41-71

Education and Work

Between the time that I was graduated from college and the day of my first experience at earning a living, there was arising in this land, and more especially within the Negro group, a controversy concerning the type of education which American Negroes needed. You, who are graduating today, have heard but echoes of this controversy and more or less vague theories of its meaning and its outcome. Perhaps it has been explained away to you and interpreted as mere misunderstanding and personal bias. If so, the day of calm review and inquiry is at hand. And I suppose that, of persons living, few can realize better than I just what that controversy meant and what the outcome is. I want then today in the short time allotted me, to state, as plainly as I may, the problem of college and industrial education for American Negroes, as it arose in the past; and then to restate it as it appears to me in its present aspect.

22-41-72

First of all, let me insist that the former controversy was no mere misunderstanding; there was real difference of opinion, rooted in deep sincerity on every side and fought out with a tenacity and depth of feeling due to its great importance and fateful meaning.

It was, in its larger aspects, a problem such as in all ages human beings of all races and nations have faced; but it was new in 1895 as all Time is new; it was concentered and made vivid and present because of the immediate and pressing question of the education of a vast group of the children of former slaves. It was the ever new and age-young problem of Youth, for there had arisen in the South a Joseph which knew not Pharaoh, -- a black man who was not born in slavery. What was he to become? Whither was his face set? How should he be trained and educated? His fathers were slaves, for the most part, ignorant and poverty-stricken; emancipated in the main without land, tools, nor capital, -- the sport of war, the despair of economists, the grave perplexity of Science. Their children had been born in the midst of controversy, of internecine hatred, and in all the economic dislocation that follows war and civil

war. In a peculiar way and under circumstances seldom duplicated, the whole program of popular education became epitomized in the case of these young black folk.

Before men thought or greatly cared, in the midst of the very blood and dust of battle, an educational system for the freedmen had been begun; and with a logic that seemed, at first, quite natural. The night school for adults had become the day school for children. The Negro day school had called for normal teaching and the small New England college had been transplanted and perched on hill and river in Raleigh and Atlanta, Nashville and New Orleans, and a half dozen other towns. This new Negro college was conceived of as the very foundation stone of Negro training. But, meantime, any formal education for slaves or the children of slaves not only awakened widespread and deep-seated doubt, fear and hostility in the South, but it posed, for statesmen and thinkers, the whole question as to what the education of Negroes was really aiming at, and indeed, what was the aim of educating any working class. If it was doubtful as to how far the social and economic classes of any modern state could be essentially transformed and changed by popular education, how much more tremendous was the problem of educating a race whose ability to assimilate modern training was in grave question and whose place in the nation and the world, even granted they could be educated, was a matter of baffling social philosophy? Was the nation making an effort to parallel white civilization in the South with a black civilization? Or was it trying to displace the dominant white master class with new black masters or was it seeking the difficult but surely more reasonable and practical effort of furnishing a trained set of free black laborers who might carry on in place of the violently disrupted slave system? Surely, most men said, this economic and industrial problem of the New South was the first -- the central, the insistent problem of the day.

There can be no doubt of the real dilemma that thus faced the nation, the Northern philanthropist and the black man. The argument for the New England college, which at first seemed to need no apology, grew and developed. The matter of man's earning a

living, said the college, is and must be important, but surely it can never be so important as the man himself. Thus the economic adaptation of the Negro to the South must in education be subordinated to the great necessity of teaching life and culture. The South, and more especially the Negro, needed and must have trained and educated leadership if civilization was to survive. More than most, here was land and people who needed to learn the meaning of life. They needed the preparation of gifted persons for the profession of teaching, and for other professions which would in time grow. The object of education was not to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men.

On the other hand, those practical men who looked at the South after the war said: this is an industrial and business age. We are on the threshold of an economic expansion such as the world never saw before. Whatever human civilization has been or may become, today it is industry. The South because of slavery has lagged behind the world. It must catch up. Its prime necessity after the hate and holocaust of war is a trained reliable laboring class. Assume if you will that Negroes are men with every human capacity, nevertheless, as a flat fact, no rising group of peasants can begin at the top. If poverty and starvation are to be warded off, the children of the freedmen must not be taught to despise the humble work, which the mass of the Negro race must for untold years pursue. The transition period between slavery and freedom is a dangerous and critical one. Fill the heads of these children with Latin and Greek and highfalutin' notions of rights and political power, and hell will be to pay.

On the other hand, in the South, here is land and fertile land, in vast quantities, to be had at nominal prices. Here are employers who must have skilled and faithful labor, and have it now. There is in the near future an industrial development coming which will bring the South abreast with the new economic development of the nation and the world. Freedom must accelerate this development which slavery so long retarded. Here then is no time for a philosophy of economic or class revolution and race hatred. There must be friendship and good will between employer and employee, between black and

22-41-24

white. They have common interests, and the matter of their future relations in politics and society, can well be left for the future generations and different times to solve. "Cast down your buckets where you are," cried Booker T. Washington; "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

What was needed, then, was that the Negro first should be made the intelligent laborer, the trained farmer, the skilled artisan of the South. Once he had accomplished this step in the economic world and the ladder was set for his climbing, his future would be assured, and assured on an economic foundation which would be immovable. All else in his development, if he proved himself capable of development, even to the highest, would inevitably follow. Let us have, therefore, not colleges but schools to teach the technique of industry and to make men learn by doing.

These were the opposing arguments. They were real arguments. They were set forth by earnest men, white and black, philanthropist and teacher, statesman and seer. The controversy waxed bitter. The disputants came to rival organizations, to severe social pressure, to anger and even to blows. Newspapers were aligned for and against; employment and promotion depended often on a Negro's attitude toward industrial education. The Negro race and their friends were split in twain by the intensity of their feeling and men were labelled and ear-marked by their allegiance to one school of thought or to the other.

~~PRESENT CONDITIONS~~

Today, all this is past; by the majority of the older of my hearers, it is practically forgotten. By the younger, it appears merely as a vague legend. Thirty-five years, a full generation and more, have elapsed. The increase in Negro education by all measurements has been a little less than marvelous. In 1895, there were not more than 1,000 Negro students of full college grade in the United States. Today, there are over 19,000 in college and nearly 150,000 in high schools. In 1895, 60% of American Negroes, ten years of age or over, were illiterate. Today, perhaps three-fourths can read and write. The increase of Negro students in industrial and

white. They have common interests, and the matter of their future relations in politics and society, can well be left for the future generations and different times to solve. "Cast down your buckets where you are," cried Booker T. Washington; "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

What was needed, then, was that the Negro first should be made the intelligent laborer, the trained farmer, the skilled artisan of the South. Once he had accomplished this step in the economic world and the ladder was set for his climbing, his future would be assured, and assured on an economic foundation which would be immovable. All else in his development, if he proved himself capable of development, even to the highest, would inevitably follow. Let us have, therefore, not colleges but schools to teach the technique of industry and to make men learn by doing.

These were the opposing arguments. They were real arguments. They were set forth by earnest men, white and black, philanthropist and teacher, statesman and seer. The controversy waxed bitter. The disputants came to rival organizations, to severe social pressure, to anger and even to blows. Newspapers were aligned for and against; employment and promotion depended often on a Negro's attitude toward industrial education. The Negro race and their friends were split in twain by the intensity of their feeling and men were labelled and ear-marked by their allegiance to one school of thought or to the other.

~~PRESENT CONDITIONS~~

Today, all this is past; by the majority of the older of my hearers, it is practically forgotten. By the younger, it appears merely as a vague legend. Thirty-five years, a full generation and more, have elapsed. The increase in Negro education by all measurements has been a little less than marvelous. In 1895, there were not more than 1,000 Negro students of full college grade in the United States. Today, there are over 19,000 in college and nearly 150,000 in high schools. In 1895, 60% of American Negroes, ten years of age or over, were illiterate. Today, perhaps three-fourths can read and write. The increase of Negro students in industrial and

land grant colleges has been equally large. The latter have over 16,000 students and the increasing support of the government of the states; while the great industrial schools, especially Hampton and Tuskegee, are the best endowed institutions for the education of black folk in the world.

~~WAS THE CONTROVERSY SETTLED?~~

What then has become of this controversy as to college and industrial education for Negroes? Has it been duly settled, and if it has, how has it been settled? Has it been transmuted into a new program, and if so, what is that program? In other words, what is the present norm of Negro education, represented at once by Howard University, Fisk and Atlanta on one hand, and by Hampton Institute, Tuskegee, and the land grant colleges on the other?

22-41-76

I answer once for all, the problem has not been settled. The questions raised in those days of controversy still stand in all their validity and all their pressing insistence on an answer. They have not been answered. They must be answered, and the men and women of this audience and like audiences throughout the land are the ones from whom the world demands final reply. Answers have been offered; and the present status of the problem has enormously changed, for human problems never stand still. But I must insist that the fundamental problem is still here.

Let us see. The Negro college has done a great work. It has given us leadership and intelligent leadership. Doubtless, without these colleges the American Negro would scarcely have attained his present position. The chief thing that distinguishes the American Negro group from the Negro groups in the West Indies, and in South America, and the mother group in Africa, is the number of men that we have trained in modern education, able to cope with the white world on its own ground and in its own thought, method and language.

On the other hand, there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the Negro college, its teachers, students and graduates, have not yet comprehended the age in which they live: the tremendous organization of industry, commerce, capital, and credit which

today forms a super-organization dominating and ruling the universe, subordinating to its ends government, democracy, religion, education and social philosophy; and for the purpose of forcing into the places of power in this organization American black men either to guide or help reform it, either to increase its efficiency or make it a machine to improve our well-being, rather than the merciless mechanism which enslaves us; for this the Negro college has today neither program nor intelligent comprehension.

On the contrary there is no doubt but that college and university training among us has had largely the exact effect that was predicted; it has turned an increasing number of our people not simply away from manual labor and industry, not simply away from business and economic reform, into a few well-paid professions, but it has turned our attention from any disposition to study or solve our economic problem. A disproportionate number of our college-trained students are crowding into teaching and medicine and beginning to swarm into other professions and to form at the threshold of these better-paid jobs, a white-collar proletariat, depending for their support on an economic foundation which does not yet exist.

Moreover, and perhaps for this very reason, the ideals of colored college-bred men have not in the last thirty years been raised an iota. Rather in the main, they have been lowered. The average Negro undergraduate has swallowed hook, line and sinker, the dead bait of the white undergraduate, who, born in an industrial machine, does not have to think, and does not think. Our college man today is, on the average, a man untouched by real culture. He deliberately surrenders to selfish and even silly ideals, swarming into semi-professional athletics and Greek letter societies, and affecting to despise scholarship and the hard grind of study and research. The greatest meetings of the Negro college year like those of the white college year have become vulgar exhibitions of liquor, extravagance, and fur coats. We have in our colleges a growing mass of stupidity and indifference.

I am not counselling perfection; as desperately human groups, we must expect our share of mediocrity. But as hitherto a thick and thin defender of the college, it seems to me that we are getting into our Negro colleges considerably more than our share of plain fools.

Acquiring as we do in college no guidance to a broad economic comprehension and a sure industrial foundation, and simultaneously a tendency to live beyond our means, and spend for show, we are graduating young men and women with an intense and overwhelming appetite for wealth and no reasonable way of gratifying it, no philosophy for counteracting it.

Trained more and more to enjoy sexual freedom as undergraduates, we refuse opportunities to graduates to found and support even moderate families, because we cannot afford them; and we are beginning to sneer at group organization and race leadership as mere futile gestures.

Why is this? What is wrong with our colleges? The method of the modern college has been proven by a hundred centuries of human experience: the imparting of knowledge by the old to the young; the instilling of the conclusions of experience, "line upon line, and precept upon precept." But, of course, with this general and theoretical method must go a definite and detailed object suited to the present age, the present group, the present set of problems. It is not then in its method but in its practical objects that the Negro college has failed. It is handing on knowledge and experience but what knowledge and for what end? Are we to stick to the old habit of wasting time on Latin, Greek, Hebrew and eschatology, or are we to remember that, after all, the object of the Negro college is to place in American life a trained black man who can do what the world today wants done; who can help the world know what it ought to want done and thus by doing the world's work well may invent better work for a better world? This brings us right back to the object of the industrial school.

~~WHAT THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL HAS DONE~~

Negro industrial training in the United States has accomplishments of which it has a right to be proud; but it too has not solved its problem. Its main accomplishment has been an indirect matter of psychology. It has helped bridge the transition period between Negro slavery and freedom. It has taught thousands of white people in the South to accept Negro education, not simply as a necessary evil, but as a possible social good. It has brought state support to a dozen higher institutions of learning,

and to some extent, to a system of public schools. On the other hand, it has tempered and rationalized the inner emancipation of American Negroes. It made the Negro patient when impatience would have killed him. If it has not made working with the hands popular, it has at least removed from it much of the stigma of social degradation. It has made many Negroes seek the friendship of their white fellow citizens, even at the cost of insult and caste. And thus through a wide strip of our country it has brought peace and not a sword.

22-41-27

But this has all been its indirect by-product, rather than its direct teaching. In its direct teaching, the kind of success which it has achieved differs from the success of the college. In the case of the industrial school, the practical object was absolutely right and still is right: that is, the desire of placing in American life a trained black man who could earn a decent living and make that living the foundation stone of his own culture and of the civilization of his group. This was the avowed object of the industrial school. How much has it done toward this? It has established some skilled farmers and among the mass some better farming methods. It has trained and placed some skilled artisans; it has given great impetus to the domestic arts and household economy; it has encouraged Negro business enterprise. And yet we have but to remember these matters to make it patent to all that the results have been pitifully small compared with the need. Our Negro farm population is decreasing; our Negro artisans are not gaining proportionately in industry and Negro business faces today a baffling crisis. Our success in household arts is due not to our effective teaching so much as to the mediaeval minds of our women who have not yet entered the machine age. Most of them seem still to think that washing clothes, scrubbing steps and paring potatoes were among the Ten Commandments.

Why now has the industrial school with all its partial success, failed absolutely in its main object when that object of training Negroes for remunerative occupation is more imperative today than thirty-five years ago?

The reason is clear: if the college has failed because with the right general method it has lacked definite objects appropriate to the age and race; the industrial

school has failed because with a definite object it lacked appropriate method to gain it. In other words, the lack of success of the industrial education of Negroes has come not because of the absence of desperate and devoted effort, but because of changes in the world which the industrial school did not foresee, and which, even if it had foreseen, it could not have prevented, and to which it had not the ability to adapt itself.

22-41-80

It is easy to illustrate this. The industrial school assumed that the technique of industry in 1895, even if not absolutely fixed and permanent, was at least permanent enough for training children into its pursuit and for use as a basis of broader education. Therefore, school work for farming, carpentry, bricklaying, plastering and painting, metal work and blacksmithing, shoemaking, sewing and cooking was introduced and taught. But, meantime, what has happened to these vocations and trades? Machines and new industrial organizations have remade the economic world and ousted these trades either from their old technique or their economic significance. The planing mill does today much of the work of the carpenter and the carpenter is being reduced rapidly to the plane of a mere laborer. The building trades are undergoing all kinds of reconstruction, from the machine-made steel skyscraper, to the cement house cast in molds and the mass-made mail-order bungalow. Painting and masonry still survive, but the machine is after them; while printing and sewing are done by elaborate machines. Metal is being shaped by stamping mills. Nothing of shoemaking is left for the hands save mending, and in most cases, it is cheaper to buy a new shoe than to have an old one cobbled.[1] When it comes to the farm, a world-wide combination of circumstances is driving the farmer to the wall. Expensive machinery demands increasingly larger capital; excessive taxation of growing land values is eliminating the small owner; monopolized and manipulated markets and carriers make profits of the individual farmer small or nil; and the foreign competition of farms worked by serfs at starvation wages and backed by world-wide aggregations of capital -- all this is driving farmers, black and white, from the soil and making the problem of their future existence one of the great problems of the modern world.

The industrial school, therefore, found itself in the peculiar position of teaching a technique of industry in certain lines just at the time when that technique was changing into something different, and when the new technique was a matter which the Negro school could not teach. In fact, with the costly machine, with mass production and organized distribution, the teaching of technique becomes increasingly difficult. Any person of average intelligence can take part in the making of a modern automobile, and he is paid, not for his technical training, but for his endurance and steady application.

22-7-01

There were many lines of factory work, like the spinning and weaving of cotton and wool, which the Negro could have successfully been set to learning, but they involved vast expenditures of capital which no school could control, and organized business at that time decreed that only white folk could work in factories. And that decree still stands. New branches of industry, new technique are continually opening -- like automobile repairing, electrical installations, and engineering -- but these call for changing curricula and adjustments puzzling for a school and a set course of study.

In the attempt to put the Negro into business, so that from the inner seats of power by means of capital and credit he could control industry, we have fallen between two stools, this work being apparently neither the program of the college nor of the industrial school. The college treated it with the most approved academic detachment, while the industrial school fatuously assumed as permanent a business organization which began to change with the Nineteenth Century, and bids fair to disappear with the Twentieth. In 1895 we were preaching individual thrift and saving; the small retail store and the partnership for business and the conduct of industry. Today, we are faced by great aggregations of capital and world-wide credit, which monopolize raw material, carriage and manufacture, distribute their products through cartels, mergers and chain stores, and are in process of eliminating the individual trader, the small manufacturer, and the little job. In this new organization of business the colored man meets two difficulties: first, he is not trained to take part in it; and, secondly, if he gets training, he finds it almost impossible to gain a foothold.

Schools cannot teach as an art and trade that which is a philosophy, a government of men, an organization of civilization. They can impart a mass of knowledge about it, but this is the duty of the college of liberal arts and not the shop work of the trade school.

Thus the industrial school increasingly faces a blank wall and its astonishing answer today to the puzzle is slowly but surely to transform the industrial school into a college. The most revolutionary development in Negro education for a quarter-century is illustrated by the fact that Hampton today is one of the largest of Negro colleges and that her trade teaching seems bound to disappear within a few years. Tuskegee is a high school and college, with an unsolved program of the future of its trade schools. And the land grant colleges, built to foster agriculture and industry, are becoming just like other colleges. And all this, as I said, is not the fault of the industrial school, it comes from this tremendous transformation of business, capital and industry in the Twentieth Century, which few men clearly foresaw and which only a minority of men or of teachers of men today fully comprehend.

28-14-22

~~THE LABOR MOVEMENT~~

In one respect, however, the Negro industrial school was seriously at fault. It set its face toward the employer and the capitalist and the man of wealth. It looked upon the worker as one to be adapted to the demands of those who conducted industry. Both in its general program and in its classroom, it neglected almost entirely the modern labor movement. It had little or nothing to teach concerning the rise of trade unions; their present condition, and their future development. It had no conception of any future democracy in industry. That is, the very vehicle which was to train Negroes for modern industry neglected in its teaching the most important part of modern industrial development: namely, the relation of the worker to modern industry and to the modern state.

The reason for this neglect is clear. The Negro industrial school was the gift of capital and wealth. Organized labor was long the enemy of the black man in skilled industry. Organized labor in the United States was and to some extent still is the chief obstacle to keep

black folk from earning a living by its determined policy of excluding them from unions just as long as possible and compelling them to become "scabs" in order to live. The political power of Southern white labor disfranchised Negroes, and helped build a caste system. How was the Negro industrial school easily to recognize, in this Devil of its present degradation, the Angel of its future enlightenment? How natural it was to look to white Capital and not to Labor for the emancipation of the black world -- how natural and yet how insanely futile!

22-17-83

~~THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM~~

Here then are the successes and the failures of both Negro college and industrial school and we can clearly see that the problem still stands unsolved: How are we going to place the black American on a sure foundation in the modern state? The modern state is primarily business and industry. Its industrial problems must be settled before its cultural problems can really and successfully be attacked. The world must eat before it can think. The Negro has not found a solid foundation in that state as yet. He is mainly the unskilled laborer; the casual employee; the man hired last and fired first; the man who must subsist upon the lowest wage and consequently share an undue burden of poverty, crime, insanity, and ignorance. The only alleviation of his economic position has come from what little the industrial school could teach during the revolution of technique and from what the college took up as part of its mission in vocational training for professions.

For the college had to become a trainer of men for vocations. This is as true of the white college as of the colored college. They both tended to change their college curricula into pre-vocational preparation for a professional career. But the effort of the Negro college here was half-hearted. There persisted the feeling that the college had finished its work when it placed a man of culture in the world, despite the fact that our graduates who are men of culture are exceptional, and if placed in the world without ability to earn a living, what little culture they have does not long survive.

Thus, at the end of the first third of the Twentieth Century, while both college and industrial school can point to something accomplished, neither has reached its main objective, and they are in process of uniting to become one stream of Negro education with their great problem of object and method unsolved. The industrial school has done but little to impart the higher technique of the industrial process or of the business organization and it has done almost nothing toward putting the Negro working man in touch with the great labor movement of the white world.

22-41-84

On the other hand, the Negro college has not succeeded in establishing that great and guiding ideal of group development and leadership, within a dominating and expanding culture, or in establishing the cultural life as the leading motif of the educated Negro. Its vocational work has been confined to the so-called learned professions, with only a scant beginning of the imparting of the higher technique of industry and science.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The result which I have outlined is not wholly unexpected. Perhaps we can now say that it was impossible fully to avoid this situation. We have a right to congratulate ourselves that we have come to a place of such stability and such intelligence as now to be ready to grapple with our economic problem. The fact of the matter is, we have up to this time been swept on and into the great maelstrom of the white civilization surrounding us. We have been inevitably made part of that vast modern organization of life where social and political control rests in the hands of those few white folk who control wealth, determine credit and divide income. We are in a system of culture where disparity of income is such that respect for labor as labor cannot endure; where the emphasis and outlook is not what a man does but what he is able to get for doing it; where wealth despises work and the object of wealth is to escape work, and where the ideal is power without toil.

So long as a lawyer can look forward to an income of $100,000 a year while a maid servant is well-paid with $1,000, just so long the lawyer is going to be one hundred times more respectable than the servant and the servant is going to be called

by her first name. So long as the determination of a person's income is not only beyond democratic control and public knowledge, but is a matter of autocratic power and secret manipulation, just so long the application of logic and ethics to wealth, industry and income is going to be a difficult if not insoluble problem.

In the modern world only one country is making a frontal attack upon this problem and that is Russia. Other countries are visualizing it and considering it, making some tentative and half-hearted effort but they have not yet attacked the system as a whole, and for the most part they declare the present system inevitable and eternal and incapable of more than minor and stinted improvement.

In the midst of such a world organization we come looking for economic stability and independence. Of course, our situation is baffling and contradictory. And it is made all the more difficult for us because we are by blood and descent and popular opinion an integral part of that vast majority of mankind which is the Victim and not the Beneficiary of present conditions; which is today working at starvation wages and on a level of brute toil and without voice in its own government or education in its ignorance, for the benefit, the enormous profit, and the dazzling luxury of the white world.

Here lies the problem and it is the problem of the combined Negro college and vocational school. Without the intellectual leadership of college-bred men, we could not hitherto have held our own in modern American civilization, but must have sunk to the place of the helpless proletariat of the West Indies and of South Africa. But, on the other hand, for what has the college saved us? It has saved us for that very economic defeat which the industrial school was established to ward off and which still stands demanding solution. The industrial school acted as bridge and buffer to lead us out of the bitterness of Reconstruction to the toleration of today. But it did not place our feet upon the sound economic foundation which makes our survival in America or in the modern world certain or probable; and the reason that it did not do this was as much the fault of the college as of the trade school. The industrial school

without the college was as helpless yesterday as the college is today helpless without systematic training for modern industry.

Both college and industrial school have made extraordinary and complementary mistakes in their teaching force: the industrial school secured usually as teacher a man of affairs and technical knowledge, without culture or general knowledge. The college took too often as teacher a man of books and brains with no contact with or first-hand knowledge of real every-day life and ordinary human beings, and this was true whether he taught sociology, literature, or science. Both types of teacher failed.

22-41-86

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

What then is the unescapable task of the united college and vocational school? It is without shadow of doubt a new, broad and widely efficient vocational guidance and education for men and women of ability, selected by the most careful tests and supported by a broad system of free scholarships. Our educational institutions must graduate to the world men fitted to take their place in real life by their knowledge, spirit, and ability to do what the world wants done. This vocational guidance must have for its object the training of men who can think clearly and function normally as physical beings; who have a knowledge of what human life on earth has been, and what it is now; and a knowledge of the constitution of the known universe. All that, and in addition to that, a training which will enable them to take some definite and intelligent part in the production of goods and in the furnishing of human services and in the democratic distribution of income so as to build civilization, encourage initiative, reward effort and support life. Just as the Negro college course with vision, knowledge and ideal must move toward vocational training, so the industrial courses must ascend from mere hand technique to engineering and industrial planning and the application of scientific and technical knowledge to problems of work and wage.

This higher training and vocational guidance must turn out young men and women who are willing not only to do the work of the world today but to provide for the

future world. Here then is the job before us. It is in a sense the same kind of duty that lies before the educated white man, but it has an essential and important difference. If we make a place for ourselves in the industrial and business world today, this will be done because of our ability to establish a self-supporting organization sufficiently independent of the white organization to insure its stability and our economic survival and eventual incorporation into world industry. Ours is the double and dynamic function of tuning in with a machine in action so as neither to wreck the machine nor be crushed or maimed by it. Many think this is impossible. But if it is impossible, our future economic survival is impossible.

78-14-22

Let there be no misunderstanding about this, no easy going optimism. We are not going to share modern civilization just by deserving recognition. We are going to force ourselves in by organized far-seeing effort -- by out-thinking and out-flanking the owners of the world today who are too drunk with their own arrogance and power successfully to oppose us, if we think and learn and do.

It is not the province of this paper to tell in detail just how this problem will be settled. Indeed, I could not tell you if I would. I merely stress the problem and emphasize the possibility of the solution. A generation ago, those who doubted our survival said that no alien and separate nation could hope to survive within another nation; that we must be absorbed or perish. Times have changed. Today it is rapidly becoming true that only within some great and all inclusive empire or league, can separate nations and groups find freedom and protection and economic scope for development. The small separate nation is becoming increasingly impossible and the League of Nations as well as Briand's proposed League of Europe shout this from the housetops. And just as loudly, the inevitable disintegration of the British Empire shows the impossibility of world embracing centralized autocracy. This means that the possibility of our development and survival is clear, but clear only as brains and devotion and skilled knowledge point the way.

TEACHERS

We need then, first, training as human beings in general knowledge and experience; then technical training to guide and do a specific part of the world's work. The broader training should be the heritage and due of all but today it is curtailed by poverty. The technical training of men must be directed by vocational guidance which finds fitness and ability. Then actual and detailed technical training will be done by a combination of school, laboratory and apprenticeship, according to the nature of the work and the changing technique.

22-41-88

The teachers of such a stream of students must be of a high order. College teachers cannot follow the mediaeval tradition of detached withdrawal from the world. The professor of mathematics in a college has to be more than a counting machine, or proctor of examinations; he must be a living man, acquainted with real human beings, and alive to the relation of his branch of knowledge to the technical problem of living and earning a living. The teacher in a Negro college has got to be something far more than a master of a branch of human knowledge. He has got to be able to impart his knowledge to human beings whose place in the world is today precarious and critical; and the possibilities and advancement of that human being in the world where he is to live and earn a living is of just as much importance in the teaching process as the content of the knowledge taught.

The man who teaches blacksmithing must be more than a blacksmith. He must be a man of education and culture, acquainted with the whole present technique and business organization of the modern world, and acquainted too with human beings and their possibilities. Such a man is difficult to procure. Because industrial schools did not have in the past such teachers for their classes and could not get them, their whole program suffered unmerited criticism. The teachers, then, cannot be pedants or dilettantes; they cannot be mere technicians and higher artisans; they have got to be social statesmen and statesmen of high order. The student body of such schools has got to be selected for something more than numbers. We must eliminate those who are here because their parents wish to be rid of them, or for the social prestige, or

for passing the time, or for getting as quickly as possible into a position to make money to throw away; and we must concentrate upon young men and women of ability and vision and will.

Today there is but one rivalry between culture and vocation, college training and trade and professional training, and that is the rivalry of Time. Some day every human being will have college training. Today some must stop with the grades, and some with high school, and only a few reach college. It is of the utmost importance, then, and the essential condition of our survival and advance that those chosen for college be our best and not simply our richest or most idle.

But even this growth must be led; it must be guided by Ideals. We have lost something, brothers, wandering in strange lands. We have lost our ideals. We have come to a generation which seeks advance without ideals -- discovery without stars. It cannot be done. Certain great landmarks and guiding facts must stand eternally before us; and at the risk of moralizing, I must end by emphasizing this matter of the ideals of Negro students and graduates.

The ideal of Poverty. This is the direct antithesis of the present American ideal of Wealth. We cannot all be wealthy. We should not all be wealthy. In an ideal industrial organization, no person should have an income which he does not personally need; nor wield a power solely for his own whim. If civilization is to turn out millionaires, it will also turn out beggars and prostitutes, either at home or among the lesser breeds without the law. A simple healthy life on limited income is the only reasonable ideal of civilized folk.

The ideal of Work -- not idleness, not dawdling, but hard continuous effort at something worth doing, by a man supremely interested in doing it, who knows how it ought to be done and is willing to take infinite pains doing it.

The ideal of Knowledge -- not guess work, not mere careless theory; not inherited religious dogma clung to because of fear and inertia and in spite of logic, but critically tested and laboriously gathered fact martialed under scientific law and feeding

rather than choking the glorious world of fancy and imagination, of poetry and art, of beauty and deep culture.

Finally and especially, the ideal of Sacrifice. I almost hesitate to mention this -- so much sentimental twaddle has been written of it. When I say sacrifice, I mean sacrifice. I mean a real and definite surrender of personal ease and satisfaction. I embellish it with no theological fairy tales of a rewarding God or a milk and honey heaven. I am not trying to scare you into the duty of sacrifice by the fires of a mythical Hell. I am repeating the stark fact of survival of life and culture on this earth:

22-41-90

"Entbehren sollst du -- sollst entbehren."

Thou shalt forego, shalt do without.

The insistent problem of human happiness is still with us. We American Negroes are not a happy people. We feel perhaps as never before the sting and bitterness of our struggle. Our little victories won here and there serve but to reveal the shame of our continuing semi-slavery and social caste. We are torn asunder within our own group because of the rasping pressure of the struggle without. We are as a race not simply dissatisfied, we are embodied Dissatisfaction.

To increase abiding satisfaction for the mass of our people, and for all people, someone must sacrifice something of his own happiness. This is a duty only to those who recognize it as a duty. The larger the number ready to sacrifice, the smaller the total sacrifice necessary. No man of education and culture and training, who proposes to face his problem and solve it, can hope for entire happiness. It is silly to tell intelligent human beings: Be good and you will be happy. The truth is today, be good, be decent, be honorable and self-sacrificing and you will not always be happy. You will often be desperately unhappy. You may even be crucified, dead and buried; and the third day you will be just as dead as the first. But with the death of your happiness may easily come increased happiness and satisfaction and fulfillment for other people -- strangers, unborn babes, uncreated worlds. If this is not sufficient incentive, never try it -- remain hogs.

The present census will show that the American Negro of the educated class and even of the middle industrial class is reproducing himself at an even slower rate than the corresponding classes of whites. To raise a small family today is a sacrifice. It is not romance and adventure. It is giving up something of life and pleasure for a future generation.

If, therefore, real sacrifice for others in your life work appeals to you, here it is. Here is the chance to build an industrial organization on a basis of logic and ethics, such as is almost wholly lacking in the modern world. It is a tremendous task, and it is the task equally and at once of Howard and Tuskegee, of Hampton and Fisk, of the college and of the industrial school. Our real schools must become centers of this vast Crusade. With the faculty and the student body girding themselves for this new and greater education, the major part of the responsibility will still fall upon those who have already done their school work; and that means upon the alumni who, like you, have become graduates of an institution of learning. Unless the vision comes to you and comes quickly, of the educational and economic problem before the American Negro, that problem will not be solved. You not only enter, therefore, today the worshipful company of that vast body of men upon whom a great center of learning, with ancient ceremony and colorful trappings, has put the accolade of intellectual knighthood; but men who have become the unselfish thinkers and planners of a group of people in whose hands lies the economic and social destiny of the darker peoples of the world, and by that token of the world itself.

22-41-91

Finally, no one may fail to stress before any audience, or on any occasion and on any errand bent, the overshadowing and all-inclusive ideal of Beauty -- "fair face of Beauty, all too fair to see" -- fitness, rhythm, perfection of adaptation of ends to means. It is hard to mention this intelligently without maudlin sentiment and clouded words. May I speak then in parable?

Last night I saw the Zeppelin sailing in silver across the new moon. Brilliant, enormous, lovely, it symbolized the civilization over which it hung. It rode serene

above miles of Death; like a needle it threaded together clouds and seas, stars and continents. Within its womb were caged eternal and palpitating forces of the universe, and yet without quiver it faced the utter ends of space. Across the city, mute, dominant, magnificent, imponderable -- it flew.

And what it did, men and women of Howard, you may do -- you must do or die. The Zeppelin is neither miracle nor stroke of genius. It is unremittent toil and experiment and thought and infinite adaptation in the face of every discouragement and failure, in the face of death itself.

22-41-92

I thought, as I saw it flying there, of an angel flying low -- an angel of steel and silk, ~~and~~ with of grim and awful human aim. I remembered the word of our own poet, great, but little known:

I thought I saw an angel flying low,
I thought I saw the flicker of a wing
Above the mulberry trees; but not again.
Bethesda sleeps. . .

There was a day, I remember now,
I beat my breast and cried, "Wash me God,
Wash me with a wave of wind upon
The barley; O quiet One, draw near, draw near!
Walk upon the hills with lovely feet
And in the waterfall stand and speak. . . ."

22-1-93

ENVOY

The reception of this speech was kindly. I think it helped. But the speech lacked something. It was strong in exposition and criticism, but weak and vague in remedy. I was at this time in my social thought entering a wider and broader ocean, and I did not yet see clearly whither I was sailing. For that illumination I have yet to wait. Perhaps my audience sensed this.

1933

At Fisk University a new president had come to power. The General Education Board had promised sorely needed money. A new regime and a new spirit were being built up. I myself had turned back to the academic world and taken up again the teaching of sociology at the rebuilt Atlanta University. It seemed, therefore, [appropriate] on the occasion of my forty-fifth anniversary of graduation to utter a word of guidance. I think the authorities of Fisk would have preferred my silence. I had been in the past rather prodigal with advice, and the results had been almost disastrous. President Jones exhibited a little nervousness as he extended the invitation; but I explained to him frankly that I had no desire to prolong my hectic career of Fisk king-maker. I was satisfied , in the main, with his administration, but I wanted to guide in general the Negro college. I sensed a natural difficulty. When the Southern Negro college changed from a missionary school to a secular college, there was a tendency continually to say: this college is not a Negro college; it is a college; we are not teaching Negro science or Negro art; we are teaching Art and Science. To this I wanted to oppose a word of warning. I wanted to say in all kindliness and cooperation: you are and should and must remain a Negro college; but that involves no low ideals.

THE FIELD AND FUNCTION OF THE NEGRO COLLEGE

AFRICA

Once upon a time some four thousand miles east of this place, I saw the functioning of a perfect system of education. It was in West Africa, beside a broad river; and beneath the palms, bronze girls were dancing before the President of Liberia and the native chiefs, to celebrate the end of the Bush Retreat and their arrival at marriageable age.

22-VI-45

There under the Yorubas and other Sudanese and Bantu tribes, the education of the child began almost before it could walk. It went about with mother and father in their daily tasks; it learned the art of sowing and reaping and hunting; it absorbed the wisdom and folk lore of the tribe; it knew the lay of land and river. Then at the age of puberty it went into the Bush and there for a season the boys were taught the secrets of sex and the girls in another school learned of motherhood and marriage. They came out of the Bush with a ceremony of graduation, and immediately were given and taken in marriage.

Even after that, their education went on. They sat in council with their elders and learned the history and science and art of the tribe, and practiced all in their daily life. Thus education was completely integrated with life. There could be no uneducated people. There could be no education that was not at once for use in earning a living and for use in living a life. Out of this education and out of the life it typified came, as perfect expressions, song and dance and saga, ethics and religion.

Nothing more perfect has been invented than this system of training youth among primitive African tribes. And one sees it in the beautiful courtesy of black children; in the modesty and frankness of womanhood, and in the dignity and courage of manhood; and too, in African music and art with its world-wide influence.

CHANGING CULTURE

If a group has a stable culture which moves, if we could so conceive it, on one general level, here would be the ideal of our school and university. But, of course, this can never be achieved by human beings on any wide stage.

First and most disconcerting, men progress, which means that they change their home, their work, their division of wealth, their philosophy. And how shall men teach children that which they themselves do not know, or transmit a philosophy or religion that is already partly disbelieved and partly untrue? This is a primal and baffling problem of education and we have never wholly solved it. Or in other words, education of youth in a changing world is a puzzling problem with every temptation for lying and propaganda. But this is but the beginning of trouble. Within the group and nation significant differentiations and dislocations appear, so that education of youth becomes a preparation not for one common national life but for the life of a particular class or group; and yet the tendency is to regard as real national education only the training for this group which assumes to represent the nation because of its power and privilege, and despite the fact that it is usually a small numerical minority in the nation. Manifestly in such case if a member of one of the suppressed groups receives the national education in such a land, he must become a member of the privileged aristocracy or be educated for a life which he cannot follow and be compelled to live a life which he does not like or which he deeply despises.

22-41-96

This is the problem of education with which the world is most familiar, and it tends to two ends: it makes the mass of men dissatisfied with life and it makes the university a system of culture for the cultured.

THE UNIVERSITY CULTURE

With this kind of university, we are most familiar. It reached in our day perhaps its greatest development in England in the Victorian era. Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge, were for the education of gentlemen -- those people who inherited wealth and who by contact and early training acquired a body of manners and a knowledge of

life and even an accent of English which placed them among the well-bred; these were taken up and further trained for the particular sort of life which they were to live; a life which pre-supposed a large income, travel, cultivated society; and activity in politics, art, and imperial industry.

This type of university training has deeply impressed the world. It is foundation for a tenacious legend preserved in fiction, poetry, and essay. There are still many people who quite instinctively turn to this sort of thing when they speak of a university. And out of this ideal arose one even more exotic and apart. Instead of the university growing down and seeking to comprehend in its curriculum the life and experience, the thought and expression of lower classes; it almost invariably tended to grow up and narrow itself to a sublimated élite of mankind.

22-41-47

It conceived of culture, exquisite and fragile, as a thing in itself, disembodied from flesh and action; and this culture as existing for its own sake. It was a sort of earthly heaven into which the elect of wealth and privilege and courtly address, with a few chance neophytes from the common run of men, entered and lived in a region above and apart. One gets from this that ideal of cloistered ease for Science and Beauty, partaken of by those who sit far from the noise and fury, clamor and dust of the world, as the world's aristocrats, artists and scholars.

And yet, the argument against such an ideal of a university is more an argument of fact than logic. For just as soon as such a system of training is established or as men seek to establish it, it dies. It does like a plant without root, withering into fantastic forms, that bring ridicule or hate. Or it becomes so completely disassociated with the main currents of real life that men forget it and the world passes on as though it was not, and had not been. Thus the university cut off from its natural roots and from the mass of men becomes a university of the air and does not establish and does not hold the ideal of universal culture which it sought, in its earlier days, to make its great guiding end.

THE ROOTS OF CULTURE

How is it now that failure to reach this often, if not always, kills the university? The reasons to me seem clear. Human culture in its broadest and finest sense can never be wholly the product of the few. There is no natural aristocracy of man, either within a nation or among the races of the world, which unless fed copiously from without can build up and maintain and diversify a broad human culture. A system, therefore, of national education which tries to confine its benefits to preparing the few for the life of the few, dies of starvation. And this every aristocracy which the world has ever seen can prove a thousand times. There are two ways in which this can be remedied: the aristocracy may be recruited from the masses, still leaving the aim of education as the preparation of men for the life of this privileged class. This has been the desperate effort of England and in this way English aristocracy has kept its privilege and its wealth more successfully than any modern or ancient land. But even here the method fails because the life of the English aristocrat is after all not the broadest and fullest life.

22-41-98

It is only, therefore, as the university lives up to its name and reaches down to the mass of universal men and makes the life of normal men the object of its training,— it is only in this way that the marvelous talent and diversity and emotion of all mankind pours up through this method of human training and establishes a national culture and a national art. Herein lies the eternal logic of democracy.

Thus in the progress of human culture you have not simply a development that produces different classes of men, because classes may harmonize more or less and above the peasant, the artisan and the merchant, may exist a leisured aristocracy and on this leisured class a class culture may be built, which may flourish long and wide. But the difficulty goes further than the narrowness and ultimate sterility of this plan. Dislocations come within these classes. Their relations to each other may change and break and the foundations upon which the cultured class has been built, may crumble. In this case your system of human training becomes not only a system for

the supposed benefit of the privileged few, but cannot, indeed, carry out its function even for them. Its system of learning does not fit the mass of men nor the relations of its constituents to that mass.

One can see examples of this the world over. In Kenya, which used to be German East Africa, there are millions of black natives and a few thousand white Englishmen who have seized and monopolized the best land, leaving the natives scarcely enough poor land for subsistence. By physical slavery, economic compulsion or legal sanction, the natives work the land of the whites.

What kind of education will suit Kenya? The minority of landed aristocracy will be taught by tutors in Africa and then go the the great English schools and universities. The middle class of immigrant Indian merchants will learn to read and write and count at home or in elementary schools. The great mass of the black millions will be taught something of the art of agriculture, something of the work of artisans, perhaps some ability to read and write, although whether this should be in English or merely in the native tongue is a question. But on this foundation there can grow in Kenya no national university of education, because there are no national ideals. No culture, either African or European, can be built on any such economic foundation.

22-41-99

Thus the university, if it is to be firm, must hark back to the original ideal of the Bush school. It must train the children of a nation for life and for making a living. And if it does that, and insofar as it does it, it becomes the perfect expression of the life and the center of the intellectual and cultural expression of its age.

~~FISK, 1885~~

I have seen in my life three expressions of such an ideal; all of them imperfect, all of them partial, and yet each tending toward a broad and singularly beautiful expression of universal education. My first sight of it was here at Fisk University in the fall of 1885 when I arrived as a boy of seventeen. The buildings were few, the cost of tuition, board, room and clothes was less than $200 a year; and the college numbered less than twenty-five. And yet the scheme of education as it existed

in our minds, in the class room, in the teaching of professors, in the attitude of students, was a thing of breadth and enthusiasm with an unusual unity of aim. We were a small group of young men and women who were going to transform the world by giving proof of our own ability, by teaching our less fortunate fellows so that they could follow the same path, by proclaiming to the world our belief in American democracy, and the place which Negroes would surely take in it. In none of these propositions did there exist in our minds any hesitation or doubt. There was no question as to employment and perfectly proper employment for graduates, for the ends which we had in view. There was no question of our remaining in school for no good or earnest student ever left.

22-41-100

Above all, to our unblinking gaze, the gates of the World would open -- were opening. We never for a moment contemplated the possibility that seven millions of Americans who proved their physical and mental worth could be excluded from the national democracy of a common American culture. We came already bringing gifts. The song we sang was fresh from the lips that threw it round the world. We saw and heard the voices that charmed an emperor and a queen. We believed in the supreme power of the ballot in the hands of the masses to transform the world. Already the North was breaking the Color Line and for the South we were willing to wait.

~~HARVARD, 1888~~

I saw the same thing a few years later in Harvard University at the end of the Nineteenth Century. Harvard had broadened its earlier ideals. It was no longer simply a place where rich and learned New England gave the accolade to the social elite. It had broken its shell and stretched out to the West and to the South, to yellow students and to black. I had for the mere asking been granted a fellowship of $300 -- a sum so vast to my experience that I was surprised when it did not pay my first year's expenses. Men sought to make Harvard an expression of the United States, and to do this by means of leaders unshackled in thought and custom who were beating back bars of ignorance and particularism and prejudice. There were William James and Josiah Royce; Nathaniel

Shaler and Charles Eliot Norton; George Santayana; Albert Bushnell Hart, and President Eliot himself. There were at least a dozen men -- rebels against convention, unorthodox in religion, poor in money, who for a moment held in their hands the culture of the United States, typified it, expressed it, and pushed it a vast step forward. Harvard was not in 1888 a perfect expression of the American soul, or the place where the average American would have found adequate training for his life work. But perhaps it came nearer that high eminence than any other American institution had before or has since.

22-41-101

~~BERLIN, 1892~~

Again a few years later, I saw the University of Berlin. It represented in 1892 a definite and unified ideal. It did not comprehend at once the culture of all Germany, but I do not believe that ever in modern days and certainly not at Fisk or Harvard did a great university come so near expressing a national ideal. It was as though I had been stepping up from a little group college with a national vision to a provincial university with more than national outlook to a national institution which came near gathering to itself the thought and culture of forty million human beings. Every great professor of Germany, with few exceptions, had the life ambition to be called to a Chair in the Friedrich Wilhelm's Universitaet zu Berlin. I sat beneath the voice of a man who perhaps more than any single individual embodied the German ideal and welded German youth into that great aggressive fist which literally put Deutschland ueber Alles! I remember well Heinrich von Treitschke. With swift flying words that hid a painfully stuttering tongue, he hammered into the young men who sat motionless and breathless beneath his voice, the doctrine of the inborn superiority of the German race. And out and around that university for a thousand miles, millions of people shared in its ideal teaching, and did this in spite of caste of birth and poverty, jostling wealth because they believe in an ultimate unity which Bismarckian state socialism promised. They sang their national songs and joined in national festivals with enthusiasm that brought tears to the onlooker. And it made you realize

the ideal of a single united nation and what it could express in matchless poetry, daring science and undying music.

Yet in each of these cases, the ultimate ideal of a national, much less a universal university was a vision never wholly attained, and in the very nature of the case it could not be. Fisk had to be a Negro university because it was teaching Negroes and they were a caste with their own history and problems. Harvard was still a New England provincial institution and Berlin was sharply and determinedly German. Their common characteristic was that starting where they did and must, they aimed and moved toward universal culture.

22-41-102

NEED OF NEGRO UNIVERSITIES

Now with these things in mind, let us turn back to America and to the American Negro. It has been said many times that a Negro university is nothing more and nothing less than a university. Quite recently one of the great leaders of education in the United States, Abraham Flexner, said something of that sort concerning Howard University. As President of the Board of Trustees, he said he was seeking to build not a Negro University but a University. And by those words he brought again before our eyes the ideal of a great institution of learning which becomes a center of universal culture. With all good will toward them that speak such words it is the object of this paper to insist that there can be no college for Negroes which is not a Negro college and that while an American Negro university, just like a German or a Swiss university, may rightly aspire to a universal culture unhampered by limitations of race and culture, yet it must start on the earth where we sit and not in the skies whither we aspire. May I develop this thought.

In the first place, we have got to remember that here in America, in the year 1933, we have a situation which cannot be ignored. There was a time when it seemed as though we might best attack the Negro problem by ignoring its most unpleasant features. It was not and is not yet in good taste to speak generally about certain facts which characterize our situation in America. We are politically ham-strung. We have the

greatest difficulty in getting suitable and remunerative work. Our education is more and more not only being confined to our own schools but to a segregated public school system far below the average of the nation with one-third of our children continuously out of school. And above all, and this we like least to mention, we suffer a social ostracism which is so deadening and discouraging that we are compelled either to lie about it or to turn our faces toward the red flag of revolution. It consists of the kind of studied and repeated and emphasized public insult of the sort which during all the long history of the world has led men to kill or be killed. And in the full face of any effort which any black man may make to escape this ostracism for himself, stands this flaming sword of racial doctrine which will distract his effort and energy if it does not lead him to spiritual suicide.

22-4-103

We boast and have right to boast of our accomplishment between the days that I studied here and this 45th Anniversary of my graduation. It is a calm appraisal of fact to say that the history of modern civilization cannot surpass if it can parallel the advance of American Negroes in every essential line of culture in these years. And yet when we have said this we must have the common courage honestly to admit that every step we have made forward has been greeted by a step backward on the part of the American public in caste intoleration, mob law, and racial hatred.

I need but remind you that when I graduated from Fisk there was no "Jim Crow" car in Tennessee and I saw Hunter of '89 once sweep a brakeman aside at the Union Station and escort a crowd of Fisk students into the first-class seats for which they had paid. There was no legal disfranchisement and a black Fiskite sat in the Legislature; and while the Chancellor of Vanderbilt University had annually to be reintroduced to the President of Fisk, yet no white Southern group presumed to dictate the internal social life of this institution.

Manifestly with all that can be said, pro and con, and in extenuation, and by way of excuse and hope, this is the situation and we know it. There is no human way by which these facts can be ignored. We cannot do our daily work, sing a song, or write a book or carry on a university and act as though these things were not.

greatest difficulty in getting suitable and remunerative work. Our education is more and more not only being confined to our own schools but to a segregated public school system far below the average of the nation with one-third of our children continuously out of school. And above all, and this we like least to mention, we suffer a social ostracism which is so deadening and discouraging that we are compelled either to lie about it or to turn our faces toward the red flag of revolution. It consists of the kind of studied and repeated and emphasized public insult of the sort which during all the long history of the world has led men to kill or be killed. And in the full face of any effort which any black man may make to escape this ostracism for himself, stands this flaming sword of racial doctrine which will distract his effort and energy if it does not lead him to spiritual suicide.

22-41-103

We boast and have right to boast of our accomplishment between the days that I studied here and this 45th Anniversary of my graduation. It is a calm appraisal of fact to say that the history of modern civilization cannot surpass if it can parallel the advance of American Negroes in every essential line of culture in these years. And yet when we have said this we must have the common courage honestly to admit that every step we have made forward has been greeted by a step backward on the part of the American public in caste intoleration, mob law, and racial hatred.

I need but remind you that when I graduated from Fisk there was no "Jim Crow" car in Tennessee and I saw Hunter of '89 once sweep a brakeman aside at the Union Station and escort a crowd of Fisk students into the first-class seats for which they had paid. There was no legal disfranchisement and a black Fiskite sat in the Legislature; and while the Chancellor of Vanderbilt University had annually to be reintroduced to the President of Fisk, yet no white Southern group presumed to dictate the internal social life of this institution.

Manifestly with all that can be said, pro and con, and in extenuation, and by way of excuse and hope, this is the situation and we know it. There is no human way by which these facts can be ignored. We cannot do our daily work, sing a song, or write a book or carry on a university and act as though these things were not.

If this is true, then no matter how much we may dislike the statement, the American Negro problem is and must be the center of the Negro American university. It has got to be. You are teaching Negroes. There is no use pretending that you are teaching Chinese or that you are teaching white Americans or that you are teaching citizens of the world. You are teaching American Negroes in 1933, and they are the subjects of a caste system in the Republic of the United States of America and their life problem is primarily this problem of caste.

Upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build. Nor is the thing so entirely unusual or unheard of as it sounds. A university in Spain is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards, not for them as they may be or ought to be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities.

22-41-104

In other words, the Spanish university is founded and grounded in Spain, just as surely as a French university is French. There are some people who have difficulty in apprehending this very clear truth. They assume, for instance, that the French university is in a singular sense universal, and is based on a comprehension and inclusion of all mankind and of their problems. But it is not, and the assumption that it is arises simply because so much of French culture has been built into universal civilization. A French university is founded in France; it uses the French language and assumes a knowledge of French history. The present problems of the French people are its major problems and it becomes universal only so far as other peoples of the world comprehend and are at one with France in its mighty and beautiful history.

In the same way, a Negro university in the United States of America begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English idiom which they understand; and above all, it is founded, or it should be founded on a knowledge of the history of their people in Africa and in the United States, and their present condition. Without

white-washing or translating wish into facts, it begins with that; and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstances in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work and determination will permit.

Is this statement of the field of a Negro university a denial of aspiration or a change from older ideals? I do not think it is, although I admit in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method.

22-41-105

The system of learning which bases itself upon the actual condition of certain classes and groups of human beings is tempted to suppress a minor premise of fatal menace. It proposes that the knowledge given and the methods pursued in such institutions of learning shall be for the definite object of perpetuating present conditions or of leaving their amelioration in the hands of and at the initiative of other forces and other folk. This was the great criticism that those of us who fought for higher education of Negroes thirty years ago, brought against the industrial school.

The industrial school founded itself and rightly upon the actual situation of American Negroes and said: "What can be done to change this situation?" And its answer was: A training in technique and method such as would incorporate the disadvantaged group into the industrial organization of the country, and in that organization the leaders of the Negro had perfect faith. Since that day the industrial machine has cracked and groaned. Its technique has changed faster than any school could teach; the relations of capital and labor have increased in complication and it has become so clear that Negro poverty is not primarily caused by ignorance of technical knowledge that the industrial school has almost surrendered its program.

In opposition to that, the proponents of college training in those earlier years said: "What black men need is the broader and more universal training so that they can apply the general principles of knowledge to the particular circumstances of their condition."

Here again was indubitable truth but incomplete truth. The technical problem lay in the method of teaching this broader and more universal truth and here just as in the industrial program, we must start where we are and not where we wish to be.

~~PROGRAM OF A NEGRO UNIVERSITY~~

As I said a few years ago at Howard University both these positions had thus something of truth and right. Because of the peculiar economic situation in our country the program of the industrial school came to grief first and has practically been given up. Starting even though we may with the actual condition of the Negro peasant and artisan, we cannot ameliorate his condition simply by learning a trade which is the transient technique of a passing era. More vision and knowledge is needed than that. But on the other hand, while the Negro college of a generation ago set down a defensible and true program of applying knowledge to facts, it unfortunately could not completely carry it out, and it did not carry it out because the one thing that the industrial philosophy gave to education, the Negro college did not take and that was <u>that the university education of black men in the United States must be grounded in the condition and work of those black men!</u>

22-41-106

On the other hand, it would be of course idiotic to say, as the former industrial philosophy almost said, that so far as most black men are concerned, education must stop with this. No, starting with present condition and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro university expands toward the possession and the conquest of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history; from a beginning of social development among Negro slaves and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to interpret and understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to reach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and habits and aptitudes of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding of life and matter in the universe.

And this is a different program than a similar function would be in a white university or in a Russian university or in an English university, because it starts from a different point. It is a matter of beginnings and integrations of one group which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a universal world of science, sociology, and art. In no other way can the American Negro college function. It cannot begin with history and lead to Negro history. It cannot start with sociology and end with Negro sociology.

Why was it that the Renaissance of literature which began among Negroes ten years ago has never taken real and lasting root? It was because it was a transplanted and exotic thing. It was a literature written for the benefit of white people and at the behest of white readers, and starting out primarily from the white point of view. It never had a real Negro constituency and it did not grow out of the inmost heart and frank experience of Negroes; on such an artificial basis no real literature can grow.

On the other hand, if starting in a great Negro university you have knowledge, beginning with the particular, and going out to universal comprehension and unhampered expression, you are going to begin to realize for the American Negro the full life which is denied him now. And then after that comes a realization of the older object of our college -- to bring this universal culture down and apply it to the individual life and individual conditions of living Negroes.

22-41-107

The university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a center of applied knowledge and guide of action. And this is all the more necessary now since we easily see that planned action especially in economic life is going to be the watchword of civilization.

If the college does not thus root itself in the group life and afterward apply its knowledge and culture to actual living, other social organs must replace the college in this function. A strong, intelligent family life may adjust the student to higher culture; and, too, a social clan may receive the graduate and induct him into life. This has happened and is happening among a minority of privileged people. But it costs society a fatal price. It tends to hinder progress and hamper change -- it makes education propaganda for things as they are. It leaves the mass of those without social standing -- misfits and rebels who despite their education are uneducated in its meaning and application. The only college which stands for the progress of all -- mass as well as aristocracy, functions in root and blossom as well as in the overshadowing and heaven-filling tree. No system of learning -- no university can be universal before it is German, French, Negro. Grounded in inexorable fact and

and condition, in Poland or Italy, it may seek the universal, and haply it may find it -- and finding it bring it down to earth and to us.

~~PROGRESS~~ Wealth

We have imbibed from the surrounding white world a childish idea of progress. Progress means bigger and better results always and forever. But there is no such rule of life. In six thousand years of human culture, the losses and retrogressions have been enormous. We have no assurance that twentieth century civilization will survive. We do not know that American Negroes will survive. There are sinister signs about us, antecedent to and unconnected with the great depression. The organized might of industry north and south is relegating the Negro to the edge of survival and using him as a labor reservoir on starvation wage. No secure professional class, no science, literature nor art can live on such a sub-soil. It is an insistent deep-throated cry for rescue, guidance, and organized advance that greets the black leader today and the college that trains him has got to let him know at least as much about the great black miners strike in Alabama as about the Age of Pericles. By singular accident -- almost by compelling fate -- I drove by as I came here yesterday -- the region where I taught a country school over forty years ago. There is no progress there. There is only space, disillusion, and death beside the same eternal hills. There where first I heard the Sorrow Songs are the graves of men and women and children who had the making of a fine intelligent upstanding yeomanry. There remains but the half-starved farmer, the casual laborer, the unpaid servant. Why in a land rich with wealth, muscle, and colleges?

To the New Englander of wealth and family Harvard and Yale are parts and only parts of a broad training which the New England home begins and a State Street or Wall Street business ends. How fine and yet how fatal! There lies root and reason for the World War and the Great Depression. To the American Negro, culture must adjust itself to a different family history and apply itself to a new system of social caste and in this adjustment comes new opportunity of making education and progress possible and not antagonistic.

22-41-108

We are on the threshold of a new era. Let us not deceive ourselves with outworn ideals of wealth and servants and luxuries, reared on a foundation of ignorance, starvation and want. Instinctively, we have absorbed these ideals from our twisted white American environment. This new economic planning is not for us unless we do it. Unless the American Negro today, led by trained university men of broad vision, sits down to work out by economics and mathematics, by physics and chemistry, by history and sociology, exactly how and where he is to earn a living and how he is to establish a reasonable life in the United States or elsewhere, unless this is done the university has missed its field and function and the American Negro is doomed to be a suppressed and inferior caste in the United States for incalculable time.

22-41-109

Here, then, is a job for the American Negro university. It cannot be successfully ignored or dodged without the growing menace of disaster. I lay the problem before you as one which you must not ignore.

~~TEACHERS AND STUDENTS~~

To carry out this plan, two things and only two things are necessary -- teachers and students. Buildings and endowments may help, but they are not indispensable. It is necessary first to have teachers who comprehend this program and know how to make it live among their students. This is calling for a good deal, because it asks that teachers teach that which they have learned in no American school and which they never will learn until we have a Negro university of the sort that I am visioning. No teacher, black or white, who comes to a university like Fisk, filled simply with general ideas of human culture or general knowledge of disembodied science, is going to make a university of this school. Because a university is made of human beings, learning of the things they do not know from things they do know in their own lives.

And secondly, we must have students. They must be chosen for ability to learn. There is always the temptation to assume that the children of privileged classes, the rich, the noble, the white, are those who can best take education. One has but to express this to realize its utter futility. But perhaps the most dangerous thing among us is for us, without thought to imitate the white world and assume that we

can choose students at Fisk because of the amount of money of which their parents have happened to get hold of. That basis of selection is going to give us an extraordinary aggregation. We want by the nicest methods possible, to seek out the talented and the gifted among our constituency, quite regardless of their wealth or position, and to fill this university and similar institutions with persons who have got brains enough to take fullest advantage of what the university offers. There is no other way. With teachers who know what they are teaching and whom they are teaching and the life that surrounds both the knowledge and the knower, and with students who have the capacity and the will to absorb this knowledge, we can build the sort of Negro university which will emancipate not simply the black folk of the United States, but those white folk who in their effort to suppress Negroes have killed their own culture -- men who in their desperate effort to replace equality with caste and to build inordinate wealth on a foundation of abject poverty have succeeded in killing democracy, art, and religion.

22-41-110

Only a universal system of learning, rooted in the will and condition of the masses and blossoming from that manure up toward the stars is worth the name. Once builded it can only grow as it brings down sunlight and star shine and impregnates the mud. The chief obstacle in this rich land endowed with every national resource and with the abilities of a hundred different peoples -- the chief and only obstacle to the coming of that kingdom of economic equality which is the only logical end of work, is the determination of the white world to keep the black world poor and make themselves rich. The disaster which this selfish and short-sighted policy has brought lies at the bottom of this present depression, and too, its cure lies beside it. Your clear vision of a world without wealth, of capital without profit, of income based on work alone, is the path out not only for you but for all men.

~~SEGREGATION AND IDEALS~~

Is not this a program of segregation, emphasis of race and particularism as against national unity and universal humanity? It is, and it is not by choice but by force; you do not get humanity by wishing it nor do you become American citizens simply

because you want to. A Negro university from its high ground of unfaltering facing of the Truth, from its unblinking stare at hard facts, does not advocate segregation by race, it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated, apart, hammered into a separate unity by spiritual intolerance and legal sanction backed by mob law, and that this separation is growing in strength and fixation; that it is worse today than a half century ago and that no character, address, culture or desert is going to change it, in our day or for centuries to come.

22-41-111

Recognizing this brute fact, groups of cultured, trained, and devoted men gathering in great institutions of learning proceed to ask: What are we going to do about it? It is silly to ignore and gloss the truth; it is idiotic to proceed as though we were white or yellow, English or Russian. Here we stand. We are American Negroes. It is beside the point to ask whether we form a real race. Biologically we are mingled of all conceivable elements, but race is psychology, not biology; and psychologically we are a unified race with one history, one red memory, and one revolt. It is not ours to argue whether we will be segregated or whether we ought to be a caste. We are segregated; we are a caste. This is our given and at present unalterable fact. Our problem is: How far and in what way can we consciously and scientifically guide our future so as to insure our physical survival, our spiritual freedom and our social growth? Either we do this or we die. There is no alternative. If America proposes the murder of this group, its moral descent into imbecility and crime and its utter loss of manhood, self-assertion, and courage, the sooner we realize this the better. By that great line of McKay: "If we must die, let it not be like hogs."

But the alternative of not dying like hogs is not that of dying or killing like snarling dogs. It is rather conquering the world by thought and brain and plan; by expression and organized cultural ideals. Therefore, let us not beat futile wings in impotent frenzy, but carefully plan and guide our segregated life, organize in industry and politics to protect it and expand it, and above all to give it unhampered spiritual expression in art and literature. It is the council of fear and cowardice to say this cannot be done. What must be can be and it is only a question of Science and Sacrifice to bring the great consummation.

22-41-112

What that will be, none knows. It may be a great physical segregation of the world along the Color Line; it may be an economic rebirth which insures spiritual and group integrity amid physical diversity. It may be utter annihilation of class and race and color barriers in one ultimate mankind, differentiated by talent, susceptibility and gift -- but any of these ends are matters of long centuries and not years. We live in years, swift flying, transient years. We hold the possible future in our hands but not by wish and will, only by thought, plan, knowledge, and organization. If the college can pour into the coming age an American Negro who knows himself and his plight and how to protect himself and fight race prejudice, then the world of our dream will come and not otherwise.

The golden days are gone. Why do we wait
So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
Is there something we have forgotten?
Some precious thing we have lost,
Wandering in strange lands?

What we have lost is the courage of independent self-assertion. We have had as our goal -- American full citizenship, nationally recognized. This has failed -- flatly and decisively failed. Very well. We're not dead yet. We are not going to die. If we use our brains and strength there is no way to stop our ultimate triumph as creators of modern culture -- if we use our strength and brains.

And what pray stops us but our dumb caution -- our fear -- our very sanity. Let us then be insane with courage.

Like a mad man's dream, there came
One fair, swift flash to me
Of distances, of streets aflame,
With joy and agony;
And further yet, a moonlit sea
Foaming across its bars
And further yet, the infinity
Of wheeling suns and stars.

22-41-113

ENVOY

There was no aftermath of this speech save perhaps a general satisfaction. But to me it was the beginning of a new line of thought. The argument of the Howard speech did not seem to me to be altogether final. Something was missing and from that day I began to read and study Karl Marx. I began to understand my recent visit to Russia. I became interested in the New Deal and I wanted to supplement the liberalism of Charles Summer with the new economic contribution of the twentieth century.

A11-14-22

1938

On the fiftieth anniversary of my graduation I spoke again at Fisk University with kindly welcome and expectation. Many of the professors, remembering the rather cryptic title of my other speeches, searched the encyclopaedias for "Saint Orgne" which appeared as the title of my address. They did not find it. I had to explain that it was but a familiar anagram of a well-known word: Negro. I was here speaking a word of benediction, not merely to the three surviving members of my own class or to the graduating class of the day; I was speaking to the intelligent colored citizens of 1938 and seeking to express a certain philosophy of life. I was at the entrance of the valley of the shadow of death and the view was splendid.

ENVOY

No final word is really necessary. These speeches are snap shots of my mental states over a period of thirty-two years, a generation of man. They vary from the narrowness of intense conviction to the vagueness of doctrines that attempt universality. They have, however, as I have said before, a certain historic significance. They tell from one point of view, what the American Negro has thought of that education which was designed to fit him as a citizen of modern democracy.

621-17-22

THE SLAVE

1954

Prospectus of proposed book by Du Bois and Shirley Graham Du Bois

Nov. 1954

THE SLAVE

A STUDY OF THE SLAVE IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE VIRGINIA SLAVE SHIP 1619, TO THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE FREEDMEN, 1869, TWO HUNDRED FIFTY YEARS.

by W.E.B. Du BOIS AND SHIRLEY GRAHAM

35-9-47

The slave in the United States has usually been treated as an excrescense on the main growth of American history; or as the distinct story of an inferior group; or as a peculiar problem in human ethics. It is the object of this book to treat the slave as an integral part of the nation, particularly in its physical, economic and social development, and to consider the racial identity of most of the slaves only in so far as it modified thought and action; and to treat the whole ethical question of slavery as part of the problem of all human effort.

The book from the beginning assumes that slaves are normal human beings reacting, as all men, to environment, but also working together with Americans of every sort for a quarter of a millenium to develop a nation by work, inherited customs, thought and feelings, folkways and folklore, sex intermingling, food, architecture, language, literature and religion. Rejecting from the start the picture of Negro slaves in particular as clowns or clods, this book treats them as a group of workers cultivating the free land of a virgin continent under guidance and with initiative; choosing and rebelling and cooperating with other citizens. It will study the individual plantation unit of every sort.

From the beginning this group mingled its blood with the whites and Indians, forming not only blacks with white blood but whites with black blood. These whites, of course, became a part of white culture, but the blacks and colored also became in some cases free artisans and free citizens and voters,

giving impulse to organized rebellion, flight from slavery, abolitionism and also to distinctive literature, music and art. Especially through hard toil the mass of black workers threw on the world market a number of products, particularly tobacco, sugar and cotton, which became a prime cause of the Industrial Revolution and of modern capitalism. All this made the black slave the fore-runner of the modern working class with its push toward Democracy on the one hand and its employer's Imperial Colonialism on the other. Finally, all this led to the present struggle for a free world, not simply of whites but yellow, brown, and black people.

35-9-48

The book will have a bibliography, with careful discrimination as to the quality and value of the literature referring to American slaves.

W.E.B. Du Bois

A SOCIOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

A proposed book by Du Bois and Ellen Irene Diggs
1949
Outline of chapters 1 and 2 and draft of chapter 1

Proposed Outline, April 12, 1949

A SOCIOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Ph.D., Harvard
and
Ellen Irene Diggs
Ph.D., Litt.D.,
Havana

35-3-154

Introduction

1. The concept of race as applied to the Negro in the United States
   A survey of contemporary scientific conclusions

2. The transplantation of the African to America
   The slave trade; settlement in the West Indies, Central and South and in North America. The growth of the slavery system; sugar, tobacco and cotton; the Industrial Revolution and Capitalism

3. The Negro in the United States
   Growth and distribution of the Negro population; miscegenation; urbanization; age and sex; family grouping; health and housing; ghettoes.

4. Occupations of Negroes in the United States
   Work of slaves and free Negroes; development since emancipation; present occupations; wage and income; relations to the labor movement

5. Civil and Political rights
   The slave codes; free Negroes; slave revolts; fugitive slaves; slaves and free Negroes in war; the Civil War; Reconstruction; the Civil War Amendments; Civil Rights legislation; the two world wars; present condition; court decisions; FEPC laws

6. Education
   Training of slaves; free Negro schools; mission and Freedmens Bureau activities; separate school systems; Negroes in mixed schools; illiteracy; Negro colleges; Negroes in Northern colleges; mental status and intelligence of Negroes

7. Psycho-Social Analysis
   Caste; personality problems; problems of adolescents; tension and conflict; lynching; riots; crime

8. Religion and Culture
   African influences; cultural inheritance; transculturation; the Negro in the white Church; the Negro Church; the Negro as a problem in ethics and religion. The cultural development of the Negro group; organization and protest; organizations and movements; relations with Africa and other colored groups; social stratification

9. The Negro in Art and Literature
   The Negro as a subject in American art and literature; Negro in radio, theatre and movie; the Negro as artist and writer; Negro music; great Americans of Negro blood; Newspapers and periodicals

10. The Future
    Race, Color and World Peace and Development

A SOCIOLOGY OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

There has long been need of a textbook on the problems arising from the presence of a large number of Negroes in the United States. But social problems of this sort always involve deep-seated opinions and prejudices, and are consequently difficult to write about without arousing controversy. But this is true of all social problems; and unless we are willing to leave students in ignorance of the most pressing of efforts of human beings to live together in progress and contentment, we must face this difficulty inherent in social study.

We must remember that beneath all social controversy and difference of opinion, lies a foundation of fact, which to a large extent can be scientifically ascertained. This basis of fact should be presented in careful and intelligent form. Then comes the interpretation of these facts, historically and in current thought. A textbook should seek to present these opinions objectively, and to guide the student in his own reading and consideration of these conclusions. Beyond this, the book must to some extent indicate the fair conclusions which the authors as experts regard as probably nearest truth. Here of course rests the success of the book and the willingness of the public and school authorities to allow its use in schools.

The authors of this volume believe that the facts concerning the Negro in the United States, are today sufficiently established to be made the basis of unbiased study. They believe it possible to state these facts and so to interpret the theories and conclusions based on them as to guide young students toward ability to judge of the success and error of the past, and help them to take proper action in the future. Further than this, they do

not attempt to go; and in this effort, they neither deny nor attempt to conceal their own beliefs and hopes. They only trust that what they believe will not be presented so as to obstruct in any way the right and duty of students to draw their own conclusions.

The authors by speaking of a sociology of a group mean a study based upon careful investigation and measurement. This study seeks to discover scientific laws, so far as they exist and when they are not yet discernible to go on to the explanation of coincidence and rhythem and a description of such events as do not lend themselves to generalization. The laws underlying the social behavior activities of men are in part physical laws like gravitation, the laws of chemical reaction, and so forth, which are a part of human life since human beings live in a physical world. Beyond that, are the laws which govern life; the laws of biology which cannot be laid down with as much accuracy or measured as carefully as is true in the so-called physical world; but which nevertheless are matters for wide and careful scientific study.

35-3-158

Above and beyond that come the so-called laws of psychology, the psychical and spiritual phenomena, which can be studied statistically and some valid generalisations arrived at. In this region there enters the more or less incalculable element of human emotion, will and desire, which so far as accurate science is concerned must be regarded as pure chance; at least provisionally until more careful measurement shows the limitation of this chance. So that when we speak of a sociology of a group, we mean the scientific study of that group, bringing out so far as the facts warrant - the physical, scientific basis, the psychical tendencies and the social phenomena.

The division of labor between the authors has been roughly something as follows: to Dr. Diggs has fallen the work of research for the underlying facts, statistics and bibliographical references. Dr. Du Bois is mainly responsible for the theoretical interpretation of these facts and their historical setting.

Chapter I

THE CONCEPT OF RACE

When the first Africans were imported to America their situation was, for the most part, that of European peasants of the day; that is, they occupied the status of serfs, bound to labor for the landowner. This status could only be altered by law. In most European lands, serfs secured partial freedom by running away to towns, where they were protected by ordinances for laborers or by guilds of artisans. Otherwise, the peasant labored for life on the farm where he was born, although an individual might be freed of the status in which he was born by his lord or by the king or by a city chartered by the king.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century this peasant status of Negroes in America began to be changed into a caste system based on race; a Negro came to be regarded as a slave because of his race. Some Negroes, to be sure, were free but this was more and more exceptional. Legal difficulties were placed in the way of freeing slaves and disabilities were laid on complete civil and political freedom for any person of Negro descent. After emancipation, legal caste was by new legislation extended to all persons of Negro descent in the former slave states and in several of the other states.

36-3-159

The theory of "race" upon which this caste was based arose in the early nineteenth century in Europe and was seized upon in America, at the time of the rise of the Cotton Kingdom, to justify Negro slavery as a form of modern labor. This theory based itself on biology and history and leaned heavily for proof on the new Darwinian theory of evolution. It dominated science, politics and religion until well into the twentieth century. During much of this time it was regarded as axiomatic that the three or five branches of the human family formed a hierarchy, in which the whites were superior in

native ability, while the other races ranged down to the black race which was congentially inferior. However, difficulties with this theory appeared: first as to the number of races which varied according to different authorities from three to two hundred. Also as to the criteria of race: color, hair, bodily measurements, et cetera, which varied in such detail that no "pure" race types were discernable. Finally, science began to stress culture traits rather than biological difference as the basic human differences. This began the overthrow of the biological race theory, although difficulties as to cultural measurements led to a period when race and culture were used without distinction. This led to confusion in thought and action since a particular black man might belong to a highly developed culture while a white or yellow man might belong to an under developed culture. Then ensued a period when as the interest in psychological measurements increased, race distinctions began to be based on psychological reactions and "intelligence" tests. But it was quickly proven that psychical aptitudes did not necessarily correspond with physical differences and that while intellectual differences between individuals could be shown, race or group inferiority could not. Moreover the influence of environment and opportunity could not be distinguished from natural and inherited gift.

35-3-10

Then a division of men increased in significance as modern industry and commerce enveloped the world: that was the class difference based on property and income. Poverty was evidently the basic cause of much ignorance and ill-health, and unless the income of the masses could be increased, the development of mankind could not proceed as rapidly as would otherwise be possible. This was the argument of those thinkers who as the Industrial Revolution progressed were alrarmed at the distress and helplessness of the working classes. At first the Negroes, including the American

slaves were not regarded as part of the modern working class. Those in colonies even today are not usually so regarded. But after emancipation in the United States some account of black workers had to be taken. And, when after the First World War, the Negroes rushed North and replaced European immigrants in northern industry, Negroes began slowly to be integrated into the unions and their problem became increasingly a problem of class, that is, it was evident that American Negroes were, in the main, a low income class of tenant farmers; or a poverty-stricken city proletariat, ignorant and diseased. Thus the so-called "race" problem became part of the problem of modern class differences.

Finally, social, religious and economic differences placed the Negro among a number of so-called "Minority Groups" which for widely different reasons were suffering discrimination in various ways and were united only because they were subject to the injustice of current majority action and opinion.

In the attempt to make a scientific study of race, we find ~~that~~ a large number of definitions and explanations, some of which are based on the biological theory of race, some on the psychology of groups, many on a study of group cultures and some others still on the matter of class and economic differences. The concept of race has been so much stressed in the discussion of the Negro in the United States, that for clarity we should pause here and examine the scientific basis of the race concept; and after that see how these theories apply to the United States.

The idea of race historically arose from the Aristotelian and scholastic conception of natural law by which everything is by nature grouped in categories. Thus Pouchet says

> "Race means the different natural groups of the human family." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, New York, 1946, p. 157

slaves were not regarded as part of the modern working class. Those in colonies even today are not usually so regarded. But after emancipation in the United States some account of black workers had to be taken. And, when after the First World War, the Negroes rushed North and replaced European immigrants in northern industry, Negroes began slowly to be integrated into the unions and their problem became increasingly a problem of class, that is, it was evident that American Negroes were, in the main, a low income class of tenant farmers; or a poverty-stricken city proletariat, ignorant and diseased. Thus the so-called "race" problem became part of the problem of modern class differences.

35-2-161

Finally, social, religious and economic differences placed the Negro among a number of so-called "Minority Groups" which for widely different reasons were suffering discrimination in various ways and were united only because they were subject to the injustice of current majority action and opinion.

In the attempt to make a scientific study of race, we find that a large number of definitions and explanations, some of which are based on the biological theory of race, some on the psychology of groups, many on a study of group cultures and some others still on the matter of class and economic differences. The concept of race has been so much stressed in the discussion of the Negro in the United States, that for clarity we should pause here and examine the scientific basis of the race concept; and after that see how these theories apply to the United States.

The idea of race historically arose from the Aristotelian and scholastic conception of natural law by which everything is by nature grouped in categories. Thus Pouchet says

> "Race means the different natural groups of the human family." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, New York, 1946, p. 137

35-3-162

Linnaeus in the early eighteenth century expressed the concepts of class, genus, and species which the theologians presented him. Buffon later introduced the term "race" into natural science; but Blumenbach first used it in the sense of classification. To him it represented an extension of the concept of Aristotle of species and the subdivision of species. Blumenbach recognized that all human beings belong to a single species but considered it convenient to distinguish between certain geographical groups of men.

As modern science developed an attempt was made to set down exact definitions of race. Race said De Quatrefages

> "is an aggregate of individuals resembling one another, belonging to the same species, having received and transmitting by way of generation the characteristics of a primitive variety." New American Encyclopedia, pp. 1139-43

By this definition race was a biological rather than a sociological term and had to do with physical and not social traits. As Hooton expressed it in our day

> "A race is a large body of mankind the members of which possess similar combinations of physical variations which they owe to their common descent. Race is therefore, a physical classification based upon hereditary anatomical features. The term carries no necessary implications of language, nationality or culture." Earnest Hooton, Twilight of Man, New York, 1939, p. 65

The statement by Pittard is classic

> "By race we should understand the continuity of a physical type, expressing affinities of blood, representing essentially a natural grouping, which can have nothing, and in general has nothing in common with the people, the nationality, the language, or the customs corresponding to groupings that are purely artificial, in no way anthropological, and arising entirely from history, whose actual products they are." Eugene Pittard, A Restatement in Race and History, New York, 1926, p. 3

The extreme biological view was that there is a fixed racial germ plasm which by heredity absolutely determines racial character. However, it soon became evident that no such definite description of race would be

maintained, so that we find modifying statements

> "Race in the present state of things is an abstract conception, a notion of continuity in discontinuity, of unity in diversity. It is the rehabilitation of a real but directly unattainable things." Hankins, Racial Basis of Civilization, p. 263

> "Race is simply a classification of people based upon differences in certain obvious inheritable traits affecting the external appearance of different groups." Norman Kastler, Modern Human Relations, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1940, p. 247

Both Blumenbach and Pritchard assert that the varieties of mankind run into each other by insensible gradations and Topinard declared

> "The innumberable varieties of mankind run into one another by insensible degrees." Topinard, "De la notion de race en anthropologie," Revue d'Anth., 1879, quoted by Ripley, p. 111-2

35-3-162

Hans Günther declared that a human group marked off from every other human group by bodily and other characteristics was not acceptable because such differentiation had never been proven. Then began the insistance upon cultural characteristics as indicative of race difference. Gumplowicz says

> "Race is a unity created in the ~~causes~~ course of history by social development and is precisely a unity which finds its points of departure in intellectual factors (language, religion, morals, law, culture, etc.) and thereafter attains the more powerful physical factor the unity of blood, which binds all together in a true bond." Hankins, Racial Basis of Civilization, p. 10

The use of the theory of race as an interpretation of social development began in 1853, with Gobineau's Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races. He recognized three races and placed them with the white race supreme, the yellow next and blacks in the lowest position but attributed to each of the races some lines of development in which they were superior to the others. His great argument was that mixture with other races degraded the whites.

> "Herbert Spencer . . . explained race by evolution on a sort of 'step-ladder' basis, and the idea developed that races represented distinct levels of advancement which were determined by nature. Thus there were 'superior' and 'inferior,' 'advanced' and 'backward' races - which by nature became the basis for the moral justifications

and the grand rationalizations of modern imperialistic tutelage of millions of peoples. Since color was the simplest means of identifying "races", race traits were usually definitely associated with color." Bunche, Ralph J. World View of Race, Washington, The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936, p. 5

But Finot insisted

"Race is only a variety caused and mixed by climatic influences, food and habits." Jean Finot, Race Prejudice, Arcnibald Constable & Co., London, 1906, p. 49

25-3-164

The American Anthropological Association said

"Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind, but its physiological and cultural connotations, if they exist have not been ascertained by science." The American Anthropological Association, December, 1938

The American Psychological Association declared in 1938

"No psychological differences for a fundamental distinction between races have been discovered nor are there any innate mental differences between the races." 1938 Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association.

So that as Klineberg concludes

"A race, then, may be defined as a large group of men possessing in common certain characteristics (physical) which are determined by heredity. The other, non-physical, qualities which have been ascribed to races are in this sense secondary in that they do not belong to the concept or definition of race; they are not used for example, in race classification. When a psychologist writes that a distinct race is a group of people having the same remote ancestry, and consequently having certain physical and mental traits different from those of other races with a totally different ancestry, he incorporates into his definition a judgment for which proof is required, and upon which there is in the meantime no agreement. Similarly, when an anthropologist states that the characters that distinguish human races are morphological, physiological, chemical, psychological, and even pathological, he is definitely outside the limits of accepted anthropological doctrine. By definition, the characters that distinguish human races are morphological; the rest remain to be proved." Otto Klineberg, Race Differences, 1935, pp. 17, 18

Franz Boas and others insist that the "myth" of race leads to grave social errors

"The existence of any pure race with special endowments is a myth, as in the belief that there are races allof whose members are foredoomed to eternal inferiority." Franz Boas, Race and Democratic Society, 1945 edition, p. 21

and the grand rationalizations of modern imperialistic tutelage of millions of peoples. Since color was the simplest means of identifying "races", race traits were usually definitely associated with color." Bunche, Ralph J. World View of Race, Washington, The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936, p. 5

But Finot insisted

"Race is only a variety caused and mixed by climatic influences, food and habits." Jean Finot, Race Prejudice, Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1906, p. 49

25-3-164

The American Anthropological Association said

"Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind, but its physiological and cultural connotations, if they exist have not been ascertained by science." The American Anthropological Association, December, 1938

The American Psychological Association declared in 1938

"No psychological differences for a fundamental distinction between races have been discovered nor are there any innate mental differences between the races." 1938 Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association.

So that as Klineberg concludes

"A race, then, may be defined as a large group of men possessing in common certain characteristics (physical) which are determined by heredity. The other, non-physical, qualities which have been ascribed to races are in this sense secondary in that they do not belong to the concept or definition of race; they are not used for example, in race classification. When a psychologist writes that a distinct race is a group of people having the same remote ancestry, and consequently having certain physical and mental traits different from those of other races with a totally different ancestry, he incorporates into his definition a judgment for which proof is required, and upon which there is in the meantime no agreement. Similarly, when an anthropologist states that the characters that distinguish human races are morphological, physiological, chemical, psychological, and even pathological, he is definitely outside the limits of accepted anthropological doctrine. By definition, the characters that distinguish human races are morphological; the rest remain to be proved." Otto Klineberg, Race Differences, 1935, pp. 17, 18

Franz Boas and others insist that the "myth" of race leads to grave social errors

"The existence of any pure race with special endowments is a myth, as in the belief that there are races allof whose members are foredoomed to eternal inferiority." Franz Boas, Race and Democratic Society, 1945 edition, p. 21

"The indiscriminate and loose use of the term "race" in many kinds of literature has long led to confusion. The abuse of the term to justify national and political ambitions has resulted in nebulosity, a disorder and lack of precision, which confuse the individual, whether scientist or educated layman. On occasion even capable scholars have used the term carelessly in a sense that could not possibly be accurate. Like the words 'language', 'people', 'culture', which is acceptable or satisfactory to all - to anthropologist, biologist, philologist, paleontologist, ethnologist and historian. It is doubtful moreover, whether such an exact meaning satisfactory to all scholars will, or indeed can ever be, agreed upon. ('nation', and 'civilization,' the term 'race' has no exact meaning

35-3-165

"Race has been used as a synonym for a people, a nationality, a language, or artificial group customs. There never was, nor is there today, a German race, but a German nation, no Aryan race but Aryan languages, no Roman race, but a Roman civilization. In classifying the peoples of the earth, it is important that physical characteristics, culture and language be differentiated. Failure to obey this simple and fundamental rule has resulted in extraordinary confusion which has seeped from scientific sources into the public mind." L. L. Synder, Race, pp. 5, 6

Toynbee in his monumental work defines race as

"A term used to denote the possession of some distinctive and inheritable quality in a particular group of human beings . . . in social psychology and in all discussion of race to date when race is put forward as a factor productive of civilization depends on the assumption that there is a correlation between valuable psychic qualities and certain manifest physical characteristics." Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History, Oxford University Press, New York and London, 1947, pp. 327-352

Boas thereupon declaresrace as

"A group of people that have certain bodily characteristics in common. . . . I believe that the present state of our knowledge justifies us in saying that while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small. There is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more intelligent, endowed with great will power, or emotionally more stable than another, that the difference would naturally influence its culture." Boas, Race, Language and Culture, 1940, p. 14

It is denied that pure races are the only peoples that have progressed

"Every civilized group which we have record of has been a hybrid group, a fact which disposes effectively of the theory that hybrid people are inferior to pure bred ones." Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, New York, D. Appleton Century, 1936, p. 34

"It so happens that race is not merely a physical and psychological fact today as so often before, it has become a state of mind. It is an attitude." Goldenweiser, History, Psychology and Culture, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1933, p. 389

Stress is increasingly put upon race as culture rather than as biology

"Sociologically, race is significant only when it is so defined in a culture. Its importance is a function of the history, conditions, and processes of a given social order. Intrinsically, race is probably no more than a loose aggregation of individuals, approximating a given physical type. But if race is defined as a social reality in the folkways, mores, and behavior of the folk, as in the United States and South Africa, it is more than a mere zoological fact. It becomes a significant symbol, evoking love and hatred and arousing men to words and deeds, a source of rancor and conflict." E. B. Reuter, Culture Contact and Race, p. 34

"All reputable anthropologists condemn the malignant nonsense about racial psychology which is preached and published by those who try to justify the oppression of ethnic minorities. Political theories about race are nothing more than instruments of propaganda, devised for the child minds of totalitarian populations." E. A. Hooton, Twilight of Man, New York, 1939, p. 129

"There exists no clear idea in the minds of many as to what constitutes race; the marks of differentiation which serve to set off one race from another are often vaguely presentive; there seem to be no very reliable knowledge concerning the number and origin of races; geographical location is not invariably clearly defined. To produce types a certain set of elements must persist generation after generation and to trace this type is to go backward to the very dawn of mankind's awakening and to inquire what beings existed on the globe at that time." The Encyclopedia Americana

The stress then goes further to class differences which have been interpreted as racial

"Race thus has a profound social significance - it is made the symbol of cultural status and thus serves to justify the exploitation of the weaker group with the inevitable political and cultural consequences. Being a symbol of cultural status it serves automatically to classify individuals, and so retard their advance by limiting their freedom and determining the cultural values to which they have access." E. B. Reuter, American Race Problem, New York, T. Y. Crowell Co., 1927, p. 34

"Racism is a method of bolstering up self-esteem and lust for power by means of beliefs which have nothing in their favor except they are flattering." Bertrand Russell, The Ancestry of Fascism, The Praise of Idleness, New York, 1935, p. 114

"In one word, the term race is only a product of our mental activities, the work of our intellect, and outside all reality. Science had need of races as hypothetical limits, and these 'products of art' to use Lamarcks expression, have become concrete reality for the vulgar. Races as irreducible categories only exist as fictions in our brain. They exist in us but not outside us." Jean Finot, Race Prejudice, London, 1906, p. 317

"This theory of racism is really a convenient excuse to exploit other peoples, a political tool which Hitler used to maintain himself in power. As long as it remains the ideal of a society, there can be no peace in the world." Hortence Powdermaker, Probing Our Prejudice, New York, Harper Brothers, 1944, p. 6

"Anthropology has no encouragement to offer to those who would trust our spiritual achievements to the automatic perpetuation of any selected heredity germ plasms." Ruth Benedict, "Century Magazine, April, 1929

"Race is defined by the white American man as the basis of the social caste system as it exists in America." Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York, 1944, p. 114

Considering now these definitions of "race", varying as they do from definite biological concepts, which some have tried to base on exact scientific formulae, to grouping according to cultural patterns of life, psychological attitudes, and economic class separation; considering all of these definitions and concepts, how far is the problem of persons of Negro descent in the United States, a problem of race?

First of all it is not and never was a simple problem of biological race: the persons imported from Africa were in the main Negroes and Negroids and Nilotic peoples; but represented tribes of widely differing history and physique, varying from the tall, black thin-lipped and high-nosed Sudanese to the black, broad nosed West Africans, the brown

mixture of peoples called Bantu and the yellow Hottentots. They even included some Arab and Berber elements. Once the Negro landed in America, his genes have been widely mixed with southern and northern European and with those of the American Indians. Much of the confusion and misunderstanding about the Negro has arisen from failure to realize that the so-called American Negro is and has always been a mixed group representing by no scientific definition any one homogeneous race of men except, of course, as time goes on, by intermarriage within the group a new race type with wide physical homogeneity is emerging.

35-3-168

If further we considsr the American Negro as mainly a cultural group, it is difficult to determine just what cultural traits are African or Negro or acquired; and how far Negro traits survived the slave trade and long residence in the New World. Students like Herskovits are sure that many African culture patterns in language, religion and social life are discernible in the Negro group in the United States even today. Others, like Frazier doubt if many such culture patterns survived. It is difficult if not impossible to settle this matter as no exact measure of culture is possible.

On the other hand, there is a sense in which the Negro in the United States forms a real race problem, if by "race" we mean a group which by outer pressure and inner choice has long been evolving and is still forming patterns and methods of meeting the peculiar problems of life and survival until their common methods of action and thought have made them into a fairly homogeneous cultural group, with a recognized name, a history, a literature and art expression. This is certainly true of the majority of American Negroes today; and while

many persons of Negro descent by choice or by ignorance of their ancestry do not belong to this group, there are at least fifteen millions of Americans who do.

Beyond this cultural unity, based on more or less unconscious reaction to physical and social environment, comes a unity which is conscious and psychological. It consists of ties of acquaintanceship and intermarriage, membership in churches, lodges, clubs, fraternities and sororities; education in thesame colored schools and colleges and wide interchange of visiting covering the nation from New York to San Francisco and from Chicago to New Orleans. Thus the Negro lives in a singularly complete world of his own, so that, saving economic ties, he is singularly unconscious of segregation from the whites.

But these economic ties, in a leading industrial nation and a rapidly integrating world economy, are naturally large and increasing, despite a group economy among Negroes designed to serve each other with numbers of services and some foods and materials. Since the mass of Negroes depend for making a living on places in the national industrial organization this economic aspect of their life is of increasing importance, and their status as workers and sharers in the national income, largely influences their group life.

There is then this third sense in which the Negro in the United States forms a unified group and that is as a working class, allied with the white workers but still segregated in part. As a class group, Negroes are confined to low-paid work on farms and as servants and unskilled laborers. In their separate schools they receive poorer education and their poverty increases their ignorance and poor health.

25-3-167

They are thus a part of the exploited proletariat of the world and have been gradually and slowly drawn into the union movement of the laboring masses of the United States.

However this condition is not true of the whole group. There are increasing numbers of Negro skilled workers, together with professional and business men, writers, musicians and artists. They are a small but growing body and ~~naturally~~ are the influential and vocal part of the black race in the United States. Naturally while they are a part of the Negro cultural group, they are not part of the Negro working class, nor allied in any way with the white working class. Their situation at present is anomalous, but a division is already apparent and growing, by which a black bourgeoisie will develop with interests opposed to the working mass and with increasing tendency to side in social attitudes with the white employing and property-holding class. If white public opinion softens its racial attitudes and recognizes this common group of white and black property holders and intellectuals, this will break the cultural solidarity of the Negroes and hasten the absorption of black workers into the white union movement. If race prejudices remains essentially immobile, despite the rise of a Negro bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, then the cultural solidarity will remain and be strengthened by a class grouping which may attract the white workers in turn. A vertical economy, segregated racially has often been proposed and on small scales attempted; but this involves organization and planning which has not yet evolved in the group, not to mention baffling questions of relationship to the national economy.

35-3-170

35-3-171

Thus we see that the American Negro problem is not primarily a dispute as to the fairly well-known facts, but rather a matter of the interpretation of those facts. The interpretation has been based on certain theories of human action, all true in some respect, but nearly all faulty in other respects. The disputes have arisen because of these theories which have changed from the concept of European serfdom of the sixteenth century, to caste based on a theory of biological race; then to theories of human cultural accomplishments, interpreted by psychology as history; and finally to a question of class and economic differences based on income; and to a lumping together of all problems of minorities into one heterogeneous group.

Of the basic facts concerning the Negro in the United States there is little dispute, and we shall, as our first task, seek to set these facts logically and in order. Then we shall examine the theories on which interpretation of the admitted facts are based; we will state them clearly as we understand them and guide the student to expressions made by their defenders and their opponents. Finally we will express our interpretation of the emerging truth, not as dogma, but as considered belief.

Recommendations for additional reading:

Snyder,, Louis L., Race, A history of Modern Ethnic Theories, 1939,
Longmans, Green and Co., Alliance Book Corporation, New York
Klineberg, Otto, Race Differences, New York, 1935
Benedict, Ruth, Race: Science and Politics, New York, 1947
Grant, Madison, The Passing of the Great Race, New York, 1918

Chapter II

THE TRANSPLANTATION OF THE AFRICAN TO AMERICA

The world in the fifteenth century presented no such differences in condition as would lead men to believe that human beings were not essentially of the same type and belonging to one species. In Asia, from the seventh to the tenth centuries, China appeared as the leading nation of the world, under the T'ang Dynasty and again under the Sungs from 960 to 1279 developed a brilliant culture with printing and art, and a socialistic state. Hordes from the ~~Genghis Khan~~ northeast appeared as world conquerors and eventually Kublai Khan became emperor of all China. His dynasty ruled from 1280 to 1368 during which time Marco Polo visited China. The Mongol Dynasty fell in disorder to be followed by the celebrated Ming Dynasty, 1388 to 1644. Peace and prosperity marked the land when European traders appeared.

In India, the Chola Dynasty of black Tamils united southern India from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, when they were overthrown by the Mohammedans who had conquered north India. Timur, descended from a courtier in the court of Genghis Khan and converted to Islam, conquered India, and the celebrated Mogul empire began under his descendant, Barbar in 1526, lasting legally until 1857. The great Akbar was contemporaneous with Elizabeth of England, but a far more powerful ruler with a greater nation to rule.

Africa in the fifteenth century was in most particulars quite as advanced as Europe or Asia. Modern continuous civilization had begun in the Valley of the Nile and extended east to Greece and south to Ethiopia. In the west, Guinea (Ghana) had been an independent kingdom from the fourth to the tenth centuries, when it was overthrown by expanding Islam

35-3-123

and the desert. Other black states succeeded, especially the Mandingan Empire which reached its heighth under Gonga Musa in the fourteenth century; while in the fifteen century, the Songhay Empire under Askia Mohammed was known to the civilized world for its organization, trade and high culture. Meantime, pushed south by Egypt and Islam, the Bantu Negroes beginning in the tenth century began to migrate south founding many states and initiating or helping in concert with Indians or Arabs in the development of civilization in Zymbabwe. They organized the great state of the Monopatapa which the Portuguese described in the fifteenth century, and pushed the primitive Negrillos into the jungle and the Bushmen to the Cape.

The general social condition of peoples inhabiting wide areas of land in different climates and under varying physical and group influences can today be judged only from surviving remains: in literature; in art as shown in the building and artifacts; in tradition and surviving culture patterns. This is but a meagre ground work upon which to base judgment. The surviving record of lives and acts, is confined mainly to outstanding characters, usually rulers. The vast mass of truth concerning the lives of the dead is lost and we only guess at it dimly. Thus the condition of the masses of men in the fifteenth century is not known with any accuracy. We do see in south Asia and Africa peoples with local control and family and clan government; especially with leisure in many ways for art expression. In north Asia and Europe the climate curtailed activity and scarcity of food compelled organized force. On the other hand in tropical Asia and Afica, warmth and moisture favored disease and destroyed material structures.

35-3-174

A change began in the fifteenth centuries in the relations of these continents. It was initiated by the influence of the Crusades, the western spread of Mediterranean culture, and the fact that the continent of Europe by its conformation, encouraged trade while both Asia and Africa were more self-contained. The Crusades, lasting from the close of the eleventh century through the thirteenth, brought to Europe knowledge of the cultures of Africa and Asia, especially in the matter of foods, clothing and the decorative arts. Trade ensued for the silks and jewels of Asia; the gold and spices of Africa. Rivalry for short routes to these markets led incidentally to the discovery of America; but more immediately to the development of Venice, Genoa and the Hansa cities as centers of the new foreign trade.

Meantime a mental awakening, known as the Renaissance, began to spread knowledge of Mediterranean culture in Greece, Egypt, and north Africa, throughout the western European lands, especially as the expansion of Islam drove eastern scholars west in search of sanctuary. Art and science began to appear with new vigor and a demand for freedom of thought appeared together with revolt against controls which curtailed freedom of movement and action and especially freedom to participate in the new and expanding trade.

Not only was there action against religious dogma in the sixteenth century, but also scientific inquiry on a wide scale in the seventeenth, and an impulse toward expression in literature and art with wide humanitarian sympathy for all mankind. But on the other hand, and as the event proved, in the opposite direction in many respects, came, especially through foreign trade, not only satisfaction of the spirit of adventure but extraordinary opportunities to make unusual income and for some great wealth.

Trade then as the eighteenth century approached in Europe, came increasingly to occupy a place in the national economy of European states far greater than in Asia or Africa. With this, as cause and effect came

35-3-175

a significant widening of the democratic ideal. Men of ordinary stature, who would never have thought of seeking political or clerical preferment, could and did become merchants, traders and adventurers with great success. This was because a vast reservoir of human ability which current social patterns choked in ignorance and poverty, came through trade and commerce able to escape their chains and rise. Trade and foreign trade became a path to comfort and respect and Europeans poured into it. They were not for the most part men with ideals of freedom of thought or religion, or dreamers of human brotherhood. They wanted profit from trade and they fought for it.

Thus in the eighteenth century came a significant democratization of Europe which was epoch-making. It showed itself in a much wider use of the abilities of human beings than had been current before in Europe or in Asia and Africa. The emergence of talent was no longer left so largely to chance and individual power, but depended more largely on self-discovery and ambition. And this change arose principally because of the new opportunities offered by trade. And not simply nor mainly local and domestic trade, which by long ~~custom~~ tradition was curtailed and standardized by custom and monopoly; but the individual adventurer increasingly intervened and by the eighteenth century became a dominant figure. The vocal demand for freedom in the late eighteenth century was freedom of trade for private companies or individual adventurers.

It was in this way that a trade in African laborers began. The notion was not new in the world. In the days of the Roman Empire, vast numbers of laborers were taken from Europe, Africa and Asia and distributed wherever there was a demand. During the Middle Ages, a trade in laborers was maintained until it interfered with the feudal tenure of land and

35-3-176

cultivation. Then labor control in Europe turned to serfdom, where the laborer could not be sold off the feudal estate; but there he was subject to forced labor for the lord. In time, religion and social progress mitigated the service of theserf, lessening the part of his time due his lord and even commuting it to a money payment or tax. Thus labor in Europe became immobile and in the nineteenth century began even to demand voice in the conduct of the state.

While this became true in the settled feudal kingdoms of Europe, a vigorous slave trade in white men, brown, yellow and black arose in those regions where war and upheaval caused shortage of labor from time to time. Thus in southern Europe, in the Middle East, in western Asia, and in the Nile Valley; and later in East and West Africa, trade in men was common from the Fall of Rome to the nineteenth century. One of the most astonishing developments in Africa was the rule of the Memeluke slaves in Egypt for six centuries, from 1193 to 1805. The Memelukes were white slaves bought by the thousands in the Balkans, Greece, Turkey, and the Near East. They were used mainly as soldiers and shared in the conquest of Islam and especially in the capture and holding of the Nile Valley. The contrast between this white slavery and black American slavery was striking. It involved no inborn racial differences, and because of this, Nordic historians have neglected white slavery and tied the idea of slavery to Negroes. The differences between the two groups of slaves were clear: the white slaves, under the leadership like that of the colored Mustansir and Saladin the Kurd, opened the way to civilization among both white and black.

In the fifteenth and succeeding centuries labor shortages occurred because of continuous war, widespread disease and epidemic and for new

35-3-177

uses to which labor could be put. Particularly in Spain and Portugal, due to wars against the Moors, slavery of labor and fierce slave revolts, and the expulsion of Jews, there was a scarcity of labor in the fifteenth century, especially in agriculture. One of the first results of this labor shortage was an influx of black labor from Africa. The Iberian peninsula was familiar with Negroes. They formed a considerable part of the Moorish armies; they were main elements of the conquering Almorades and then later Almohades and black leaders often occupied thrones. After the Moors had been driven out, laborers were needed to till the empty fields and later to serve the lords enriched by American gold and silver.

Here then the modern African slave trade began. The African slave trade was one of the greatest efforts to remove human beings from their original home to foreign places, that the world has ever known. While accurate figures are difficult and partly a matter of guess work, it seems probable that through the slave trade, Africa lost a hundred million human beings; thatof these millions were transported to the American continent and at least millions survived to be laborers in the New World. This migration, however, was not a single sustained effort. In fact it may be divided into four different phases, which altogether lasted some four centuries. First, from 1443 to 1500, the transplantation of African labor was an incident of the trade between Africa and Europe, a trade which consisted of gold, spices and other materials and which from time to time brought laborers especially to Portugal, Spain, Sicily, and to some other parts of the European continent. These laborers eventually became integrated in the population and can be traced today only in the darker color of many southern Europeans. The trade was not large in extent and did not differ materially from similar movements of labor within Europe and Asia.

35-3-178

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, and through the seventeenth the ~~discovery~~ exploration and settlement of the New World led to a new demand for labor. The Indians on account of their defense through tribal organization and ability to escape from the slave masters, did not entirely fill this labor need and the migrants from Europe were too small in number and not disposed to hard labor. Consequently a regular slave trade began between Africa and America through the French, Dutch and English, which for two centuries supplied a steady stream of labor principally to South America, then to the West Indies and Central America and finally to North America.

On account of the Papal Bull of Demarcation, Spain was cut off from supplying her own colonies and the right to carry on the slave trade became a valuable investment for foreign trading nations. But more important than that was the fact that these trading peoples began a widespread trade which began to accumulate capital, that is, goods and treasure which were used for further acquisition of wealth. This happened in the conquest of India in the seventeenth century and in the newly discovered America. The demand for "free adventuring" in trade and commerce greatly increased in the eighteenth century.

In both Asia and Africa, there was increase in scientific knowledge of the world in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But this was especially true in Europe; but in Europe was added a demand for obtaining and processing new materials raised by labor in foreign lands. The eighteenth century saw two contradictory movements in Europe; a demand for freedom in political expression and in trade, added to freedom for thought and belief; and also a demand for control of labor necessary to secure raw material like sugar, tobacco and cotton. While then in Europe, arose and era of political freedom and religious tolerance, simultaneously in Asia, Africa and America, a period of labor control which resulted in

35-3-129

enslavement of the laboring class also began and was pushed by Europe. Europe feverously extended her foreign trade and perfected her technique of processing raw materials from Asia and Africa and especially America. In Africa and Asia this resulted in political domination, used for the profit of the imperial master countries of Europe. But in America, the result was a system of slavery in a land which Europeans had seized and were dominating. Through the raising of materials like indigo and tobacco, a money crop was supplied for the colonists, and then in the widespread planting of cane sugar there came a chance to export a widely demanded and valuable crop from America, which afterward expanded into the so-called Cotton Kingdom. Back therefore of the demand for labor which was based upon the search for gold and jewels came this solid investment in a new series of crops which promised wide and considerable gain. The result was that in the eighteenth century a new phase of the slave trade began, first with the Dutch; and then with the monopoly of the English and from 1713 to 1800 came the real intensive African slave trade where the hopeful machinery of a new commerce and a new industry was turned into a systematic furnishing of black labor for the Americas.[1]

The total number of slaves imported is not known. Dunbar estimates that nearly 900,000 came to America in the sixteenth century, 2,750,000 in the seventeenth, 7,000,000 in the eighteenth, and over 4,000,000 in the nineteenth, perhaps 15,000,000 in all. Certainly it seems that at least ten million Negroes were expatriated. The Mohammedan slave trade built eventually on the ivory trade, later meant the expatriation or forcible migration in Africa of millions more. It would be conservative, then to say that the slave trade cost Negro Africa from a fourth to a third of its population.

In 1621 the private companies trading in the west were all merged into the Dutch West India Company, which sent in four years fifteen thousand four hundred and thirty Negroes to Brazil, carried on war with Spain, supplied even the English plantations, and gradually became thegreat slave carrier of the day. The Asiento of 1713 was an agreement between England and Spain by which the latter granted the former a monopoly of the Spanish colonial slave trade for thirty years; and England engaged to supply the colonies within that time with at least 140,000 slaves at therate of 4,800 per year. Encouraged by Parliamentary subsidies which amounted to nearly a half million dollars between 1729 and 1750, the trade increased to fifty-three ships in 1751; eighty-six in 1765, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, one hundred and eighty-five, which carried 49,213 slaves in one year.

35-3-120

From 1680 to 1688 we know that the English African Company alone sent two hundred forty-nine ships to Africa, shipped there 60,783 Negro slaves, and after losing fourteen thousand, three hundred eighty-seven in the middle passage, delivered 46,396 in America.

It seems probable that 25,000 Negroes a year arrived in America between 1698 and 1707. After the Asiento of 1713 this number rose to 30,000 annually, andbefore the Revolutionary war it had reached at least 40,000 and perhaps 100,000 slaves a year.

The trade was organized, carried on through black kings and tribal organization and while it began with the sale of prisoners of war and local slave peoples it very soon extended into deliberate warfare and slave-raiding. The figures of the trade are impressive, and not only did great cities like Liverpool and Bristol begin to grow and flourish because of the trade, but also the new capitalistic exploitation of labor was based upon this increasing use of cheap African labor and valuable American materials.

35-3-181

This exploitation developed the plantation system of the West Indies and of Central and South America and then in North America. A distinct, new and modern labor system based on slavery was evolved which brought moral and economic problems; especially since this same eighteenth century which saw the development of the slave trade, also with this saw the development of religious freedom and political democracy in Europe which extended to America.

The result was curious moral tension in America: in the West Indies, a system of Negro slavery was evolved which dominated the whole social system. But in North America, this system of slavery was forced on communities which were established to develop democratic government and freedom of religious belief. But soon the economic prosperity of these colonies came to depend on a slave economy; and as this prosperity increased on tobacco, sugar and cotton plantations; and among trading colonies, which dealt in slave-raised materials, the problem of slavery intensified.

At first and always rather half-heartedly, slavery was defended as a method of converting the heathen; but this not only exempted the white indentured servants from life service, but also logically freed converted blacks. The law was soon invoked to curb this interference with invested property and the theory of the inferiority of the Negro and his adaptability to slavery as the best form of utilizing his labor, became widely accepted. Efforts were now directed to preventing too great a number of blacks; to securing better treatment and to limiting the slave trade.

This inaugurated the fourth phase of the slave trade when the trade was limited in various ways by the effort of the colonies to avoid too great a slave population and by moral objections to the trade. Efforts to stop the trade, however, were not altogether successful and after 1800 a

spasmodic and partially illicit trade was kept up between Africa and America and then later in the nineteenth century a new phase of the trade based upon the gathering of ivory was developed in Africa and between Africa and Asia. The American Civil War, followed by legislation in South America and by the efforts in England to change the method of exploitation from slave trading to colonial imperialism led to the gradual stoppage of the slave tradelater in the nineteenth century.

35-3-182

The result of the African slave trade was first, the industrial revolutio in technique and organization which dominated the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the spread of capitalism based on slavery and then on colonialism and a world commerce which the colonial imperialism encouraged. Finally, it also resulted in the presence in America of a large African element which constituted for various reasons and in various ways a social problem which has not been settled even to our day.

Recommendations for additional reading:

Williams, Eric, Capitalism and Slavery
Canot, Theodore, Memoirs of a Slave Trader, 1940
Du Bois, W. E. B., Suppression of the Slave Trade, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1896

35-3-210

Chapter I

The Concept of Race

When the first Africans were imported to America, their status was for the most part, that of European peasants of the day; that is they occupied the status of serfs, bound to labor for the landowner. This status could only be altered by law. In most European lands, serfs secured partial freedom by running away to towns, where they were protected by ordinances for laborers or by guilds of artisans. Other wise, the peasnt labored for life on the farm where he was born, although an individual might be freed of the status in which he was born by his lord or by the king.

In the latter half of the I7th century, this peasant status of Negroes began to be change into a Caste system, based on race; a Negro was by law regarded as a slave because of his race; some Negroes were free; but this was, until the late I9th century, regarded as more and more exceptional. Legal difficulties were placed in the way of freeing slaves and disabilities laid on complete civil and political freedom of any person of Negro descent. After emancipation, this legal caste was by new legislation extended to all persons of Negro descent in the former slave states and in several of the other states.

The theory of "Race", u pon which this theory of caste was based arose in the early I9th century in Europe, and was seized upon in America, at the time of the rise of the Cotton Kingdom, to justify Negro slavery as a form of modern labor. The theory of Race based itself on biology and history, and leaned heavily for proof on the new Darwinian theory of evolution. It dominated science, politics and religion until well nito the 20th century. During this time it was regarded as axiomatic that the three or five branches of the human family formed a hierarchy, in which the whites were superior in native ability, while the other races ranged down to the black race which was congentialy inferior. However difficulties with this theory appeared: first as to the number of races, which varied according to different authorities from three to 200

Also as to the criteria of race -- color, hair, bodily measurements, etc., which varied in such detail that no "pure" race types were discernable. Finally science began to stress culture traits rather than biological difference as the basis human differences. This began the overthrow of the biological race theory, although the difficulties of cultural measurments, led to a period when race and culture became to be used without clear distinction, discrimination. This led to confusion in thought and action, since a black man might belong to a high developed culture group while a white man might be primitive in developed culture.

Then a new division of men increased in significance as modern industry and commerce enveloped the world: that was the Class difference based on property and income: poverty was evidently the basic cause of much ignorance and ill-health, and unless the income of the masses could be increased, the uplift of mankind could not proceed as rapidly as would otherwise be possible. This was the argument of those thinkers who as the Industrial Revolution developed were alarmed at the distress and helplessness of the working classes. At first the Negroes, including the American slaves were not regarded as part of the modern working class. Those in colonies even today are not usually so regarded. But after emancipation in the United States, some account of black workers had to be taken; and when after the First World War, the Negroes rushed North and replaced European immigrants in northern industry, Negroes began slowly to be integrated into the unions and their problem became increasingly a problem of Class; that is, it was evident that American Negroes were in the main, a low income class of tenant farmers, or a povery-stricken city proletariat, ignorant and diseased. And thus the so-called "race" problem, became part of the problem of modern class differences.

Finally, social, religious and economic differences, placed the Negro among a number of so-called "Minority Groups", which for widely different reasons were suffering discrimination in various ways and were united only

35-3-211

Chapter I

The Concept of Race

The idea of race historically arose from the Aristotlean and scholastic conception of natural law by which everything is by nature grouped in categories. Thus Pouchet says

"Race means the different natural groups of the human family."

Lippit, Ronald and Radke, Marian; The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. New York, 1946 p. 167

Linnaeus in the early eighteenth century expressed the concepts of of class, genus, and species which the theologians presented him. Buffon later introduced the term "race" into natural science, but Blumenbach first used it in the sense of classification. To him it represented an extension of the concept of Aristotle of species and the subdivision of species. Blumenbach recognized that all human beings belong to a single species and considered it convenient to distinguish between certain geographical groups of men.

As modern science developed an attempt was made to set down exact definitions of race. Race said Quatrefager

"[redacted]" is an aggregate of individuals resembling one another, belonging to the same species, having received and transmitting by way of generation the characteristics of a primitive variety."

Quatrefager

35-3-185

By this definition race was a biological rather than a sociological term and had to do with physical and not social traits. It was considered that it arose from a fixed and unchangeable part of the germ plasm which transmitted fixed traits from generation to generation.

As Hooten expressed it in our day

"A race is a large body of mankind the members of which possess similar combinations of physical variations which they owe to their common descent. Race is therefore, a physical classification based upon hereditary anatomical features. The term carries no necessary implications of language, nationality, or culture.

[redacted]:

Ernest Hooton, Twilight of Man, New York, 1939, page 65.

Or [redacted] other authority says

3) The statement by Pittard is classic

35-3-186

" By race we should understand the continuity of a physical type, expressing affinities of blood, representing essentially a natural grouping, which can have nothing, and in general has nothing in common with the people, the nationality, the language, or the customs corresponding to groupings that are purely artificial, in no way anthropological, and arising entirely from history, whose actual products they are . "

Eugene Pittard, A restatement in Race and History, New York, 1926, p.3. Concept by Boule in his Les Hommes Fossiles, p. 322 .

4 The extreme biological view is that there is a fixed racial germ plasm whi which by heredity absolutely determines racial character. However it soon became evident that no definite description of race could be maintained, so that we find modifying statements like the following

35-3-187

51

35-3-188

Race- a persistent strain, within any species, of broadly blood-connected individuals carrying steadily, i.e. hereditarily, more or less of well defined physical characteristics which distinguish them fairly from all other strains or races. In some of the individuals a trait may even be so weak as to be obscured or submerged. But in a definite established race every member of it carries the distinctive features in some grade, or at least carries them potentially, in his hereditary endowment, so that they may reappear in his progeny .

H. S. Jennings, Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem, Washington D. C. ,1941, pp.161-162 .

6

"Race comprises a succession of individuals born of one another, and distinguished by certain characteristics which have become permanent."

New American Encyclopedia pp. 1159-63 — G. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire

"Race is a group of people having common cultural attributes and considered by others as belonging to a distinct biological group."

35-3-189

References:
Richard La Pierre, and Paul Farnsworth, Social Psychology
New York, 1936, page 280.

More loose definitions became common as for instance Kastler

Kastler, Norman - Modern Human Relations, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1940. p. 247

"Race is simply a classification of people based upon differences in certain human inheritable traits affecting the external appearance of different groups."

These ideas were followed by even looser description as Pritchard

7

"The different races of man are not distinguishable from each other by strongly marked and permanent distinctions. All the diversities which exist are variable and pass into each other by insensible gradations."

Natural History of Man, Pritchard

35-3-190

"Race" is simply a classification of people based upon differences in certain obvious inheritable traits affecting the external appearance of different groups. (2) Norman M. Kastler, Modern Human Relations, Little, Brown and Co. 1940, p. 247

Kastler

The use of the theory of race as an interpretation of social development began in 1853 with Gobineau's Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races. He recognized three races and placed them with the white race supreme, the yellow next and blacks ~~occupied~~ in the lowest, but he attributed to each of the races some lines of development in which they were superior to the others. His great argument was that mixture with other races degraded the whites. ~~But~~ This dogma as well as previous assumptions began to be questioned. The American Anthropological Association said

"Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by larger groups of mankind, but its psychological and cultural connotations, if they exist, have not been ascertained by science."

By The American Anthropological Association, (Dec. 1938)
Benedict, op. cit. p. 260

35-3-191

Especially was the doctrine of pure races attacked. Both Blumenbach and Pritchard assert that the varities of mankind run into each other by insensible gradations and Topinard declared

"Race in the present state of things is an abstract conception, a notion of continuity in discontinuity, of unity in diversity. It is the rehabilitation of a real, but directly unattainable thing." ~~M. Topinard~~

~~p. 263~~ Franklin, ~~Race~~ Prec. of Civilization, p. 263

"The innumerable varities of mankind run into one another by insensible degrees."

Topinard - "De la notion de race en anthropologie", Revue d'Anth., 1879, quoted by Ripley, p. 111-2.

Hans Gunther declared that a human group marked off from every other human group by bodily and other characteristics was not acceptable because such differentiation had never been proven. Then began the insistence upon cultural characteristics as indicative of race difference. Gumplowicz says

"Race is a unity created in the course of history by social development and is precisely a unity which finds its points of departure in intellectual factors (language, religion, morals, law, culture, etc.) and thereafter attains the most powerful physical factor, the unity of blood, which binds all together in a true bond;" ~~Gumplowicz~~ Hankins, Racial Basis of Civilization, p. 10

The American Psychological Association declared in 1938

"No psychological differences for a fundamental distinction between so-called races have been discovered nor are there any innate mental differences between the races."

1938 Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association.

10 Jean Finot, Race Prejudice, Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1906 p. 49.

Finot wrote
~~This author states that~~ "race is only a variety caused and mixed by climatic influences, food and habits."

11

Bunche, J. Ralph, World view of Race, 1936. P. 5-

"Herbert Spencer adopted an explanation of race which tickled the ego of many people. He explained race ~~as the~~ evolution, on a sort of "stept ladder" basis, and the idea developed that races represented distant levels of advancement which were determined by nature. Thus there were "superior" and "inferior" "advanced" and "backward" races - which by nature became the basis for the moral justifications and the grand rationalizations of modern imperialistic tutelage - means of indentifying society race traits were usually definitely associated with color.

35-3-193

So that as Klineberg says

12)

"A race, then, may be defined as a large group of men possessing in common certain characteristics (physical) which are determined by heredity. The other, non-physical, qualities which have been ascribed to races are in this sense secondary, in that they do not belong to the concept or definition of race; they are not used for example, in race classification. When a psychologist writes that a distinct race is a group of people having the same remote ancestry, and consequently having certain physical and mental traits different from those of other races with a totally different ancestry, he incorporates into his definition a judgment for which proof is required, and ~~of which proof~~ upon which there is in the meantime no agreement. ~~Similarly~~ Similarly, when an anthropologist states that that the characters that distinguish human races are morphological, physiological, chemical, psychological, and even pathological, he is definitely ~~outside~~ outside the limits of accepted anthropological doctrine. By definition, the characters that distinguish human races are morphological; the rest remain to be proved."

Klineberg, Otto, RACE DIFFERENCES, 1935 ed. Pp. 17, 18.

13 10 Democratic Society, 1945 ed., p. 21

Franz Boas goes further

35-3-193 35-3-194 "The existence of any pure race with special endowments is a myth, as is the belief that there are races all of whose members are foredoomed to eternal inferiority." Boas, Franz., Race and

14 11

Other quotations developed this idea

"The indiscriminate and loose use of the term "race" in many kinds of literature has long led to confusion. The abuse of the term to justify national and political ambitions has resulted in nebulosity, a disorderand lack of precision, which confuse the individual, whether scientist or educated layman. On occasion even capable scholars have used the term carelessly in a sense that could not possibly be accurate. Like the words "language","people," "culture","nation", and"Civilization", the term "race" has no exact meaning which is acceptable or satisfactory to all-- to anthropologist, biologist, philologist,paleontologist, ethnologist and historian. It is doubtful,moreover,whether such an exact meaning satisfactory to all scholars will, or indeed can ever be, agreed upon.

35-3-196

"Race has been used as a synonym for a people, a nationality, a language, or artificial group customs. There never was, nor is there today, a German race, but a German nation, no Aryan race, but Aryan languages, no Roman race, but a Roman Civilization. In classifying the peoples of the earth, it is important that physical characteristics, culture and language be differentiated. Failure to obey this simple and fundamental rule has resulted in extraordinary confusion which has seeped from scientific sources into the public mind." Snyder, L. L., Race, pp. 5-8

15

35-3-197

" In the first place, what is a human race, this type of differentiation to which it is desired to bring back humanity? When this term, race, is used in speaking of domestic animals, its meaning and bearing are easily grasped. But the life of human beings, evolving under the influence of so many distinctive elements, does not allow the use of the same term.It is to man that the theory manintained with so much talent by Lamarck is particularly applicable, viz., "The classifications are only artificial, for nature has created neither classes nor orders nor families nor kinds nor permanent species, but only individuals." Moreover it is enough to examine the individuals composing an ethnical group in order to see that there are more differences between them than between races conceived as opposing unities." Finot, pp. 47, 51, 52, 53

Toynbee in

his monumental work defines race as "a

term used to denote the possession of some

distinctive and inheritable quality in a particular

group of human beings. - - - - - - - In social

psychology and in all discussions of race to date

when race is put forward as a factor

productive of civilization depend on the

assumption that there is a correlation

between valuable psychic qualities and certain

manifest physical characteristics"

[1] Arnold J. Toynbee A Study of History, (Oxford

University Press N.Y. and London 1947) Vol. I p. 27-5

7.

Boaz thereupon declares race as

35-3-198

26

17

Boas defines races "a group of people that have certain bodily characteristics in common." ..... "I believe that the present state of our knowledge justifies us in saying that while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small." "there is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more intelligent, endowed with great will power, or emotionally more stable than another,

"that the difference would materially influence its culture" F. Boas, Race, Language and Culture, 1940, p. 14

35-3-197

Boas Race Language Culture 1940 p 14

19

18

golden describes race in terms of culture

"Race is used to describe certain types of culturally defined attitudes and other social relations between groups" By Gillin, John

Gillin, John ; The Ways of Men.

1948 . p. 97

35-3-200

20

19

It is denied that pure races are the only peoples that have progressed

Linton, Ralph. - The Study Of Man. New York, D. Appleton Century, 1936, p. 34

"Every civilized group of which we have record has been a hybrid group, a fact which deposits effectually of the pure blood ones." peoples are inferior to

35-3-201

20

"It so happen that race is not merely a physical and psychological fact today as it often was before; it has become a state of mind. It is an attitude"

Frederick Hertz, ~~Race and Culture~~ Race, Environment and Culture, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1933, p. 359.

35-3-202

Stress is especially put upon race as culture rather than as biology

Reuter, E. B., Culture Contact and Race, p. 34

21

S

"Sociologically, race is significant only when it is so defined in a culture. Its importance is a function of the history, conditions, and processes of a given social order. Intrinsically, race is probably no more than a loose aggregation of individuals, approximating a given physical type. But if race is defined as a social reality in the folkways, mores, and behavior of the folk, as in the United States and South Africa, it is more than a mere zoological fact. It becomes a significant symbol, evoking love and hate and arousing men to words and deeds, a source of rancor and conflict."

35-3-20

22)

"All reputable anthropologists condemn the malignant nonsense about racial psychology which is preached and published by those who try to justify the oppression of ethnic minorities. Political theories about race are nothing more than instruments of propaganda, devised for the child minds of totalitarian populations."

35-3-204

E. A. Hooton, Twilight of Man, New York, 1939, p. 129.

24

23

"There was no clear idea in the mind of many as to what constitutes race, the marks of differentiation which serve to set off one race from another are often vaguely conceived; there seems to be a very reliable knowledge concerning the number and origin of races; geographical location is not invariably clearly defined. To produce type a certain set of elements must persist generations after generation and to trace this type is to go backward to the very dawn of mankind's awakening and to inquire what beings existed at the globe at that time."

The Encyclopedia Americana

35-3-205

24

Brown, Dorothy M. Class Name Prejudice..
[illegible] Norton and Co., 1926. 131.

The author is an educated negro woman who has written a book of essays dealing with various aspects of race prejudice among [illegible] people. She has lived in Europe as well as America, and has written from the point of view of a cultured negro woman. She has written on the subject of race prejudice in the United States, and has written on the subject of race prejudice in Europe. She has written on the subject of race prejudice in the United States, and has written on the subject of race prejudice in Europe.

35-3-266

25 The stress then goes further to class differences as being interpreted as racial

50 "Race thus has a profound social significance.... It is made the symbol of cultural status and thus serves to justify the exploitation of the weaker group with the ~~available~~ inevitable political and cultural consequences. Being a symbol of cultural status it serves automatically to classify individuals, and so retard their advance by limiting their freedom and determining the cultural values to which they have access."

— E.B. Reuter, American Race Problem. New York, T.Y. Crowell Co., 1927, p. 34

35-3-307

51 "

"[Racism] is a method of bolstering up self-esteem and lust for power by means of beliefs which have nothing in their favor except they are flattering."

— Bertrand Russell, "The Ancestry of Fascism" The Praise of Idleness, New York, 1935, p. 114.

52 " In one word, the term race is only a product of our mental activities, the work of our intellect, and outside all reality. Science had need of races as hypothetical limits, and these "products of art" to use Lamark's expression, have become concrete reality for the vulgar. Races as irreducible categories only exists as pictures in our brains. They exist in us but not outside us"

— Jean Finot. Race Prejudice. London, 1906 P. 319.

26

28

35-3-208

[illegible] Defense Digest [illegible]
[illegible] Paper and Wash, 1944. 16.

"This fear of crisis is easily a convenient cause to appeal to for people, a political tool Hitler uses (used) to maintain himself in power. As long as it remains the idea [illegible] there is not peace in the world."

[illegible] Lecture, Magazine
[illegible], 1927.

"Astrology has no encouragement in [illegible] Trust our spiritual achievement to automatic expectation of any exalted planetary [illegible]."

35-3-209

27 "Race" is defined by the white American man as the basis of the social caste system as it exists in America."

[redacted]

Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York, 1944, page 114.

e subject to the injustice of c

In the attempt to make a scientific study of race, we find that a large number of definitions and explanations, some of which are based on the biological theory of race , some on the psychology of groups, many on a study of group cultures and some others still on the matter of class and economic differences. In these different race theories we find that they cover not simply biological race but other methods of differenciating human beings to which we have referred.

35-3-212

Considering now these definitions of "race", varying as they do from definite biological concepts which some have tried to base on exact scientific formulae; to cultural grouping according to cultural patterns of life and economic class separation; considering all these definitions and concepts, how far is the problem of persons of Negro descent in the United States, a problem of race? First of all it is not and never was a problem of biological race: the persons imported from Africa were in the main Negroes and Negroids and Nilotic peoples; but represented tribes of widely differing history and physique, varying from the tall, black, thin-lipped and high-nosed Sudanese and Nilotic Negroes to the black, broad-nosed West Africans, the brown mixture of peoples called Bantu and the yellow Hottentots. They even included some Arab and Berber elements Once the Negro landed in America, his blood has been widely mixed with Latin and Nordic European blood and with that of the Red Indians. Much of the confusion and misunderstanding about the Negro has arisen from failure to realize that the so-called American Negro is and has always been a mixed group representing no single race, by no scientific definition, any homogenious race of men, except as intermarriage within the group is beginning to form a more or less racial unit.

If we consider the American Negro as mianly a cultural group, it is difficult to determine just what cultural traits are African or Negro, or acquired; and how far negro traits survived the slave trade and long residence in the New Worl. Students like Herskowitz are sure that many African culture patterns in language, religion & social life are discernable in the Negro group in the United States even today. Others, like Frazier doubt if many such culture patterns survived. It is difficult if not impossible to settle this matter as no exact measure of cultures is possible. But on the other hand there is a sense in which the Negro in the United forms a real race problem, if by "race" we mean a group which by outer pressure and inner choice has long been evolving and is still forming patterns and methods of meeting their peculiar problems of life and survival until their common methods of action and thought have made them into a fairly homogeneous called group, with a recognized name, a history, a literature and art expression. This is crtainly true of the majority of American Negroes t day; and while many persons of Negro descent by choice or by ignorance of their ancestry or by concealment, do not bleong to this group, there are at least I5 millions of Americans who do. This is the group which this volume treats

Beyond t. cultural unity, based on more or less unconscious reaction to physical and social environment, comes a unity which is conscious and psychological. It consists of ties of acquaintanceship and intermarriage, membership of groups like Churches, lodges, clubs, fraternities and sororities; education at the same group of colored schools and colleges and wide interchange of visiting covering the nation from New York to San Francisco and from Chicago to New Orleans. Thus the Negro lives in an almost complete world of his own, so that saving economic ties, he is singularly unconscious of segregation from the whites.

But these economic ties, in a leading industrial nation anda rapidly integrating world economy are naturally large and increasing, despite a group economy among Negroes designed to serve each other with numbers of services and some foods and materials. But since the mass of Negroes depend for making a living on places in the national industrial organization, this economic aspect of their life is of increasimportance, and their status as workers and sharers in the national income, largely influences their group life

35-3-213

There is a third sence in which the Negro in the United States forms a unified group and that is as a working class, allied with the white workers but still segregated in part. As a class group, Negroes are confined to low-paid work on farms and as servants and unskilled laborers. In their separate schools they receive poorer education and their poverty increases thier ignorance and poor health. They are thus a part of the exploited proletariat of the world and have been graduall and slowly drawn into the union mavement of the laboring masses of the United States. However this condition is not true of the whole group. There are increasing numbers of Negro skilled workers, together with professional and business men and writers, musicians and artists. They small but growing and naturally influential part of the black race in the United States. Naturally while they are large a part of the Negro cultural group, they are not part of the Negro working class, nor allied in any way with the white working class. Their sityation at present anomalous, but a division is already apparent and growing, by which a black bourgeoisie will grow up in this group with interests opposed to the working mass and with increasing tendency to side in social attitudes with the white employing and property-holding class. If white public opinion softens it racial attitudes and recognizes this common ground of white and black property holders and intellectuals, this will break the cultutal solidarity of the Negroes and hasten the absorbtion of black workers into the white union movement. If race prejudice remains essentially immobile, despite the rise of a Negro bourgeoisie and intelligensia, then the cultural solidarity will remain and be strengthened by a class groupingwhich may attract the workers in turn.

35-3-213

(5) #2 Thus we see that the American Negro problem is not primarily a dispute as to the fairly well-known facts, but rather a matter of the interpretation of those facts. The interpretation has been based on certain theories of human action, all true in some respect, but all faulty in many other respects. The disputes have arisen because of these theories, which have changed from the concept of European serfdom of the sixteenth century, to caste based on a theory of biological race; then to theories of human cultural accomplishments, interpreted by the psychology of history; and finally to a question of class and economic differences based on income; and to a lumping together of all problems of minorities into one heterogeneous group

35-3-183

Of the basic facts concerning the American Negro, there is little dispute, and we shall, as our first task, seek to set these facts logically in order. Then we shall examine the theories on which interpretation of the admitted facts are based; we will state them clearly as we understand them and guide the student to expressions made by their defenders and opponents, than

Finally we will express our interpretation of the emerging truth, not as dogma, but as considered belief

35-3-214

A vertical economy, segregated racially, has ofte n been proposed and on small scales attempted; but this involves organization and planning which has not yet evolved in t

ling questions of relationship to the national economy

A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY (THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W. E. B. DU BOIS)

MEMO

To: The Afro-Asian Writers Bureau
From: Shirley Graham Du Bois

Re: Du Bois Autobiography Manuscript

This work is, in large part, written from records, journals and travel diaries, by my husband in 1957-58 after he had given up his offices in the Council on African Affairs Building, New York City and "retired" to our home in Brooklyn.

After the extended trip of 1958-59 he returned to the work in earnest with the thought of publishing it. But, when completed publishers in the United States would have none of it. My husband recalled that the Foreign Publishing House in Moscow, which had done a number of his works, had been asking him for some kind of Autobiography. He wrote them.

Shortly before we moved to Ghana, 1961, the manuscript went off to Moscow and appeared in Russian early 1962. In Ghana, President Nkrumah told my husband that they would like to bring out the first English edition of these memoirs in the then-under-construction Ghana State Publishing House. My husband was happy to agree to this.

In the fall of 1962 we returned to China. Then my husband learned much that shocked and distressed him. (We had not believed reports which had been published in the New York Times.

Under the circumstances I consider it important to note that the manuscript was completed before 1960. This is W.E.B. Du Bois record and his observations. We are obliged to publish what he wrote.

Shirley Graham Du Bois
Care of David Du Bois
18/B, 26th of July Street, Apt 47
Cairo - U.A.R.

39-2-50

Return to
W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

59-2-1

39-2-2

A SOLILOQUY

ON VIEWING MY LIFE

FROM THE LAST DECADE

OF ITS FIRST CENTURY

by

W.E.B. Du BOIS

39-2-3

D E D I C A T E D T O

MY GREATGRANDFATHER:	JAMES DU BOIS
MY GRANDFATHER:	ALEXANDER DU BOIS
MY PARENTS:	ALFRED DU BOIS and
	MARY BURGHARDT
MY CHILDREN:	BURGHARDT GOMER DU BOIS
	YOLANDE DU BOIS
	DAVID GRAHAM DU BOIS
MY GRANDDAUGHTER:	DU BOIS MCFARLANE

.....

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PRELUDE		
CHAPTER 1	MY FIFTEENTH TRIP ABROAD	pg 1 - 3
CHAPTER 11	WESTERN EUROPE	pg 4 - 10
CHAPTER 111	THE PAWNED PEOPLES	pg 11 - 17
CHAPTER 1V	THE SOVIET UNION	pg 18 - 31
CHAPTER V	CHINA	pg 32 - 42
INTERLUDE		
CHAPTER V1	MY BIRTH AND FAMILY	pg 43 - 58
CHAPTER V11	BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON	pg 59 - 79
CHAPTER V111	I GO SOUTH	pg 80 - 108
CHAPTER 1X	HARVARD, 1888 - 1892	pg 109 - 129
CHAPTER X	EUROPE, 1892 - 1894	pg 130 - 155
CHAPTER X1	WILBERFORCE, 1894 - 1896	pg 156 - 166
CHAPTER X11	THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1896	pg 167 - 178
CHAPTER X111	ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, 1897 - 1910	pg 179 - 210
CHAPTER X1V	THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT	pg 211 - 229
CHAPTER XV	THE NAACP, 1910 - 1933	pg 230 - 252
CHAPTER XV1	MY CHARACTER	pg 253 - 264
CHAPTER XV11	THE DEPRESSION, 1933 - 1944	pg 265 - 283
CHAPTER XV111	NEW DEAL FOR NEGROES	pg 284 - 302
CHAPTER X1X	RETURN TO THE NAACP, 1944 - 1948	pg 303 - 318
CHAPTER XX	WORK FOR PEACE	pg 319 - 337
CHAPTER XX1	INDICTED CRIMINAL	pg 338 - 358
CHAPTER XX11	THE TRIAL	pg 359 - 376
CHAPTER XX111	MY TENTH DECADE	pg 377 - 395
POSTLUDE		pg 396 - 410

39-2-4

A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY

by W. E. B. DU BOIS

CHAPTER I

MY FIFTEENTH TRIP ABROAD

87-25

August 8th was a day of warm and beautiful sunshine, and many friends with flowers and wine were at the dock to bid me and my wife goodbye. For the fifteenth time I was going abroad. I felt like a released prisoner, because since 1951, I had been refused a passport by my government, on the excuse that it was not considered to be " to the best interests of the United States" that I go abroad. It assumed that if I did, I would probably criticise the United States for its attitude toward American Negroes. This was certainly true.

Later the State Department changed its reasons, and refused to issue a passport unless I declared in writing that I was not a member of the Communist party. As a matter of fact, I was not a member of that party. Yet I refused to make any statement on the ground that the government had no legal right to question me concerning my political beliefs.

Then unexpectedly the Supreme court of the United States handed down a decision in 1958 which said that "Congress had never given the Department of State any authority to demand a political affidavit as prerequisite to issuing a passport." The Department of State in July issued passports to several persons who previously had been denied the right to travel, including Paul Robeson and his wife, and me and my wife, Shirley Graham. Paul and his wife went abroad immediately, and we prepared to follow in September, but since the President of the United States rushed a special message to Congress asking for new legislation, we hurried and sailed early in August.

The sea was calm throughout the trip. The ship was well arranged, although

the air conditioning on our inside cabin did not function well. The passengers were rather more courteous than I expect Americans to be, and we had pleasant social relationships with the Rumanian ambassador to the United Nations, and his family.

On arriving in London, our luggage was subjected to more careful examination than we have ever been used to, but finally, we were courteously released, and with our good friend Cedric Belfrage, drove from Southampton up to London, through New Forest, and near Bedales, where my daughter attended high school. We stopped three weeks in Paul Robeson's apartment, while he was singing in Moscow.

During August and September, I saw something of Britain, Holland, and France; then in the Fall and early Winter, I lived in the Soviet Union, resting a part of the time in a sanatorium. In the winter and spring I was three months in China, and then returned to Moscow for May Day. I visited the tenth session of the World Council of Peace in Stockholm, and finally stayed a month in England. On July 1st, 1959, I came home.

I mention this trip in some detail because it was one of the most important trips that I had ever taken, and had wide influence on my thought. To explain this influence, my soliloquy becomes an autobiography. Autobiographies do not form indisputable authorities. They are always incomplete, and often unreliable. Eager as I am to put down the truth, there are difficulties; memory fails especially in small details, so that it becomes finally but a theory of my life, with much forgotten and misconceived, with valuable testimony but often less than absolutely true, despite my intention to be frank and fair.

Who and what is this I, which in the last year looked on a torn world and tried to judge it? Prejudiced I certainly am by my twisted life; by the way in which I have been treated by my fellows; by what I myself, have thought and done. I have passed through changes by reason of my growth and willing; by my surroundings without; by knowledge and ignorance. What I think of myself, now and in the past furnishes no certain document proving what I really am. Mostly my life today is a mass of memories with vast omissions, matters which forgotten accidently or by deep design.

Forty year ago when at the age of fifty, I first essayed a brief autobiography, my memories furnished many details and conclusions which now disappear or return as quite strange. There are of course some fixed documents, like that memorandum on my twenty-fifth birthday, some letters to my mother, and that priceless letter to Ex-President Hayes. In "DUSK OF DAWN" I wrote much about my life as I saw it at the age of seventy, which differs much from what I think at the age of ninety-one. One must then consider these varying views as contradictions to truth, and not as final and complete authority.

This book then is the Soliloquy of an old man on what he dreams his life has been as he sees it slowly drifting away; and what he would like others to believe.

The century in which was mine to live, is now in its last decade. In all probability I shall not finish it, since life seldom goes by logical completeness, but I shall be near enough its end to speak with a certain sense of unity. In all my plans and dreaming, I do not remember ever thinking of a long life. The people of my family on both sides usually reached the seventies, but I know none of ninety; and my immediate parents died in their fifties. I remember writing a sort of semi-biography on my fiftieth birthday in my book called "DARKWATER." I was not thinking of immediate death, but I was sure that by far the largest part of my life had passed. Indeed it characterized my day that most men thought their work would be about done at sixty and they would be dead or practically dead at seventy. Yet, I had no thought of dying. At sixty-five I had accepted a life-time job at Atlanta University without a moment's pause to ask what was to happen when I was judged too old to work. That neglect to worry about my old age was peculiar and contradicted my complete surroundings. In my own family old folk found a home with relatives; but in the surrounding community the first worry of the average citizen was for provision for his old age. Personally this problem never bothered me until suddenly at seventy-five I was retired from work with practically no savings, and no pension in view sufficient to support me. Failure to give attention to this part of my future was due to no laziness nor neglect. I was eager to work and work continuously.

39-2-7

CHAPTER II

WESTERN EUROPE

I know Western Europe through a repeated series of visits covering the years 1892 until the present. I knew Germany as a student and traveler before the world wars, and as a traveler since. I had lived at times in various places in England and Scotland, in France, and in Holland and Belgium. I have been more briefly in Switzerland, Italy, Spain and Portugal; in Greece, Turkey, and in the old Austro-Hungarian empire. During my earlier visits, Europe seemed very much like America, but older, with a longer history, and with inspiring memories of the past, in buildings and monuments, and in cultural differences.

This time I noticed more because here was a group of countries which had been through the terrible experiences of world war. Revolution had shaken the world, and now mankind in this center of Western civilization was trying to rebuild itself into something new. I, on the other hand, represented something old which had projected itself into a new America, and clothed in slavery and poverty, had begun a modern race problem. I looked therefore upon this world, as I had looked before, as a member of the darker race, which had suffered from the oppression of the white European world.

As a student, I had learned of the struggle between races; of the way in which the slave trade had been stopped, slavery abolished, colonial imperialism begun, until finally in the twentieth century the nations of Europe had fallen to fighting each other over the problem as to who should control the domination of Asia and Africa. I came to Europe now to learn if now European Imperialism was about to disappear, and what hope we had of a future. Was a world of peace and racial equality about to emerge?

I was disappointed. London was a clean and comfortable city, with parks, trees and flowers. England was still a leading nation. Holland was clean and respectable; yet both these nations frightened me. I knew the restraint and correct manners of the British; their excellent newspapers, studious magazines,

and thoughtful books. But today, in streets and gatherings, in shops and factories, there lurked a great fear. The British empire was falling. The domination which Englishmen has so long exercised over the world was approaching an end, and nothing could stop it; and this the British knew. They were leaning with increased dependance on the wealth and technique of the United States, which could be seen in the vast American investment in buildings and business, and in the increasing, even if sullen respect for American manners and opinion.

I knew that in the past, to put the matter bluntly and simply, the British empire had built its prosperity on cheap labor, which the colored peoples of the world were forced to do, and on lands and materials which had been seized without just compensation, by the British throughout the world. Granted that in the past the British had been morally no worse in their exploitation of labor and wealth than other peoples, and had even worked more efficiently and scientifically than most, and thus had become more wealthy and powerful; nevertheless the terrible result of all this had been world war; universal murder and destruction, maiming and disease to an extent that made many men despair of its future.

I came therefore to Europe in 1959, to try to learn if possible how far the lessons of the past were guiding the future, and what the hope of that future was. I came to the conclusion that the people of Britain were determined to proceed on the whole along the same paths which they had followed in the past. That they were determined to maintain their comforts and civilization by using cheap labor and raw materials, seized without rightful compensation, and to change their treatment of other people only if this required no essential yielding of comfort or even luxury.

This system has been in use during the last half of the nineteenth century. It worked so well that in the twentieth century Britain and France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Spain, the Netherlands and Belgium fought each other in two terrible wars for a re-division of the spoils of colonial exploitation. This fighting

complicated the situation by increasing the demands of home labor for higher wages and by arousing the consciousness of the colonial peoples who were brought in to assist in the fighting, and who began to demand increased income for work, larger use of land, and even political power. The second half of the century faced a free India and China; a struggling Indonesia; growing demand for autonomy all over the rest of Asia and Africa; with repercussions in South and Central America, and the islands of the sea.

39-2-10

Leading and encouraging this revolt and unrest, is Russia, transformed into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which denies the right of private ownership of capital, the profit motive in industry and colonial imperialism.

Girding itself against this is the United States of America, which arose two hundred years ago as a free-thinking democracy, with limitless land and resources; but which sank into dependence on slave labor, transformed itself into a vast center of capital monopolized by closed corporations, and now seeks to replace the British empire by stopping Socialism with force, and ruling the world by private capital, and newly invented technique.

Western Europe views this duel with frightened amazement. I see in Britain, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, the utter and desparately-held belief of the ruling classes in these lands that their culture and comfort depend absolutely on cheap labor, seized land and materials belonging to defenseless peoples; some of these workers are their own "lower classes", most of whom are the "lesser breeds without the law." Western Europe hopes that without essential alteration in its way of life an accomodation can be made between their demands and the upsurging of the lower classes and peoples. They see this chance in four ways: home labor appeased by elementary education and some political power; with higher wage paid out of profit from investment in foreign lands, which the home labor makes sure by fighting in world wars. They hope to make the alteration in their way of life small, by the rise of a small class among the backward peoples, who will join them in exploiting their own people for the profit of both themselves and the imperialists. Their home labor may through trade union activity win increasing

wage out of the large profit of the employers; their taxes and military service abroad will make such grants agreeable to investors. If the colonial peoples grow impatient revolt may ensue and war start; this imperialists with atom bombs can win unless the Communist countries join in fighting, and if neutrals like India and Egypt stand aside.

On the other hand, what seemed to me absolutely certain was that if the majority of the world's people who are unsheltered, with starvation and poverty, can in reasonable time obtain a minimum supply of food, clothing and shelter, and the beginning of modern culture, Imperialism cannot maintain itself unless Western acquisitive society pays for it with less comfort, less luxury, and goods and privileges more equally divided. This price as it seems to me, Britain, France, Holland and Belgium, refuse to pay, and here lies the problem of the modern world. No country of Western Europe is ready for such sacrifice. No labor party will risk lower wage in order to improve the condition of colonial labor.

I realized this most startlingly in Holland. It was a Dutchman who in the early seventeenth century, kidnapped my great grandfather, on the coast of West Africa, and sold him into slavery in the valley of the Hudson. This was the century in which the Dutch began to take part in that stealing of labor in Africa, begun by Portugal and Spain. The British in the eighteenth century succeeded in displacing them as the world's greatest slave traders, and established slavery in their American colonies. This commercial rivalry between the Dutch and British, resulted finally in a system of Dutch colonies which covered South East Asia.

The center of this colonial empire, was Indonesia, whose land, materials and cheap labor, made the Dutch people rich and comfortable, and their land became famous for cleanliness and beautiful flowers. Then the Indonesians revolted, and I visited Holland just at the time, when the full realization of the meaning of this blow was being felt. Colored people of mixed Dutch and Indonesian blood had begun to pour into Holland, bringing problems of race and class. Incomes of the well-to-do were being reduced. The impact of the second world war was now being realized with the humiliation of conquest and problems of the Jews.

I made the mistake of speaking on peace at a Hague Cultural club, composed of teachers and professional men; social workers and the white collar class. They did not want to hear about peace, and least of all, about peace between America and the Soviet Union, because it was the Soviet Union that kept Holland from regaining Indonesia, and it was America which was the Soviet Union's great rival for domination of the world.

Therefore in a Europe which had suffered greviously from war and destruction, a prosperous and intelligent people did not want to hear about peace. To me this was a surprise and disappointment; to those who listened to me the occasion was a disappointment and an insult. They wanted comfort and civilization even if that involved the same imperial control of land and labor on which the civilization of the Dutch had long been based.

I turned from Holland and went swiftly to France, passing by Belgium and its current exposition. I had a feeling that what I might say in Brussels concerning the Belgian Congo would not be pleasant for the Belgians to listen to. I came to France at the time when De Gaulle was making his great bid for domination. I had seen France first in 1892, and last in 1950. I sensed the crucifixion through which the French people had lived. All my life, France had been close to me. My name was French, my blood was part French. I knew Paris better than any city in the world outside America. I spoke a little of "The most beautiful language in the world." I had experienced on French soil less prejudice of color and race than anywhere else in the world. I would have gladly made France my home, if that had seemed consonant with my duty to American Negroes.

Here in 1949, I had seen the greatest demonstration for peace, for the total abolition of war that I had ever imagined possible. Now ten years later all this was being overthrown. France again was at war and preparing for war. France under a great but strangely mistaken idealist was searching for a Glory that could never be regained. There was death in her eyes, in her speech, and in her gestures. The gates of my most loved of public parks, the Luxembourg Gardens, were guarded by police armed with machine guns. I saw Algerian boys searched on the public streets.

Fear, hate and despair rode the streets of Paris.

I have looked upon this quivering of France; the dark death which shadows its life today. I have seen the sting of new grim poverty, and the concentrated power of its great wealth. Even French Communists were unwilling to free Algerians. Here loom French genius and taste along with ruthless will and drunken beauty. The beautiful wine of France has in its way been its undoing. I remember my friend Hope, somewhat naive and unsophisticated in the ways of the wicked world once said to me in France, as he was working for the Young Mens' Christian Association, "Du Bois, the French do not get drunk, they stay drunk!" When the French went to Algeria and the blight came to French vineyards, the colonies stopped planting the wheat, which fed the Algerian people, and planted grapes instead. Cheap Algerian wine poured into France, and undersold French wines, while the people of Algeria starved. Then came more drunkenness, revolt and war. There is the eternal struggle and endless contradiction within a people who can never die, so long as men remember Roland, the kings called Louis, Napoleon and Alexander Dumas.

39-2-13

Sweden was a sort of last glimpse of Western Europe before I returned home. I had long known of the Scandinavian nations. Socialists called them the "Middle Way" between private capitalism and Communism. They saw the increase of social control of the welfare state over the anarchy of individual profit. The new housing intrigued me; the pension system, the schools. This was the way Socialists hoped to ward off revolution and save rugged individualism. My recent visit was symbolic. Ten years ago in 1949, I had sat in on the formation of the World Council of Peace after that marvelous Paris meeting. Then for nine years I missed the meetings for lack of a passport. I could not attend that meeting which adopted the great "Stockholm Appeal", which America called a "Communist trick" to disarm the West. The meetings continued, and most of the world joined, but I was not present. Then came 1959, and I could attend. I gave up visits to Hungary and the Balkans, which I would have loved to make. I saw Sweden, that beautiful Northern light nesting on its fourteen islands. I saw what is perhaps the finest

popular housing in the world.

Sweden had avoided war, but she was not welcoming World Peace. I was amazed as I realized this. She did not want this World Council of Peace to meet in Stockholm. She would not repulse it, but she gave it no welcome. Her Press and Pulpit ignored it. Her homes, with a few exceptions, closed their doors in the face of many men and women of world leadership, because they met to promote World Peace, and because they met together with nations who did not believe in private capitalism, but did hate war. It was astonishing. Was Sweden afraid, and if so, of what? Did Peace encourage Communism, and if so what an admission! Was Sweden frightened of America and Britain? If so, what an accusation! I saw an Indian author, whose books never printed in the United States, I was just reading. He looked a bit upset; he said," My Swedish publisher asks me not to call on him until this Council meeting is over." Only a few citizens of Stockholm attended the service in honor of Juliet-Curie. Few met Eugenie Cotton, the white-haired leader of the women of France, and Madame Elizabeth Blum of Belgium, who kept me out of an American jail.

39-2-14

Today to my mind, Western Europe is not prepared to surrender Colonial Imperialism. It clings desperately to the wealth and power which comes from cheap colonial labor, held in serfdom by modern technique. There is no European Labor Party ready to help emancipate the workers of Asia and Africa. On the contrary all are willing to take higher wages based on colonial profits; and to fight wars waged to defend those profits. Back of this attitude of Western Europe is the United States: ready with funds to help Europe; ready to assist any European power to keep control of colonial peoples, or to supplant it as colonial ruler.

CHAPTER III

THE PAWNED PEOPLES

In the center of Europe lies Germany, long a pawn of France, then a plaything of Napoleon; but under the Hohenzollerns, a mighty empire seeking European leadership. Overreaching itself it was overthrown in the First World War, grovelled in bankruptcy and distress until Hitler roused it to frenzy and drove it to attempt world domination on a scale that frightened humanity. The Soviet Union and the allies overthrew him but refusing further alliance after the war, the allies tore Germany in two. The United Stated led. France eagerly cooperated and Britain could not hesitate for fear of offending the United States. But center and spark of the whole scheme was Big Business: the German Cartels, the great French manufacturing and mining corporations and the interlocked banks of Britain and America were united in imperial enterprise and determined to make a new Germany which would restore the plan to dominate the world under Western control. To these great corporations were added the trade unions of Britain and the United States who knew that their high wage depended on the profits of Big Business from exploitation of labor and seizure of materials in colonies. They tried to take control of the new colonial unions at the Paris meeting of Trade Unions in 1954, but failed. Eventually, however, they split the unions into two groups of capitalistic and communistic organizations, while the African unions called a fifth Pan-African Congress in England. This meeting I attended and presided over.

39-2-15

The British unions and the American Federation of Labor united to divide Germany and to restore the Nazis to power in West Germany. Naturally the military joined the movement led by General Clay, who was the head of corporations making immense profits in North and South Africa, and collecting money in America for a "Crusade for Freedom" to overthrow communism. A former president of Harvard became High Commissioner of West Germany, representing not only American intellectuals but also the corporate wealth which was supporting the great universities of the

United States. The Marshall Plan furnished new capital to Europe, owned by America, and strengthening the fight against labor. Thus the same forces which at one time sought to overthrow the Soviet Union, now were united to build a great capitalist state in West Germany and by-passing the United Nations formed Nato with military might led by the officers who once followed Hitler. The mass of the West German people were the social democrats who once fought the Hohenzollern monarchy.

39-2-16

East Germany, known as the German Democratic Republic was led by this social democracy and manned by socialist workers. It is developing the faith of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and becoming a Socialist state, after the pattern of the Soviet Union. This was the Germany where I attended the University in 1892, and here I went in 1959. It looked familiar. It had dropped its old name "Friedrich Wilhelm" and was now the Humboldt University of Berlin, named after its great scholars. I walked down the Unter den Linden to the Branderburger Thor. There I stopped. I could not visit again my old lodging on the Schoneberger Ufer. That lay in "West" Berlin, and if I had entered, American soldiers might arrest me, on any pretext they invented. I turned back and traversed a city with new building and enterprises, along with ghosts of war and destruction. In the great hall of the University, with women students now common but in 1892 never admitted, I sat in the office where in my day Rudolph Virchow had presided as Rector Magnificus. A group played the soft music of Sebastian Bach, and the faculty of economics bestowed on me the honorary degree of Doctor of Economics. I had coveted this degree sixty-five years before, but then the University of Berlin would not recognize my graduate study at Harvard, and I was not allowed to take the examination.

Between Western Europe and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, lie a number of nations: the Baltic states; Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and to the southwest, the Balkan states of Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania. These peoples differ in race and composition, but have had a history with many resemblances. Most of their territory has long been ruled by a hereditary aristocracy of conquerers, invaders and great land holders. They have been

annexed by neighbors, and have fought each other. During the world wars, most of this territory came to be looked upon as a "Cordon Sanitaire"; nations which would be used eventually by the West re-conquer Russia, or at least to recover lost investments; and by the new Soviet Union, it was looked on as territory, which it must control in sheer self-defense against expanding Western Capitalism.

These are the folk whom the Americans call "The Captive Peoples", and they include Baltic states of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania; Poland, which for centuries has been raped and torn by Europe; Bohemia and Slovakia, long a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire; and the Hungarian part of THAT alliance. Many of these lands have been the center of the political ambitions of the Roman Catholic church. Beyond these lie the Balkans, including today Bulgaria and Rumania, and portions of what once belonged to Turkey and Greece.

I have seen some of these countries on this trip and during former journeys. I was in Poland in 1893 and 1950. I was in Czechoslovakia in 1893, 1950, and 1951. Save my sojurn in Germany, none of these trips was long enough for intensive study and observation, but taken together, they tell an interesting story. For one thing, there is no doubt in my mind but that the people in these lands are far better off in 1959 than in 1893 or in 1950. They are better fed and better dressed, and they look more content. I shall never forget the abject grovelling of the Polish church worshippers in 1893; and how that year my Berlin classmate, Stanislaus Ritter von Estreicher, begged me to visit him in Krakow, so as to show me how much more Poles were oppressed than Negroes in the United States. His father, librarian of the University, opened my doubting eyes. In 1950, Poland showed the horrible crucifixion which she had suffered under Hitler, but she showed also, the beginnings of mighty ressurrection.

Czechoslovakia is a prosperous nation. The people are busy and decidedly more hopeful than when I had previously seen the nation. Prague has spilled over into the neighboring valleys, and is growing. Socialism is making a normal growth out of private capitalism; even Slovakia, which when I had spoken there in

1950, seemed sullen if not discontent, is now humming with new hope and housing. I remember my lovely girl guide and interpreter of 1951, and her enthusiasm for Socialism.

In Prague I had one surprise which lifted my spirits. Charles University was founded three hundred years before Columbus discovered America. It was a great center of learning in the Middle Ages, and after the First World War, many persons in the West hoped that Charles University would lead the resistance against Communism. It did not. It accepted Communism and in addition it honored me in the face of the known attitude of the United States toward Negroes. No American University (except Negro Institutions in understandable self-defense) has ever recognized that I had any claim to scholarship. I had no reason to think that Charles University even knew my name. But I was summoned to the restored beauty of the old Caroleum, and amid the fanfare of medieval trumpets, marched in procession with rector and faculties of the University to the high rostrum. I was given the degree of Doctor of the Science of History, "honoris causa", while the "Star-Spangled Banner" was played in honor of my American citizenship. This gesture of a Communist nation doubtless prejudiced me in favor of Socialism. But I do not think it was alone decisive.

39-2-18

In neighboring Hungary I sensed the age-old strife between the Roman Catholic Church and land-holding aristocracy in one group; the rising Bourgeoisie supported by Western enterprise and capital in another group; and the great mass of degraded peasants who, as I saw them in 1893, were distinctly below the level of American Negro serfs. I was not surprised when the pushing business men and artisans, calling themselves "Commons" and despising laborers and serfs, rebelled against Communism. I was glad when the Soviet Union intervened and thus served notice on all reactionaries that the Russian revolution was still unwilling to yield its gains before a show of force. The Hungarian Academy made me a corresponding member.

I did not see the Balkans in 1959, but I met many of their folk. I knew what their petty aristocrats, joined with American money, had made their masses

endure in the last century. I cannot imagine that the people of the Balkans are worse off today then they were in the nineteenth century. I think they are much better off. The University of Sofia gave me a degree, before I left America.

Today the majority of intelligent people who work for a living in the Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkans seem to me quite evidently to want Communism. It was quite true a generation ago that most of the landholders, capitalists and aristocracy in these lands opposed Communism, and being the only ones with political power could truly say that their countries, as they represented them, did not want to be socialized. But these classes did not represent the mass of people, and when this mass obtained political power, they built and held Communist States.

Between the first and second world wars, Western Capitalism and Soviet Socialism sought to increase their influence in these states. The First World War broke up the anomalous Austro-Hungarian empire with the vast political backing of the Roman Catholic church. Germany seized Austria. Poland became independent with the landlords in control and a dictatorship under Pilsudsky from 1926 to 1935. In Czechoslovakia, land was distributed widely among the peasants, and a bourgeoisie under Marsaryk and Benes took control, helped by Western investors. The First World War left the rich Ukraine independent, but it was later invaded by the Soviets, then Germans and by the bandit Denikin, backed by the West. By 1920 the Soviets were in control.

To call these peoples "Captive" is misleading. The great mass of them were the pawns of privilege and exploitation. They reeled helplessly under the blows and beckonings of their masters. Their upper classes represented the rich and privileged among them who called the nations their property, and sought to dominate it for their own personal advantage, assuming that what was good for the ruling classes was best for all. On the other hand, there was the doctrine of Communism being tried out under great difficulties in the Soviet Union. This system would be in continual danger and attack, and partly because they believed that the masses of people in the Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans needed for

their own good, just the system which the Soviet Union was trying with much success to install.

Then came the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, threatening war with the West, in order to redistribute not only the colonies of Asia, Africa, South and Central America, but to add to this exploited area, Eastern Europe, which the West had hitherto monoplized. A series of political moves ensued. Hitler threatened the Soviet Union. Stalin sought alliance with the West against Hitler, and was repulsed. The West ignoring the Soviet Union joined with Hitler at Munich in opposition to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in counter movement accepted alliance with Hitler against the West. Dropping his mask suddenly, Hitler now attacked the Soviet Union, and the West certain that the vast German war power would wipe out Communism, stood aside. Let Nazis and Communists kill each other off, said Truman. Help either when the other weakens.

The world watched with baited breath. The United States and Britain helped the struggling Soviet Union as it tottered; but the help was slow, and at no time did it form a decisive part of what this sorely beset nation needed. Finally to the surprise of mankind, David overpowered Goliath, and the Soviet Union won the war over Germany at Stalingrad. Western capitalism instead of seeing Communism destroyed, found itself in 1945 allied with triumphant Communism.

The Pawned People whose future depended so absolutely on the outcome of this war were in a curious situation. Poland was at various times on both sides; now fighting the Soviet Union; now fighting the Germans; but to the very end refusing to treat the Soviets as trusted allies. When at last the Poles led an attack on Warsaw, the Soviet army suspicious of where the Poles stood, refused to take part. The end of the war left Poland in doubt between the Soviet Union and Germany, which was backed by Britain, France and America. The political power of Roman Catholicism tried to compel a decision, but Communism held . It was the Soviet armies in the end that rescued Poland from their cruel captors. Hungary fought with the allies but was punished by the wretched treaty of 1947. Frustrated land reforms, false democracy, foreign investors and anti-Communist revolt led to the effort to

overthrow Communism which was stopped by the intervention of the Soviet Union. Czechosolovakia fought with the Allies, but her bourgeois leaders bitterly opposed Communism, until the rising political power of the workers proved that further opposition was useless.

Thus the peoples of these states whose former rulers wished to ally themselves with the West, were opposed by the mass of their people who had long suffered from exploitation and disfranchisement. To the disgust of the ruling classes the working classes and peasants gradually gained control and introduced Socialism on the Soviet model. The Baltic, Polish and Slav immigrants to the United States had left for the most part before the success of Socialism in the Soviet Union and were led by American propaganda to oppose socialism in their native countries. They used their political power against the socialist regimes and gave money and refuge to agitators. There is no doubt that the present condition of the peoples of these countries is improving and is far better than fifty years ago. They have the support of the overwhelming mass of their inhabitants.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOVIET UNION

I have in a sense seen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics grow, not as a casual visitor, nor hurried tourist. In 1926, I saw a Russia just emerging from war with the world. The people were poor and ill-clothed; food was scarce, and long lines stood hours to get their share. Orphan children, ragged and dirty, crawled in and out of sewers. The nation faced foreign force, and Russian traitors. Yet, despite this, I saw a land of hope and hard work. Schools were multiplying; books were being printed and widely read; workers were being protected with living wage, nurseries for children, night schools, trade unions and wide discussion.

39-2-23

Indeed this wide discussion and criticism intrigued me. Never had I seen such public interest in social matters on the part of men, women and children. Here was a people seeking a new way of life through learning the truth, and cooperating with each other and by willing sacrifice. Not everybody was happy, but most Russians saw a bitter past being succeeded by a great future, not swiftly, but surely. I visited Kronstad, Leningrad, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Kiev, and Odessa. There were no signs of prostitution or unusual crime. There was some drunkenness, but little gambling. Priests were plentiful, and tarnished gold-domed churches abounded, but religious dogma was being driven from the schools. Above all, the spirit of the people was high, the officials were working desperately hard and with efficiency.

I had known that Czarist Russia naturally resisted the revolution. But of the extent of that counter-revolution and of the active help in manpower, material and arms supplied by the civilized world; of the spying and intrigue from all Europe, which had accompanied and inspired this war of reaction, I had but the vaguest information. Indeed I did not learn the whole story until Sayers and Kahn published their "Great Conspiracy" in 1946.

What amazed and uplifted me in 1926, was to see a nation stoutly facing a problem which most other modern nations did not dare even to admit was real; the abolition of poverty.

Taking inspiration directly out of the mouths and dreams of the world's savants and prophets, who had inveighed against modern industrial methods; against the co-existence of progress and poverty; this new Russia led by Lenin and inspired by Marx and Engels, proposed to build a socialist state with production for use and not for private profit; with ownership of land and capital goods by the state, and with state control of public services, including education and health. It was enough for me to see this mighty attempt. It might fail, I knew, but the effort in itself was social progress and neither foolishness nor crime.

39-2-24

Russia was handicapped by 90% illiteracy among her peasants, and nearly as much among her working classes; by a religion led by a largely immoral priesthood, dealing in superstition and deception, and rich with the loot of grovelling followers. Most of her industrial capital was owned by foreigners, whose only interest was the fifty or seventy-five percent profit which they reaped from merciless exploitation. Her government had long been shot through with dishonesty and graft under dissolute nobles and fawning lackeys. Her punishment of crime and independent thought had long affronted the civilized world. Yet the best people of Europe and America seldom raised a finger of protest, but fawned on Russian royalty and aristocracy, receiving them with open arms and expressing loud sympathy when they were repudiated.

There is no question but that governments can carry on business. Every government does. Whether governmental industry compares in efficiency with private industry depends entirely upon what we call efficiency. And here it is and not elsewhere that the Russian experiment is astonishing and new, and of fateful importance to the future of civilization. What we call efficiency in America is judged primarily by the resultant profit to the rich and only secondarily by the results to the workers. The face of industrial Europe and America is set toward increase of private wealth; that is, toward the people who have large incomes. We recognize the economic value of small incomes mainly as a means of profit for great incomes. Russia seeks another psychology. Russia is trying to make the workingman the main object of industry. His well-being and his income are

-

deliberately set as the chief ends of organized industry, directed by the State.

It is by its economic progress that Russia must primarily be judged. Russia had established a socialistic state. The world had long been veering toward Socialism. We had made essays toward Socialism; but when the Socialistic state appeared full-fledged, most of us called it by other names and refused to judge it by its socialism, but rather we insisted on investigating the ethics of the methods accompanying its establishment.

What had Russia done in 1926, to establish a Socialistic State? First, it had nationalized the land. Every inch of land in Russia--- the air above it and the resources beneath, belong to the Soviet State. Persons who wish to till the soil may have as much land as they can successfully till, with the labor of their own family. The mineral and oil rights may be farmed out by the government for a term of years, but the government retains ownership of mines and wells and the terms of the leases are limited.

Ten years later in 1936, I rode across the Soviet Union on the Trans-Siberian railway from Moscow to Otpur, Manchuria. The trip of four thousand miles was slow and took ten days and nights. But it traversed the main part of the Soviet Union. It went through cities, climbed the Urals and crossed lakes and rivers. The change in ten years was remarkable. This was no longer a people struggling for survival, it was a nation sure of itself. In Moscow the streets were widening and the city had crossed the river. Old buildings remained, but great new buildings were crowding them. The golden domes of churches had disappeared, and tall office buildings were taking their place. Few priests were visible, and few beggars. The folk were better dressed and food was much more plentiful. There were no unemployed, and all children were in school; factories shops and libraries had multiplied, and there was evidence of law and order everywhere. Industry was moving west and crossing the Urals.

Military might was evident and we saw the massing of soldiers toward the East to meet the threat of Japan. Great dams, canals and water works were building. The peasant was in close cooperation with, and not in revolt against the factory

worker. Here was a self-confident nation ready to fight for existence. The people of the nation did not have all they wanted or planned to have, but much more than ever before. They did not fear poverty nor old age; they were not slaves, not ready for revolt.

Thirteen years later in 1949, after the Peace Congress in Paris, twenty-five Americans were invited to attend a Peace Congress in the Soviet Union. I was the only one who accepted the invitation. In the Hall of the Nobles, Moscow, where the Russian aristocrats used to gamble, I met a cross-section of the Soviet people - workers, writers, officials, and visitors from neighboring lands. It was an inspiring body and I tried to convince them that most Americans did not desire war with them, but strove for peace. I saw the continued growth of Moscow, and the increased confidence of the Soviet Union in itself, and in Socialism as a path to a Communist state. I was shown where on Lenin Hills a new University would be built.

39-2-26

Ten more years passed. I was not allowed to visit Europe until 1959, when I again saw the Soviet Union and spent five months in its borders. Its growth in size and building; in industry and trade; in science and education, was marvellous. In November of 1959, as I rode into Moscow, I saw above the city the great Sickle and Star which crowns the University and blesses the city. Later this Lomonosov State University, "Member of the Order of Lenin" and of the "Workers Order of the Red Star", called me to its halls and made me honorary doctor of historical science.

I was on Red Square at the great Seventh of November celebration with a half-million spectators. A uniformed major escorted me to the hotel, and on the way we stopped and saluted Khrushchev and the government, and Khruschev raised his hat.

Next I went to a Sanitarium. I was weary from travel. It is a great solemn place with tall pines and snow. We have servants for every wish, and all are as tense kind as can be. I have been here a month, and have had every probe and test possible. My heart has been measured a dozen times; my blood tested, my blood pressure taken, and I have been poked inside and out.

~~Today~~ I was granted an interview with Prime Minister Khrushchev at my request.

For about two hours, I and my wife, Shirley Graham, discussed with him the Peace movement in the United States, and the Pan-African movement.

I told him of my indictment and acquital in 1951 of the charge of not registering as a foreign agent, because I secured signers for the Stockholm appeal. We discussed the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Council. I talked about African independence and unity, and of establishing in Moscow an Institute under the Academy of Sciences, to study African history and culture.

39-2-27

I said Africa has just taken a decisive step at the conference at Accra toward independence, union and free cultural development. The first effort of Africans will be in political lines and then for industrial progress and economic organization. Education will receive attention, but resources will be limited, and teachers scarce. I believe that here the Soviet Union can be of great assistance to new Africa. The Scientific study of Africans and their continent is necessary for the guidance of their education and the organization of their culture. This is one of the ways in which the progressive world can help its lagging parts and one in which there are fewest causes for friction and diversity of interest.

I suggested therefore, that the Soviet Academy of Sciences establish an Institute for the study of Pan-African history, sociology, ethnography, anthropology and all cognate studies. This Institute of the Academy would aim at promotion of scientific research into all the activities, past and present of the peoples of Africa, together with a study of their physical, and biological environment. This series of studies would be carried on with the central idea of the unity of the whole subject and the conviction that history is not separate from sociology, or culture from biology, but that all research in such related fields seek the one end of unified scientific knowledge. While this enterprise would start and center in the Soviet Union, its object would be the welfare and progress of Africa, and from the first, it should seek cooperation wherever it could be found, and especially among Africans.

The Institute should by offer of scholarships to Africans, and by cooperation with African students and institutions of learning, try eventually to build within

Africa, a center of scientific study, which would lead in world study, and the promotion of world peace.

Realizing how in modern history the exploitation and almost universal underestimation of Africans have led to wide denial of the very existence of their history and culture, it would be a first duty of this Institute to make known the history of the African peoples, and to distribute knowledge of this in libraries and museums; in text-books and university studies, and as common knowledge. No greater work for world peace can be conceived, no quicker way to convince mankind that no part of it must exist for the exploitation and comfort of the rest at the cost of suffering black folk.

39-2-28

The Soviets are making a new people; a disciplined people. This is not a matter of police; few police are in evidence, and there is little giving of orders. Secret dread? I sense none. But let me illustrate: Out from my hotel window I look on two great squares; the furtherest is Red Square with the towers of the Kremlin walls and the brown tomb where Lenin and Stalin sleep their last long sleep. Across these squares yesterday a half million people marched, walked, and danced; they ate and sang, they laughed and cheered. This morning when I arose and looked out, there was not a scrap of paper or sign of dirt. That meant work in the night I'm sure, but it meant much more than this: it meant that most of this half million people dropped no dirt and threw away no paper, and they did this not under orders, but because they felt these squares were theirs, and they must not soil their own. These people feel a vested interest in this nation such as few Americans feel for the United States.

Why? I do not know, and yet it may be because they are consulted about it. They are asked, continually asked; they sit and sit and talk and talk, and vote and vote; if this is all a mirage, it is a perfect one. They believe it as I used to believe in the Spring Town Meeting in my village. There is power rivalry and personal jealousy; all things in the Soviet Union are not perfect. Mails miscarry, cables come a day late, styles are often funny; the world problem of domestic service has not been settled. The question of life careers and the decision

between what one wants to do and what one is fitted to do, and what efforts are needed-- these matters have not yet found final answers; but they are being frankly faced, and experiments are makings

The Soviet Union is great and growing greater, and as it seems to believe, it belongs to this two hundred million folk about me. I am strongly inclined to agree with them.

Nowhere are public questions so throughly and exhaustively disdussed. Russians sit and listen long to talks, lectures, expositions; they read books, magazines and newspapers, not just picture books. Each problem of existance is discussed in village and factory. Comments, spoken and written, are welcomed, until every aspect, every opinion has been expressed and listened to, and the matter rises to higher echelons, and is discussed again. Gradually agreement is approached, until when the thrashed-out result reaches the All-Soviet height, there is usually but one opinion and decision.

This is not unexpected. How many right answers to each of our problems are there? This is a sifting of democracy which the West has lost. In America there is little real political discussion. It is discouraged in every way: by stopping meetings, refusing use of halls; closing columns of newspapers, refusing radio time; and even by police interference and jail. In Britain there is freeer discussion, but it is limited by convention and prestige; by aristocratic influence and the money and leisure of the dominant class. In France, parlimentary debate is directed by the powerful interests who work the puppets and pull the strings. In Italy, the church stands always in the shadow, keeping watch above its own. The church represents wealth, and wealth rules.

In the Soviet Union the overwhelming power of the working class as representing the nation is always decisive. Above this and rising out of it and expressing its thoughts and ideals, rises the real aristocracy of the Soviet Union, the writers and scientists. They get the highest wage, they enjoy such privileges as the law and public opinion allow. How free are they? Science is free from religious dogma and vested interests. The writer has a wide leeway and rich

applause, but he is limited by the aims of Socialism, to serve all and not a few, and by the fear of foreign attack, which in the past has nearly ruined the Soviet Union. The recalcitrant writer, the idealists and dreamers disagree, but variety of opinion is becoming reasuringly common and open. As the Soviet Union becomes stronger and more self-confident, and less sensitive to that Western opinion, which has so long ruled the world with a rod of gold, it will become freer. Never, I hope, so free as to betray the ideals of the land as French writers have betrayed France, and as American writers distort truth today.

39-2-31

For years most American leaders regarded the figures as to Russian progress as exaggerations or lies. The Teachers' Union once begged me not to say in answer to a citation that the schools of Moscow were better than those of New York. Ex-President Conant of Harvard declared that the Communist Party would not allow promotion to higher schools by examination; presumably only by favor. Then came "Sputnik". Then followed unanswerable proof of Soviet superiority in Physics Science. There were revealed the startling figures as to education in schools and colleges.

What I saw in the Soviet Union was more than triumph in physics, it was the growth of a nation's soul; the confidence of a great people in its plans and future. And beyond that the realization around the world that the Seven year Plan was not boasting, but knowledge shared by two hundred million people. Around these millions were gathered even greater millions in China, Vietnam and Korea, who believed in Socialism, and sought Communism.

Is it possible to conduct a great modern government without autocratic leadership of the rich? The answer is: this is exactly what the Soviet Union is doing today. But can she continue to do this? This is not a question of ethics or economics; it is a question of psychology. Can Russia continue to think of the ~~Sate~~ State in terms of the workers? This can happen only if the Russian people believe and idealize the workingman as the chief citizen. In America we do not. The ideal of every American is the millionaire-- or at least the man of "independent" means of income. We regard the laborers as the unfortunate part of the community, and even liberal thought is directed toward "emancipating" the workingman by

relieving him in part, if not entirely, of the necessity for work. Russia, on the contrary, is seeking to make a nation believe that work, and work that is hard and in some respects even disagreeable, and to a large extent physical, is a necessity of human life at present and likely to be in any conceivable future world; that the people who do this work are the ones who should determine how the national income from their combined efforts should be distributed; in fine, that the workingman is the State; that he makes civilization possible and should determine what civilization is to be.

37-2-32

For this purpose he must be a workingman of skill and intelligence, and to this, Russian education is being organized. This is what the Dictatorship of the Proletariat means. This dictatorship does not stop there. As the workingman is today neither skilled nor intelligent to any such extent as his responsibilities demand, there is within his ranks the Communist Party directing the Proletariat toward their future duties. This is nothing new. In the governments "of the people", we have elaborate and many-sided arrangements for guiding the rulers. The test is, are we and Russia really preparing future rulers? Insofar as I could see in the Soviet Union, in shop and school, in the press and on the radio, in books and lectures, in trade unions and national congressmen, Russia is; we are not.

It is the organized private capital of America, England, France and Germany which is chiefly instrumental in preventing the realization of the Russian workingman's psychology. It has used every modern weapon to crush Russia. It sent against Russia every scoundrel who could lead a mob, and has given him money, guns and praise; and when Russia nearly committed suicide in crushing this civil war, modern industry began the industrial boycott, the refusal of capital and credit, which is being carried on today just as far as international jealousy and greed will allow. And can we wonder? If modern capital is owned by the rich and handled for their power and benefit, can the rich be expected to hand it over to their avowed and actual enemies? On the contrary, if modern industry is really for the benefit of the people, and if there is an effort to make the people the chief

beneficiaries of industry, why is it that this same people is powerless today to help this experiment, or at least give it a clear way? On the other hand, so long as the most powerful nations in the world are determined that the Soviet Union must fall, there can be but a minimum of free discussion and democratic difference of opinion in Russia.

There is world struggle then in and about Russia; but it is not simply an ethical problem, as to whether or not Russia can conduct industry on a national scale. She is doing it today and in so doing she differs only in quantity, not in quality from every other modern country. It is not a question merely of "dictatorship". We are all subject to this form of government.

39-2-33

There is under Communism a use of women for more than pleasure and physical reproduction; but primarily for their talent in work and thought. This has made possible the increase of medical facilities, since sixty percent of the Soviet women are today physicians. With this goes a socialization of the family group. It is no longer customary to regard babies as playthings or nursery jobs; or as means of prolonging the father's cultural patterns, or to inherit his wealth or privileges. The child is becoming a recognized ward of the state to be raised and educated for the welfare of the people of the state and not merely for the privilege of a family group or of a special class. For this purpose nurseries, kindergartens and schools are provided; cooperative kitchens, and dining rooms. The masses of Communist women are being released from household drudgery, and the state has a tremendously widened reservoir of ability to serve its needs.

The Soviet Union which I see in 1959 is Power and Faith and not simply Hope. When the Seven Year Plan was announced, not only Soviet citizens but the world knew that this nation could do what it planned, and barring no unexpected difficulties would reach these enormous goals. It is only a matter of time and a comparatively short time when the Soviet Union will lead the world in industry.

The Russian question is: Can you make the worker and not the millionaire the center of modern power and culture? If you can, the Russian Revolution will sweep the world. One can stand on the streets of Moscow and Kiev and see clearly that

Russia has struck at the citadels of power that rules modern countries. Not manhood suffrage, women's suffrage, state regulation of industry, social reforms, nor religious and moral teaching in any modern country have shorn organized wealth of its power, as the Bolshevik Revolution has done in Russia. The Soviet Union seems to me the only modern country where people are not more or less taught and encouraged to despise and look down on some class group or race. I know countries where race and color prejudice show only slight manifestations, but no white country where race and color prejudice seems so absolutely absent. In Paris, I attract some attention; in London I meet elaborate blankness; anywhere in America I get anything from complete ignoring to curiosity, and often insult. In Moscow, I pass unheeded. Russians quite naturally ask me information; women sit beside me quite confidentially and unconsciously. Children are uniformly polite.

39-2-34

We had just finished our trip through Western Europe, when a cable came inviting us to a conference of Asiatic and African writers at Tashkent. I had heard nothing of this meeting, but had wanted very much to attend the conference at Bandung in 1955. Again the government had prevented me, and the message which I had sent by an American Negro reporter, reached nobody. Further correspondence made our attendance upon this Congress at Tashkent seem of real importance. It was two thousand miles south east of Moscow, with five hours difference in time. The passage branched from my trip in 1936, veering toward the south. We heard the ? blood of Stalingrad far to the West, where Stalin conquered Hitler and saved Europe. After leaving Kazan, we crossed the Kazakh Province, and entered the province of Uzbek. We were near the storied Samarkand; where:

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan,
A stately pleasure dome decree
Where Alph the sacred river ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea"

But today there is sunshine over the 150,000 square miles of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Over seven million brunette and curly-haired folk of Asiatic descent live here speaking a dialect differing from the Russian language, and inheriting an old culture. Tashkent a city of 600,000, founded in the seventh century on the trade route between Samarkand and Peking, welcomed its guests with banners and applause. They filled the festooned streets. Their fields were growing tall long-staple cotton, which an American Negro from Tuskegee first planted. New housing was replacing the old compounds, and schools were spreading.

39-2-35

The huge square with its fountain, had a new modern hotel on one side, and on the other a great conference hall with facilities for translating into Russian, Arabic, Chinese and English. This choice of languages was significant. The city was festooned, and the square filled with people greeting the visitors, and besieging the stalls, where books were on sale, and not chewing gum and hot dogs. One stall sold in a day ten thousand rubles worth of books in the Tartar language alone.

One hundred and forty writers from thirty-six countries, and forty-five writers from the Soviet Republics were present. We saw and heard of men whose works are read by millions, and yet whose names most of us Westerners had never heard. I was surprised to find my work known to many of the delegates, and the Congress gave me a standing ovation when I entered. I was shown to the platform, where I sat as a member of the directing committee. The discussion and the papers were mainly on cultural matters, although politics, and especially Colonialism continually forced themselves to the front. The inter-relation of all cultures was stressed, and the contribution of the West, despite its aggression against Asia and Africa. As one poet from the mountains of Daghestan said,"We must not confuse Colonialism with culture, nor Dreiser with Dulles." Efua Sutherland, a black woman from Ghana, called the conference "A step toward unification of the disrupted soul of man." A permanent Afro-Asian writers bureau was set up, with head quarters in Ceylon, to publish books, a journal, and an encyclopedia, and to promote translations.

I leave one subject to the last, as I leave the Soviet Union----religion. I lived two months opposite the inscription on the Second House of the Soviets, written by Lenin:

"Religion is the opium of the people!"

Whatever was true of other lands, this was certainly true in Russia in 1926 and before. Symbols of religion dominated the city, from the vast five domes of the Cathedral of Christ, the 350 other churches of the city dominated the landscape, as they loomed and glowed. There were gems of beautiful bejewelled churches; hordes of priests intoning litanies, begging alms, forgiving sins. There were thousands of shrines. Only one who has heard the chant of a Russian service, seen its color and genuflections; only those who know the gorgeous litany and the beauty of Russian churches can realize what Lenin meant when he called the Russian religion "opium".

39-2-36

But it was worse than opium. It was a Russian Priest, Father Petrov, who said in 1908, " There is no Christian Czar and no Christian government. Conditions of life are not Christian. The upper classes rule the lower classes. A little group keeps the rest of the population enslaved. This little group has robbed the working people of wealth, power, science, art and even religion, which they have also subjected; they have left them only ignorance and misery. In the place of pleasure they have given the people drunkenness; in the place of religion, gross superstition; and beside, the work of a convict, a work without rest or reward. The ruling clergy with its cold, heartless bony fingers, has stifled the Russian church, killed its creative spirit, chained the Gospel itself, and "sold" the church to the government. " There is not an outrage, no crime, no perfidy of the State authorities, which the Monks who rule the church, would not cover with the mantle of the church, would not bless, would not seal with their own hands."

The British Trade Union report of 1925 said: " A very strong propaganda in the Press, the schools, colleges, and Trade Union clubs is, however, carried on against religion generally, and especially as practised by the old Orthodox Church.

"The former Government-controlled licensed houses of prostitution where girls were exposed for hire at recognized fee, have been closed. In Tsarist days these houses were a recognized government institution; the opening ceremony was undertaken by a police officer and the premises blessed by Russian Orthodox Priests."

All this has gone and none regrets that Russian Orthodox religion has been dethroned. But the Russian church remains and other churches still carry on in the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union does not allow any church of any kind to interfere with education, and religion is not taught in the public schools. It seems to me that this is the greatest gift of the Russian Revolution to the modern world. Most educated modern men no longer believe in religious dogma. If questioned they will usually resort to double-talk before admitting the fact. But who today actually believes that this world is ruled and directed by a benevolent person of great power, who on humble appeal will change the course of events at our request? Who believes in Miracles? Many folk follow religious ceremonies and services; and allow their children to learn fairy tales and so-called religious truth, which in time the children come to recognize as conventional lies told by their parents and teachers. One can hardly exaggerate the moral disaster of this custom. We have to thank the Soviet Union for the courage to stop this custom.

39-2-37

The United States has moved from the hysteria of calling all Russian women prostitutes, all Russian workers slaves and the whole Russian people ready for revolt, of regarding all Russian rulers as criminals conspiring to conquer the United States and rule the world; of breaking every treaty that they made. From this radical and utterly ridiculous position, we have begun to recognize the Soviet Socialist Republic as giving its people the best education of any in the world, of excelling in science, and organizing industry to its highest levels. Our increasing number of visitors to Russia, see a contented people who do not hate the United States, but fear its war-making, and are eager to cooperate with us. From such a nation we can learn. This the courageous visit of Khrushchev, in the face of threat, calumny and insult, has taught us.

CHAPTER V

CHINA

I saw China first in 1936, on my trip from the Soviet Union to Japan. I was struck by its myriads of people. This amorphous mass of men, with age-old monuments of human power, beauty, and glory; with its helpless, undefended welter of misery and toil, has an organization of life and impenetrable will to survive that neither imperial tyranny, nor industrial exploitation, nor famine, starvation, and pestilence can kill-- it is Eternal life, facing disaster and triumphing imperturbably.

39-2-38

There passed a glory from the earth when Imperial China fell. Built as it was on skulls, it was bravely built and the remains are magnificent. In all essential respects they surpass the Stones of Europe. Where Europe counts its years in hundreds, Asia counts its in thousands. There is absent that all too apparent European effort to dramatize and exaggerate the past; to emphasize war and personal glory. China shows a finer effort to let the past stand silent, frank, and unadorned; to tell the truth simply about men and fully; and to record the triumphs of education, family life and literature far more than murder.

I write this standing on the Great Wall of China, with twenty-three centuries beneath my feet. The purple crags of Manchuria lie beyond the valley, while behind are the yellow and brown mountains of China. For seventy cents I have been carried up on the shoulders of four men and down again. And here I stand on what has been called the only work of man, visible from Mars. It is no mud fence or pile of cobbles. It surpasses that mighty bastion of Constantinople, which so many centuries saved Mediterranean civilization from German barbarism. This is a wall of carefully cut stone, fitted and laid with perfect matching and eternal mortar, from twenty to fifty feet high and 2,500 miles long; built by a million men, castellated with perfect brick, and standing mute and immutable for more than two thousand years. Such is China.

Shanghai was an epitome of the racial strife, the economic struggle, the human paradox of modern life. Here is the greatest city of the most populous nation on earth, with the large part of it owned, governed and policed by foreign nations.

With Europe largely controlling its capital, commerce, mines, rivers and manufactures; with a vast welter of the greatest working-class in the world, paid less than an average of twenty-five cents a day; with a glittering modern life of skyscrapers, majestic hotels, theatres and night clubs. In this city of nations are 19,000 Japanese, 11,000 British, 10,000 Russians, 4,000 Americans, and 10,000 foreigners of other nationality living in the midst of 3,000,000 Chinese. The city is divided openly by nations; black-bearded Sikhs under British orders police its streets, foreign warships sit calmly at her wharfs; foreigners tell this city what it may and may not do.

39-2-39

Even at that, matters are not as bad as they once were. In 1936, foreigners acknowledge that Chinese have some rights in China. Chinese who can afford it may even visit the city race track from which they and dogs were long excluded. It is not common now to kick a coolie or throw a rickshaw's fare on the ground. Yet, yesterday afternoon I saw a little English boy of perhaps four years, order three Chinese children out of his imperial way on the sidewalk of the Bund; and they meekly obeyed and walked in the gutter. It looked quite like Mississippi, And, too, I met a "missionary" from Mississippi, teaching in the Baptist University of Shanghai!

I went by invitation to the American-supported University of Shanghai and I said to the President that I should like to talk to a group of Chinese and discuss frankly racial and social matters. He arranged a luncheon at the Chinese Banker's Club. There were present one of the editors of the China press, the Secretary-General of the Bank of China, the General Manager of the China Publishing Company, the Director of the Chinese Schools for Shanghai, and the Executive Secretary of the China Institute of International Relations.

We talked nearly three hours. I plunged in recklessly. I told them of my slave ancestors, of my education and travels. Ofthe Negro problem. Then I turned on them and said," How far do you think Europe can continue to dominate the world, or how far do you envisage a world whose spiritual center is Asia and the colored races?

You have escaped from the domination of Europe politically since the World War-- at least in part; but how do you propose to escape from the domination of European capital? How are your working classes progressing? Why is it that you hate Japan more than Europe when you have suffered more from England, France, and Germany than from Japan?"

There ensued a considerable silence, in which I joined. Then we talked. They said, "Asia is still under the spell of Europe, although not as completely as a while back. It is not our ideal simply to ape Europe. We know little of India or Africa, or Africa in America. We see the danger of European capital and are slowly extricating ourselves, by seeking to establish control of capital by the political power of taxation and regulation. We have stabilized our currency-- no longer do English Hong Kong notes form our chief circulating medium. Our wages are too low but slowly rising; labor legislation is appearing; we have (sp) (16,~~000,000~~ million) children in school with short terms and inadequate equipment, but a beginning of the fight against our ninety percent illiteracy."

We talked three hours but it was near a quarter of a century before I realized how much we did not say. The Soviet Union was scarcely mentioned, although I knew how the Soviet Union was teaching the Chinese in 1926. Nothing was said of the Long March which had just ended its (6,000) miles from Kiangsi to Yenan, led by Mao tse Tung, and Chu Teh. We mentioned America only for its benefactions and scarcely for its exploitation. Of the Kuo ming tang and Chiang kai shek, almost nothing was said, but hatred of Japan for its betrayal of Asia was amply pointed out.

In 1959 I came again to China. I wanted to re-visit China because it is a land of colored people; and again because in 1946 China had officially invited me to visit and lecture, but the United States had refused to permit me. The passport which I received in 1959, stated that it was " not good for travel to China." It was a fair conclusion that if I did not use this passport to secure entrance to China and made no claim on the United States for protection, the State Department

had no legal right to forbid me to visit China. Certainly the United States could give me no less protection in China than it could in Mississippi. On the other hand by legal fiction, the United States was still "at war" with China, since the Korean War had never been legally finished. It was possible then if I went to China, to jail me for "Trading with the Enemy". This risk I thought it my duty to take, since my invitation to visit has been renewed by the cultural minister, Kuo mo jo and by Madame Soong Ching Ling.

I left Moscow February ninth and returned April sixth. It was the most fascinating ten weeks of travel and sight-seeing I have ever experienced. We remember Peking; a city of six million; its hard workers, its building and re-building; that great avenue which passes the former forbidden city, and is as wide as central park; the bicycles and pedicycles, the carts and barrows. There was the University where I lectured on Africa, and a college of the fifty or more races of China. We looked out from our hotel window at the workers. They all wore raincoats beneath the drizzle. We saw the planning of a nation and a system of work rising over the entrails of dead empire.

39-2-41

I have traveled widely on this earth since my first trip to Europe 67 years ago. Save South America and India, I have seen most of the civilized world and much of its backward regions. Many leading nations I have visited repeatedly. But I have never seen a nation which so amazed and touched me as China in 1959.

I travelled 5,000 miles, by railway, boat, plane and auto. I saw all the great cities: Peking, Shanghai, Hankow and its sisters; Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming and Nanking. I rode its vast rivers, passed through its villages and sat in its communes. I visited its schools and colleges, lectured and broadcast to the world. I visited its minority groups. I spent four hours with Mao Tse-tung and dined twice with Chou En-lai, the tireless Prime Minister of this Nation of 680 million souls.

We come to Cheng-Tu. We ride about this farthest Western stopping place, close to the crowds and the workers and the homes, old and new. We visit a commune

(Sp) of 60,000 members. We climb the mountain to see irrigation being widened today, yet started two thousand two hundred years ago. There is a glorious temple on its summit, and below a wide lake between winding roads. Four rivers roll down from the Himalayas, out of Tibet into the Yangtze.

Then we fly to Kunmin, the end of the American Burma road. It is warm and quiet, and at the state school, the minorities dance and sing welcome, and among them are Tibetans. There are more Tibetans in China, than in Tibet. In Tibet while we were on its border in Czechwan, the landholders and slave drivers and the religious fanatics revolted against the Chinese, and failed as they deserved to. Tibet ~~has belonged to~~ was part of China for centuries. The Communists linked the two by roads and began reforms in land holding, schools and trade, which now move quickly. At Kunmin we were at the end of the Burma road and near the great Mekong river. Below lay Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. The nest of grafters, whoremongers and gamblers at Saigon, helped by Americans, have broken the Geneva treaty which closed the French Indo-Chinese War, and are attacking the Communists. That is called "Communist Aggression." It is the attempt of American business and the American navy to supplant France as colonial ruler in Southeast Asia.

There is at Canton a marble commercial building where the import and export exposition was recently opened. There are five floors of exhibits. I am convinced that America cannot make anything which is not today being made by China, or which cannot be made cheaper, and for the most part made quite as well: for out of the things that China makes comes no profits for private exploiters. Most nations of the world are beginning to buy China's goods, except the United States. China sells increasingly to Europe, to Asia and South America; to India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and Malaya; to Africa and the West Indies; to Australia and New Zealand. And such goods; silk and woolen clothing, watches, clocks, radios and television sets; looms, machinery and lamps, shoes and hats, pottery and dishes. All Chinese seem to be at work, and not afraid of unemployment, and welcoming every suggestion that displaces muscle with machinery.

In every town and city, we went to the opera, and can never forget the assault of the Monkey King on the hosts of Heaven, facing God and the angels. A night sleeping train took us over the thirty hour trip from Peking to Hankow. There I saw the bridge that had been miraculously thrown across the Yangstze. We rested in a little hotel adorned with flowering cabbages. We visited the great steel mills and shook hands with welcoming workers. The colored American prisoner of war who stayed in China rather than return to America and is happy with his wife and baby, came to visit us.

My birthday was given National notice in China, and celebrated as never before; and we whom all our lives have been liable to insult and discrimination on account of our race and color, in China have met universal good will and love, such as we never expected. As we leave may we thank them humbly for all they have done for us, and for teaching us what Communism means.

39-2-43

The people of the land I saw : the workers, the factory hands, the farmers and laborers, scrubwomen and servants. I went to parks and restaurants, sat in the homes of the high and the low; and always I saw a happy people; people with faith that need no church nor priest, and laughs gaily when the Monkey King overthrows the angels.

In all my wandering, I never felt the touch or breath of insult or even dislike -- I who for 90 years in America scarcely ever saw a day without some expression of hate for "niggers."

What is the secret of China in the second half of the 20th. century? It is that the vast majority of a billion human beings have been convinced that human nature in some of its darkest recesses can be changed, if change is necessary. China knows, as no other people know, to what depths human meaness can go. I used to weep for American Negroes, as I saw what indignities and repressions and cruelties they had passed; but as I read Chinese history in these last months and had it explained to me stripped of Anglo-Saxon lies, I know that no depths of Negro slavery in America have plumbed such abysses as the Chinese have seen for 2,000 years and more. They have seen starvation and murder; rape and prostitution;

sale and slavery of children; and religion cloaked in opium and gin, for converting the "heathen". This opression and contempt came not only from Tartars, Mongolians, British, French, Germans and Americans, but from the Chinese themselves: Mandarins and warlords, capitalists and murdering thieves like Chiang Kai-shek; Kuomintang socialists and intellectuals educated abroad.

Despite all this, China lives, and has been transformed and marches on. She is not ignored by the United States. She ignores the United States and leaps forward. What did it? What furnished the motive power and how was it applied? First it was the belief in himself and in his people by a man like Sun Yat-sen. He plunged on blind and unaided, repulsed by Britain and America, but welcomed by Russia. Then efforts toward socialism, which wobbled forward, erred and lost, and at last was bribed by America and Britain and betrayed by Chiang Kai-shek, with its leaders murdered and its aims misunderstood, when not deliberately lied about.

39-2-44

Then came the Long March from feudalism, past capitalism and socialism to communism in our day. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and a half dozen others undertook to lead a nation by example, by starving and fighting; by infinite patience and above all by making a nation believe that the people and not merely the elite-- that on the contrary the workers in factory, street, and field, composed the real nation. Others have said this often, but no nation has tried it like the Soviet Union and China. And on the staggering and bitter effort of the Soviets, beleagured by all Western civilization, and yet far-seeing enough to help weaker China even before a still weak Russia was safe-- on this vast pyramid has arisen the saving nation of this stumbling, murdering, hating world.

In China the people -- the laboring people, the people who in most lands are the doormats on which the reigning thieves and murdering rulers walk, leading their painted and jeweled prostitutes-- the people walk and boast. These people of the slums and gutters and kitchens are the Chinese nation today. This the Chinese believe and on this belief they toil and sweat and cheer.

They believe this and for the last ten years their belief has been strengthened until today they follow their leaders because these leaders have never deceived them.

Their officials are incorruptible, their merchants are honest, their artisans are reliable, their workers who dig and haul and lift do an honest days work and even work overtime if their state asks it, for they are the State; they are China.

A kindergarten, meeting in the once Forbidden City, was shown the magnificence of this palace and told: "Your fathers built this, but did not enjoy it; but now it is yours; preserve it." And then, pointing across the Ten ah Men square to the vast building of the new Halls of Assembly, the speaker added: "Your fathers are building new palaces for you; enjoy them and guard them for yourselves and your children. They belong to you!"

39-2-45

China has no rank nor classes; her universities grant no degrees; her government awards no medals. She has no blue book of "society". But she has leaders of learning and genius, scientists of renown, artisans of skill and millions who know and believe this and follow where these men lead. This is the joy of this nation, its high belief and its unfaltering hope.

China is no utopia. Fifth Avenue has better shops where the rich can buy and the whores parade. Detroit has more and better cars. The best American housing outstrips the Chinese,and Chinese women are not nearly as well-dressed as the guests of the Waldorf-Astoria. But the Chinese worker is happy. He has exorcized the Great Fear that haunts the West; the fear of losing his job; the fear of falling sick; the fear of accident; the fear of inability to educate his children; the fear of daring to take a vacation. To guard against such catastrophe Americans skimp and save, cheat and steal, gamble and arm for murder. The Soviet citizen, the Czech, the Pole, the Hungarian have kicked out the stooges of America and the hoodlums set to exploit the peasants. They and the East Germans no longer fear these disasters; and above all the Chinese sit high above these fears and laugh with joy. They will not be rich in old age, but they will eat. They will not enjoy sickness but they will be given care. They will not starve as thousands of Chinese did only a generation ago. They fear neither flood nor epidemic. They do not even fear war, as Mao Tse-tung told me, war for China is a "Paper Tiger." China can defend itself and back of China stands the unassailable might of the Soviet Union.

Envy and Class Hate are disappearing in China. Does your neighbor have better pay and higher position than you? He has this because of greater ability or better education, and more education is open to you and compulsory for your children. The young married couple do not fear children. The mother has pre-natal care. Her wage and job are safe. Nursery and kindergarten take care of the child and it is welcome, not to pampered luxury but to good food, constant medical care and education for his highest ability. All this is not yet perfect. Here and there it fails, falls short and falters; but it is so often and so widely true, that China believes, lives on realized hope, follows its leaders and sings:

"O, Mourner, get up offa your knees. "

The women of China are becoming free. They wear pants so that they can walk, climb and dig; and climb and dig they do. They are not dressed simply for sex indulgence or beauty parades. They occupy positions from ministers of state to locomotive engineers, lawyers, doctors, clerks, and laborers. They are escaping "household drudgery"; they are strong and healthy and beautiful not simply of leg and false bosom, but of brain, brawn, and rich emotion. In Wuhan I stood in one of the greatest steelworks of the world. A crane which moved a hundred tons loomed above. I said, " My God, Shirley, look up there!" Alone in the engine-room sat a girl with ribboned braids, running the vast machine.

You won't believe this, because you never saw anything like it; and if the State Department has its way, you never will. Let "Life" lie about communes; and the State Department shed crocodile tears over ancestral tombs. Let Hong Kong wire its lies abroad. Let "Divine Slavery" persist in Tibet until China kills it. The truth is there and I saw it.

Fifteen times I have crossed the Atlantic and once the Pacific. I have seen the world. But never so vast and glorious a miracle as China. This monster is a nation with a dark-tinted billion born at the beginning of time, and facing its end; this struggle from starved degradation and murder and suffering to the triumph of that Long March to world leadership. Oh beautiful, patient, self sacrificing China, despised and unforgetable, victorious and forgiving, crucified and risen from the dead.

39-2-42

INTERLUDE

39-2-418

COMMUNISM

I HAVE STUDIED SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM LONG AND CAREFULLY IN LANDS WHERE THEY ARE PRACTICED: IN CONVERSATION WITH THEIR ADHERENTS, AND WITH WIDE READING. I NOW STATE MY CONCLUSION FRANKLY AND CLEARLY: I BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM. I MEAN BY COMMUNISM, A PLANNED WAY OF LIFE IN THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH AND WORK DESIGNED FOR BUILDING A STATE WHOSE OBJECT IS THE HIGHEST WELFARE OF ITS PEOPLE AND NOT MERELY THE PROFIT OF A PART. I BELIEVE THAT ALL MEN SHOULD BE EMPLOYED ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY AND THAT WEALTH AND SERVICES SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO NEED. ONCE I THOUGHT THAT THESE ENDS COULD BE ATTAINED UNDER CAPITALISM, PRIVATELY OWNED, AND USED IN ACCORD WITH FREE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE. AFTER EARNEST OBSERVATION I NOW BELIEVE THAT PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL AND FREE ENTERPRISE ARE LEADING THE WORLD TO DISASTER. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SO-CALLED "PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM" HAS IN THE UNITED STATES OR ANY WHERE REPLACED THE ILLS OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM AND SHOWN AN ANSWER TO SOCIALISM. THE CORPORATION IS BUT THE LEGAL MASK BEHIND WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL OWNER OF WEALTH HIDES. THE LABOR UNION TODAY REPRESENTS CAPITAL AS OFTEN AS LABOR AND USUALLY SHARES THE PROFITS OF EXPLOITATION. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES HAS ALMOST CEASED TO FUNCTION. A FOURTH OF THE ADULTS ARE DISFRANCHISED. HALF THE LEGAL VOTERS DO NOT GO TO THE POLLS. WE ARE RULED BY THOSE WHO CONTROL WEALTH AND WHO BY THAT POWER BUY OR COERCE PUBLIC OPINION.

I RESENT THE CHARGE THAT COMMUNISM IS A CONSPIRACY; COMMUNISTS OFTEN CONSPIRE AS DO CAPITALISTS: BUT IT IS FALSE THAT ALL COMMUNISTS ARE CRIMINALS AND THAT COMMUNISM SPEAKS AND EXISTS MAINLY BY MEANS OF FORCE AND FRAUD. I SHALL THEREFORE HEREAFTER HELP THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM IN EVERY HONEST WAY THAT I CAN: WITHOUT DECEIT OF HURT; AND IF ANY WAY POSSIBLE, WITHOUT WAR;

AND WITH GOODWILL TO ALL MEN OF ALL COLORS, CLASSES, AND CREEDS. IF BECAUSE OF OF THIS BELIEF AND SUCH ACTION, I BECOME THE VICTIM OF ATTACK AND CALUMNY, I WILL REACT IN THE WAY THAT SEEMS TO ME BEST FOR THE WORLD IN WHICH I LIVE AND WHICH I HAVE TRIED EARNESTLY TO SERVE. I KNOW WELL THAT THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM WILL BE A SLOW AND DIFFICULT TASK, INVOLVING MISTAKES OF EVERY SORT. IT WILL CALL FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE IN HUMAN NATURE AND A BETTER TYPE OF MANHOOD THAN IS COMMON TODAY. I BELIEVE THIS POSSIBLE, OR OTHERWISE WE WILL CONTINUE TO LIE, STEAL AND KILL, AS WE ARE DOING TODAY.

39-2-49

WHO NOW AM I WHO HAVE COME TO THESE CONCLUSIONS? AND OF WHAT IF ANY SIGNIFICANCE ARE MY DEDUCTIONS? WHAT HAS BEEN MY LIFE AND WORK AND OF WHAT MEANING TO MANKIND. THE FINAL ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS, TIME AND POSTERITY MUST MAKE. BUT PERHAPS IT IS MY DUTY TO CONTRIBUTE WHATEVER ENLIGHTENMENT I CAN. THIS IS THE EXCUSE FOR THIS WRITING WHICH I CALL A SOLILOQUY.

A MAN'S MEMORY AND EXPLANATION OF HIMSELF IS NEVER FINAL AUTHORITY; NOR ABOUT OTHER PERSONS, WHAT THEY THINK AND FEEL; AND ABOUT WHICH ONE OFTEN HAS NEITHER HEARD NOR UNDERSTOOD. AMID SUCH INEVITABLE DIFFICULTIES I WILL ATTEMPT TO REVIEW MY LIFE AS FRANKLY AND FAIRLY AS I CAN.

CHAPTER VI

MY BIRTH AND FAMILY

I was born by a golden river and in the shadow of two great hills, five years after the Emancipation Proclamation, which began the freeing of American Negro slaves. The valley was wreathed in grass and trees and crowned to the eastward by the huge bulk of East Mountain, with crag and cave and dark forests. Westward the hill was gentler, rolling up to gorgeous sunsets and cloud-swept storms. The town of Great Barrington, which lay between these mountains, in Berkshire county, western Massachusetts, had a broad Main street, lined with maples and elms, with white picket fences before the homes. The climate was to our thought quite perfect.

39-2-51

In 1868 on the day after the birth of George Washington was celebrated, I was born on Church street, which branched east from Main in midtown. The year of my birth was the year that the freedmen of the South were enfranchised, and for the first time as a mass took part in government. Conventions with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South, and two groups of laborers--- freed slaves and poor whites --- dominated the former slave states. It was an extraordinary experiment in democracy. Thaddeus Stevens, the clearest-headed leader of this attempt at industrial democracy, made his last speech, impeaching Andrew Johnson on February 16, and on February 23rd, I was born.

The house of my birth was quaint, with clapboards running up and down, neatly trimmed; there were five rooms, a tiny porch, a rosy front yard, and unbelievably delicious strawberries in the rear. A South Carolinian, lately come to the Berkshire Hills, owned all this--- tall, thin and black, with golden earrings, and given to religious trances. Here my mother, Mary Burghardt, and my father, Alfred Du Bois, came to live temporarily after their marriage ceremony in the village of Housatonic, which adjoined Great Barrington on the north. Then after a few years my father went east into Connecticut to build a life and home for mother and me. We meantime went to live on the lands of my mother's clan on South Egremont plain in the southern part of our town.

39-2-52

The black Burghardts were a group of African Negroes descended from Tom, who was born in West Africa about 1730. He was stolen by Dutch slave traders and brought to the Valley of the Hudson as a small child. Legally, Tom was not a slave, but practically, by the custom of the day, he grew up as either slave or serf, and in the service of the Burghardts, a white family of Dutch descent. Early in the Eighteenth century, "Coonraet Borghardt" and Tom came east from the Hudson Valley and settled in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, which was described as a "howling wilderness". When the Revolutionary War broke out, Tom Burghardt "appears with the rank of private on the muster and payroll of Captain John Spoors company, Colonel John Ashley's Berkshire county regiment."
Tom "was reported a Negro". He enlisted to serve for three years; but how long or where he served the records do not show. At any rate this war service definitely freed him and his family from slavery; and later the Bill of Rights of 1780 declared all slaves in Massachusetts free.

Tom's wife was a little black Bantu woman, who never became reconciled to this strange land; she clasped her knees and rocked and crooned:

"Do bana coba-- gene me, gene me;
Ben d' nuli, ben d' le--"

The song came down the years and I heard it sung at my grandfather's fireside. Tom died about 1787, but of him came many sons; one Jack, who took part in Shay's rebellion; and a daughter named Nancy Pratt. Jack is said to have married the celebrated Mom Bett as his first wife. Violet was Jack's second wife, and from these two were born a mighty family, splendidly named: Harlow and Ira, Chloe, Lucinda, Maria and Othello!

These Burghardts lived on South Egremont plain for near two hundred years. The last piece of their land was bought from a cousin of mine and given to me in 1930 by a group of friends. Among them were Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, Mrs. Jacob Schiff and Moorfield Storey. I planned eventually to make it my country home, but the old home was dilapidated; the boundaries of the land had been encroached upon by neighbors, and the cost of restoration was beyond my means. I sold it in 1955.

Here in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the black Burghardts lived. I remember three of those houses and a small pond. These were homes of Harlow and Ira; and of my own grandfather, Othello, which he had inherited from his sister Lucinda. There were twenty-one persons in these three families by the Census of 1830. Here as farmers they long earned a comfortable living, consorting usually with each other, but also with some of their white neighbors.

39-2-53

The living to be earned on the farms gradually became less satisfying, and the group began to disintegrate; some went to the Connecticut Valley; some went West; many moved to town and city and found work as laborers and servants. Usually their children went to school long enough to learn to read and write, but few went further. I was the first of the clan to finish high school .

Work for black folk which would lead to a more prosperous future, was not easy to come by. Just why this was so it is difficult to say; it was not solely race prejudice, although this played its part; it was lack of training and understanding, reluctance to venture into unknown surroundings, and fear of a land still strange to family mores which pictured travel as disaster. In my family, I remember farmers, barbers, waiters, cooks, housemaids and laborers. In these callings a few prospered. My cousins, the Crispels of West Stockbridge, owned one of the best homes in town, and had the only barber shop; my Uncle Jim long had a paying barber business in Amherst; several hotel cooks and waiters were in charge of dining rooms, did well and were held in esteem; a cousin in Lenox was a sexton in the most prominent church, and his wife and four daughters ran an exclusive laundry; the family was well-to-do, but they worked hard and unceasingly. Few of my folk entered the trades or went into mercantile business or the professions. My cousin Ned Gardner, a nice-looking and well-bred man, worked his whole life at the Berkshire Hotel; honest, prompt, courteous; but he died a waiter. One uncle became the lifelong servant of the Kellog family, and the legend was that his unpaid wages kept that family from suffering until one daughter married the Hopkins who helped build the Pacific Railroad. She was left a rich widow and

returned to Great Barrington in 1880. This circumstance helped me enter the profession of teaching.

My mother's ancestral home on Egremont Plain, the house of my grandfather, Othello, one of three farming brothers, was sturdy, small and old-fashioned. There was a great fireplace, whose wrought-iron tongs stand now before my fireplace as I write. My immediate family, which I remember as a young child, consisted of a very dark grandfather, Othello Burghardt. I dimly remember him, "Uncle Tallow," strong-voiced and redolent with tobacco, who sat stiffly in a great high chair beside the open fire, because his hip was broken. He was good-natured but not energetic. The energy was in my grandmother, Sally, a thin, tall, yellow and hawk-faced woman, certainly beautiful in her youth, and efficient and managing in her age. She had Dutch and perhaps Indian blood, but the rest of the family were black.

39-2-54

Othello and Aunt Sally had ten or more children. Many of these had moved away before I was old enough to know them; but I remember my Aunt Lucinda, who married a Gardner, and after his death a Jackson; then my Aunt Minerva, whose married name was Newport. The youngest children were my uncle Jim and my mother, Mary Sylvina. She was born in 1831, and died in 1885, at the age of fifty-four years. Mother was dark shining bronze, with smooth skin and lovely eyes; there was a tiny ripple in her black hair, and she had a heavy, kind face. She gave one the impression of infinite patience, but a curious determination was concealed in her softness.

As a young woman she had a son, Idelbert, born of a love affair between her and her first cousin, John Burghardt. The circumstances of this romance I never knew. No one talked of it in the family. Probably the mating was broken up on account of the consanguinity of the cousins. My mother became a silent, repressed woman, working at household duties at home, helping now and then in the neighbors' homes, and finally going into the town where her married sisters lived and where she worked as a housemaid. When she was 35, Alfred Du Bois came to town.

In the early seventeenth century, two French Huguenots, sons of Crétien Du Bois, migrated from Flanders to Aerica. Perhaps a third son who spelled his name Du Bose went South. Louis and Jacques Du Bois settled in Ulster county, New York State. They were in all probability artisans descended from peasants; but the white American family declares thy were aristocrats, and has found a coat of arms which they say belongs to them.

From Jacques in the fifth generation was descended James Du Bois, born about 1750, who became a physician in Poughkeepsie, New York State, and migrated to the Bahamas. Lord Dunmore, Governor of New York and later of Virginia and the Bahamas, had given grants of land to various members of the Du Bois family, who were loyalists, and young Dr. James Du Bois went to the Bahamas soon after the Revolution and took over several plantations and one lake of salt which still bears his name. He prospered after some vicissitudes, and founded a family.

Whether, as is probable, he took a slave as a concubine, or married a free Negro woman--- in either case two sons were born, my grandfather Alexander in 1803 and a younger brother, John. After their mother's death, Dr. James Du Bois brought both boys to New York in 1810. Both were white enough to "pass", and their father entered them in the private Cheshire School in Connecticut. He visited them regularly, but on one visit, about 1820, he suddenly fell dead.

The white New York family removed the boys from school and took charge of their father's property. My grandfather was apprenticed to a shoemaker. Just what happened to John, I do not know. Probably he continued as white and his descendants, if any, know nothing of their colored ancestry. Alexander was of stern character. His movements between 1820 and 1840 are not clear. As the son of a "gentleman", with the beginnings of a gentleman's education, he refused to become a shoemaker and went to Haiti at the age of perhaps eighteen. Boyer had become President just after the suicide of Christophe, and held power until 1843, bringing the whole island under his control and making a costly peace with France.

Of grandfather's life in Haiti from about 1821 to 1830, I know few details. From his eighteenth to his twenty-seventh year he formed acquaintanceships,

earned a living, married and had a son, my father, Alfred, born in 1825. I do not know what work grandfather did but probably he ran a plantation and engaged in the growing shipping trade to the United States. Whom he married I do not know, nor her relatives. He may have married into the family of Elie Du Bois, the great Haitian educator. Also why he left Haiti in 1830 is not clear. It may have been because of the threat of war with France during the Revolution of 1830 and the fall of Charles X.

England soon recognized the independence of Haiti; but the United States while recognizing South American republics which Haiti had helped to free, refused to recognize a Negro nation. Because of this turmoil, grandfather may have lost faith in the possibility of real independence for Haiti. Again trade with the United States was at this period exceeding the trade of England or France and amounting to more than a million dollars a year. This trade was carried on with Northern cities like New Haven, but it was also demanded by the rapidly growing Cotton Kingdom in the South. Also, perhaps domestic difficulties with his wife's family and over family property may have arisen. For any or all of these reasons my grandfather left Haiti and settled with his son, now five years of age, in New Haven.

He arrived from the West Indies at a critical time: Walker had published his bitter "Appeal" to Negroes against submission to slavery, in 1829; Nat Turner led his bloody Virginia slave revolt in 1831; slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834; the revolting slaves of the ship "Amistad" landed in Connecticut in 1839, and their trial took place in New Haven. Riots against Negroes occurred in New England cities, in New York and Philadelphia in this decade, and Negroes held conventions in Philadelphia. Among other things these Negroes determined to build and industrial college in New Haven, and later Prudence Crandall tried there to let Negro girls enter her seminary, to the disgust of the whites. In New Haven the Abolitionists Jocelyn and Tappan worked, and here Garrison visited.

In New Haven my grandfather settled. He opened a grocery store at 43 Washington street. The color line was sharp in New Haven and abolitionists were stirring up dissension. In Trinity parish of the Episcopal church were a few colored

communicants, including my grandfather. But the rector, Harry Croswell, was reactionary and openly condemned the abolition movement. Soon the colored communicants of Trinity were given to understand that they would be happier in their own racial church. Alexander Crummel, the great Negro priest, encouraged this move, and the example of Amos Beman who was building the Temple Street Negro Congregational Church, made the move inevitable.

This must have infuriated my grandfather, and yet his very pride drove him into joining this segregated church. He was made treasurer probably because he owned property; eventually he became the first senior warden of St. Luke's, as this "jim-crow" church was called. It still exists. Also, he and certain other Negroes with property were permitted to buy lots at the rear of the new Grove Street Cemetery, opposite the Yale campus. Years later when this cemetery was enlarged, these Negro lots lay on the center path. Here my grandfather lies buried and here I shall one day lie.

Alexander, in addition to his grocery, now became steward on the passenger boat which ran between New Haven and New York. Here he reformed the treatment of the servants, kept the boats in first-class order, and achieved a degree of independence. He was in charge of repairing and hiring. He had charge of the workers and saw to it that the Negro servants were served their meals regularly at a table. But race segregation in New Haven and New York was growing, and grandfather, after a time, determined that Springfield, Massachusetts, offered a better place for him and his family to live. In 1856 he removed to Springfield. He bought a farm not far from the city, down the Connecticut river, and established his family in the city of Springfield. He spent the winters there, but in Spring and Summer kept his stewardship of the New York-New Haven boats. He lived well: "bought a silk vest at Laws Clothing Store for $6.75"... "Had a few invited guests at supper, one-half past six o'clock, champagne, a rather poor quality from Webster's"... "dedication ball at city hall." He joined the white Episcopal church and notes attendance at lectures. "Finished reading Shakespeare's 'Othello'", he writes one day.

Suddenly, in late May 1861, my grandfather took a trip to Haiti. This may have been caused by the imminence of the Civil War.

In March, eleven American slave states had seceded and formed the Confederacy. In April, Southern ports were blockaded, and on May 14, Lee became Brigadier-General. The relation of colored folk to the war was uncertain, and my father, Alfred, was eligible for drafting. The future of colored folks in the United States was a problem; then, too, the rector of St. Lukes' was Theodore Holly, who early in 1861 had led a migration of Negroes to Haiti, and painted a future for them there. It is possible also that grandfather was seeking property either of his father, Dr. James Du Bois, in the Bahamas, which was but a few hundred miles north from Haiti; or, perhaps, especially in Long Key, his birthplace; or from the family of his former Haitian wife. But he was a reticent man, and even his diary is silent on the most important points.

39-2-58

"THURSDAY, MAY 9,

Have thoughts of leaving the vessel, but want resolution to do so. Wrote to friends we should sail on Friday the 10th. Feel ashamed to back out, will wait a day or two longer but feel like one rushing on his fate. If God forsakes me, I am undone forever. 'There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew as we will.'

"MAY 15,

Sun rose clear, wind west. Hove anchor, got under way 20 minutes past six o'clock. God speed the ship, and grant me deliverance from my enemy that I may conquer before I die."

(Who was this enemy? The white Du Boises? The colored Haitians?)

On his lonely trip grandfather writes poetry, not very good, but indicating deep emotion: On May 19:

" A single soul, One! Only one!
Of all I know or ever knew
My star by night, by day the sun
Now guide my bark, now bound my view."

"It may be right, perchance 'tis wrong
To love without the priestly ken,
Such things are often known among
The disappointed Sons of Men."

"Bodies may be joined together
By priestly craft and laws, so strong
In vain you try the bonds to sever
Yet love in laughter breaks the thong."

(Was grandfather confessing desertion of a Haitian wife whom he had not married and excusing his marriages in the United States?)

"MONDAY, JUNE 3,

Landed in Port Au Prince, took board at Mr. Fredd's, Rue Caserne; rain clearing; mosquitoes, jackasses, Negroes, mud water, soldiers, universal filth.

"Saw emigrants at the emigrant house in a condition that if not changed soon will send many to the grave. Poor men and women, I am sorry, heart sorry for them. They put on an air of cheerfulness, which I am satisfied there is not one of them, but would give all they had in the world if they could stand where I did a few weeks ago."

39-2-59

Boyer had ruled Haiti. He had united the whole island under Haitian rule and had finally made peace with France, albeit on almost fatal terms. Four Presidents succeeded in the next four years; and then for ten years came the Emperor Faustin, who had been the slave Soulouque. The regime had an impressive magnificence, but was an economic failure.

The empire was overthrown in 1859 and Geffrard, a progressive and hard-working man, became President, from 1859 to 1867. He promoted education and industry and tried to cooperate with American abolitionists and colored leaders like Holly in encouraging the immigration of American Negroes. It was under Geffrard that my grandfather arrived. He "saw the President, Baron Dennis, August Elie; invited me to take passage in government steamer to St. Mark." It was in the vicinity of St. Mark that he had resided when he formerly lived in Haiti, and here [redacted] his son Alfred had been born. Perhaps here were his strongest ties to Haiti. He stayed from June 4 to June 9. He says no word of what he did or whom he saw.

We only know that on June 10 he was bound home on a British steamer "just eight days after I went ashore; I felt happy to arrive. I am more than happy to leave."

The ship loaded 6,000 tons of salt, the commodity which was the basis of Alexander's father's wealth, but Alexander does not mention the fact; nor apparantly does he stop at Long Key where he himself was born. He is silent until Monday, June 24, he lands in the United States. It is possible that in Haiti, he received funds which gave him some independence, or again it may be that he had left Alfred in Haiti, when he left in 1830. That his wife had died and that on 1861 he returned to get his son and bring him to America. This is conjecture.

39-2-60

Soon after returning he seems to have given up his New Haven work and connections and taken up a new career in Springfield, Massachusetts, where he had been living for some time. On July 12, 1861, "Du Bois and Thomas rented a shop on Main Street of W. W. Parsons at $150 a year."

I saw grandfather but once when I was 15 and he 77. Always he held his head high, took no insults, made few friends. He was not a "Negro"; he was a man! Yet the current was too strong even for him. Then even more than now a colored man had colored friends or none at all, lived in a colored world or lived alone. A few fine, strong, black men gained the heart of this silent, bitter man in New York and New Haven. If he had scant sympathy with their social clannishness, he was with them fighting discrimination.

Beneath his sterness was a very human man. Slyly he wrote poetry,--- stilted, pleading things from a soul astray. He loved women in his masterful way, marrying after his Haitian experience three beautiful wives in succession, in the United States, clinging to each with a certain desperate, even if unsympathetic affection. As a father he was, naturally a failure,--- hard, domineering, unyielding. His four children reacted characteristacally: one was until past middle life a thin spinster, the mental image of her father; one died; one passed over into the white world, and her children's children are now white, with no knowledge of their Negro blood; the fourth, my father, bent before grandfather, but did not break--- better if he had. He yielded and flared back, asked forgiveness and forgot why, became the harshly-held favorite, who ran away and rioted and roamed and loved and married my brown mother.

He arrived in Great Barrington in 1867. He was small and beautiful of face and feature, just tinted with the sun, his wavy hair chiefly revealing his kinship to Africa. In nature, I think, he was a dreamer--- romantic, indolent, kind, unreliable. He had in him the making of a poet, and adventurer, or a Beloved Vagabond, according to the life that closed round him; and that life gave him all too little.

I really know very little of my father. He had been brought from Haiti by his father. How he was schooled, I do not know. New Haven then had separate schools and all public schools were poor. Perhaps he was put into one of the better private Negro schools, which existed in New Haven at times. What he did between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five, I do not know. He probably worked and wandered here and there. There is no hint of his marrying during this time. But his picture which he gave mother showed him in the uniform of a Civil War private. How long he served or where, I do not know, nor whether he enlisted as colored or white. Connecticut raised two Negro regiments.

39-2-61

When my father came to Great Barrington in 1867, the black Burghardts did not like him. He was too good-looking, too white. He had apparently no property and no job, so far as they knew; and they had never heard of the Du Bois family in New York. Then suddenly in a runaway marriage, but one duly attested and published in the Berkshire Courier, Alfred married Mary Burghardt and they went to live in the house of Jefferson Mc Kinley. Here they lived for a year or two and against them the black Burghardt family carried on a more or less open feud, until my birth.

I was of great interest to the whole town. The whites waited to see "when my hair was going to curl," and all my Burghardt relatives admired me extravagantly. They still looked askance at my father and he was not attracted by them. There loomed the question as to where we were going to live and what my father was going to do for a living. He must have had some money on hand when he came, and he recoiled from grandfather Burghardt's home where Mary and her baby were expected eventually to live. After a year or more of hesitation, father went away to establish a home for his family. He would write for mother to come. Mother and I went to live on

Egremont Plain with the Burghardts. In a few months father wrote from New Milford, a small town in Connecticut about 40 miles south of Great Barrington on the Housatonic river. Mother hesitated. She had seldom been out of her home town. Once as a girl she had taken an excursion to New York. The family objected to her leaving and expressed more and more doubt as to father. The result was in the end that mother never went and my father never came back to Great Barrington. If he wrote, the letters were not delivered. I never saw him, and know not where or when he died.

39-2-62

My mother worried and sank into depression. The family closed about her as a protecting guardian. The town folk who knew the Burghardts took her and me into a sort of overseeing custody. We lived in simple comfort, and living was cheap. And yet as I look back I cannot see how mother accomplished what she did. Her brother and sisters, her cousins and relatives always stood by. My silent older half-brother early went to work as a waiter and was seldom home, but always he was ready to help.

My mother seldom mentioned my father. She was silent before family criticism. She uttered no word of criticism or blame. I do not remember asking much about him. Why, I am not sure; but I think that I knew instinctively that this was a subject which hurt my mother too much even to mention.

As I look back now, I can see that the little family of my mother and myself must have often been near the edge of poverty. Yet I was not hungry nor in lack of suitable clothing and shoes, nor made to feel unfortunate in company with my fellow students. That was partly because most village folk were poor or middle class. There were but few rich families. Most of my school mates belonged to families of small farmers, artisans, or shop-keepers. When special expenditures were called for, new shoes or school books, the money often came from gifts from my uncle or aunts or less frequently from white families, long closely connected with the Burghardt's. There may have been other gifts but they were never conspicuous. I never wore cast off clothes. I never asked for money. Our landlord Mrs. Cass, received no rent, I am sure, for long intervals. I think the rent was four dollars a month, and finally it was accounted for by settlement as a gift when I went to college.

folk outside the family

We continued to live with grandfather Burghardt until I was about five, and

grandfather died. The family then moved into town. We lived on the Sumner estate on south Main street, where we had rooms over what was once the stables. There was a nice wide yard and a running brook which afforded me infinite pleasure. Right opposite the front gate was the long lane leading down to the public school grounds. I suspect this nearness to school induced mother to choose this home. Then after grandmother died, we moved up to Railroad street, right next to the station. We lived with a poor white family, kindly, but the wife was near insanity.

39-2-63

Son after, my worrying mother had a paralytic stroke from which she never entirely recovered. As I remember her, she was always lame in her left leg, with a withere left hand. We always walked arm in arm. The misfortune never seemed to me to hurt us. I continued in school and had plenty to eat. Aunts and cousins did our mending and neighbors were always ready to help out. Sometimes mother went out for a day's wrk and people seemed to like to have her. I always went to bring her home at night and was never left alone.

We soon moved to the Cass home which I and mother occupied during my high school days. It was on Church street and stood back of the Cass residence and next to the horse-sheds of the Congregational church, which was empty except Sunday. We occupied two rooms and a pantry on the ground floor and two bedrooms on the second half-story.

None of these successive homes had modern conveniences: the "back house" and running water were outdoors; our heat came from stoves. Usually the houses were weatherproof and we had furniture enough for health and comfort. We had no gardens, but sometimes a border bit of land. Always after I was twelve, I had a bedchamber to myself, a luxury which I never dreamed was so rare until I was much older.

In the public schools of this town, I was trained from the age of six to sixteen, and in the town schools, churches, and general social life, I learned my patterns of living. I had, as a child, almost no experience of segregation or color discrimination. My schoolmates were invariable white; I joined quite naturally all games, excursions, church festivals; recreations like coasting, swimming, hiking and games. I was in and out of the homes of nearly all my mates, and ate and played

with them. I was as a boy long unconscious of color discrimination in any obvious and specific way.

I knew nevertheless that I was exceptional in appearance and that this riveted attention upon me. Less clearly, I early realized that most of the colored persons I saw, including my own folk, were poorer than the well-to-do whites; lived in humbler houses, and did not own stores. None of the colored folk I knew were so poor, drunken and sloven as some of the lower class Americans and Irish. I did not then associate poverty or ignorance with color, but rather with lack of opportunity; or more often with lack of thrift, which was in strict accord with the philosophy of New England and of the nineteenth century.

39-2-64

On the other hand, much of my philosophy of the color line must have come from my family group and their friends' experience. My immediate family eventually consisted of my mother and her brother. Near to us in space and intimacy were two married aunts with older children; and a number of cousins, in various degrees removed, lived scattered through the town and county. Most of these had been small farmers, artisans, laborers and servants. With few exceptions all could read and write, but few had training beyond this. These talked of their work and experiences, of hindrances which colored people especially encountered, of better chances in other towns and cities. In this way I must have gotten indirectly a pretty clear outline of color bars which I myself did not experience. Moreover, I couldn't rationalize my own case, because I found it easy to excel most of my classmates in studies, if not in games. The secret of life and the loosing of the color bar, then, lay in excellence, in accomplishment. If others of my family, of my colored kin, had stayed in school, instead of quitting early for small jobs, they could have risen to equal whites. On this my mother quietly insisted. There was no real discrimination on account of color--it was all a matter of ability and hard work.

This philosophy saved me from conceit and vainglory by rigorous self-testing, which doubtless cloaked some half-conscious misgivings on my part. If visitors to school saw and remarked on my brown face, I waited in quiet confidence. When my turn

came, I recited glibly and usually correctly because I studied hard. Some of my mates did not care, some were stupid, some excelled, but at any rate I gave the best a hard run, and then sat back complacently.

I entered public school at about the age of five or six. For ten years I went regularly to school, from nine o'clock until noon, and one o'clock until four each day, five days a week, ten months a year. The teachers were mature women, most of them trained in State Normal Schools and invariably white American Protestants. Miss Cross, my first primary teacher, was stern and inflexible, but with an inward kindliness and sense of fairness which made her a favorite of mine; and since I was a bright boy who got his lessons, I became a favorite of hers.

39-2-65

The school grounds were not particularly attractive or large, and yet they were ample for the play of children at recess. A great choke-cherry tree with bared roots gave shade in the summer, and fences hemmed us in from the private homes at the side and the low meadows beyond. The primary schoolhouse was wooden, with wooden hand-made furniture, and usually pretty well crowded. The grammar and high school building was brick. We had short devotions and singing each morning and there my clear young voice brought some initial distinction.

Gradually I became conscious that in most of the school work my natural gifts and regular attendance made me rank among the best, so that my promotions were regular and expected. I look back upon my classmates with interest and sharpened memory. They were boys and girls of town and country, with a few Irish and never but once another colored child. My rapid advancement made me usually younger than my classmates, and this fact remained true in high school and at college and even when I began my life work it influenced my attitudes in many ways. I was often too young to lead in enterprises even when I was fitted to do so, but I was always advising and correcting older folk.

Of course I was too honest with myself not to see things which dessert and even hard work did not explain or solve: I recognized ingrained difference in gift. Art Benham could draw pictures better than I; but I could express meaning in words better then he; Mike Gibbons was a perfect marble player, but dumb in Latin. I came to see and admit all this, but I hugged my own gifts and put them to test.

As playmate of the children I saw the homes of nearly every one. The homes I saw impressed me, but did not overwhelm me. Many were bigger than mine, with newer and shinier things, but they did not seem to differ in kind. One class of rich folk with whom I came in contact were summer boarders who made yearly incursions from New York. I think I was mostly impressed by their clothes. Outside of that there was little reason so far as I could see to envy them. The children were not very strong and rather too well dressed to have a good time playing. I think I probably surprised them more than they me, for I was easily at home with them and happy. They looked to me just like ordinary people, while my brown face and frizzled hair must have seemed strange to them.

39-2-46

The schools of Great Barrington were simple but good, well-taught, and truant laws were enforced. I started on one school ground, and continued there until I was graduated from high school. I was seldom absent or tardy. The curriculumn was simple: reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic; grammar, geography and history. We learned the alphabet; we were drilled rigorously on the multiplication tables and we drew accurate maps. We could spell correctly and read with understanding.

CHAPTER VII

BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON

Great Barrington was a town of middle-class people, mostly native white Americans of English and Dutch decent. There were differences of property and income and yet all the men worked and seemed at least to be earning their living. Naturally the income was not proportioned to the effort; some men worked 3 hours a day and earned several thousand dollars a year; carpenters worked 12 hours a day for a dollar, and servants toiled day and night for two dollars a week. But we did not dream of a day when a man doing nothing could be a millionaire at 35, while his fellow broke back and heart and starved.

39-2-67

The women were housekeepers, with a few exceptions, like teachers, the postmistress, and a clerk now and then in stores like Fassett's shop for women's apparel. The ownership of property, of homes and stores, of a few mills of various sorts, was fundamental, and the basis of social prestige. Most families owned their homes. There was some inherited wealth but not in very large amounts. There were no idle rich and no outstanding "society". I dimly remember one rich old man who was apparently retired and did no work. He rode about town now and then in a carriage with a liveried coachman. I recall my astonishment when I learned that the splendid gentleman on the high front seat, with beaver hat, shining boots and gold braid, was not the owner. The owner was the little fat man crouched in the rear seat.

This, however, was exceptional. The Russell brothers, middle-aged men whom I knew quite well, went to work every day, superintending the Berkshire Woolen Mills in the upper part of town. The Whitings, an old well-to-do family, ran a drugstore, and a white Burghardt who spelled his name Burgett had the leading grocery store. The Girlings had a clothing store, and the Brewers dealt in hardware and fuel. There were two hotels; the Berkshire catered to summer visitors, chiefly from New York; the Miller House depended on local trade. There was for a time a steam bakery which turned out delicious food until the National Biscuit

Company swallowed it up and it disappeared. There was a bank, the Mahaiwe National.

Of course there was also the usual contradiction: while property and income were the main bases of social status, at the same time the facts concerning them were a carefully guarded secret. No one knew exactly how rich the Russells were or just what was the financial status of the Coffins and Churches. There were, of course, rumors and general estimates which were in all probability not far from the truth, but few knew with any exactitude the economic status of the important persons of the town.

39-2-68

There was no great exhibition of wealth. The homes of the Russells, the Churches and Dr. Collins were comparatively large with perhaps eight or ten rooms and built of wood, or more rarely, of stone. There was an abundance of cheap blue granite in the neighboring mountains. Most of the homes were of wood, four to six rooms, and all of them were furnished according to a common pattern: horse-hair sofas and chairs in the "parlors", with old-fashioned wooden furniture and corner "what-nots". They were usually heated by coal stoves, one in each room. Anthracite coal, and wood from the vicinity were used. Bathrooms and indoor toilets were rare; each home had its outdoor privy, often nicely arranged.

In general living, the contrast between the well-to-do and the poor was not great. Living was cheap and there was little real poverty. Some food like local fruit was almost common property; vegetables like potatoes, navy beans and cabbage were grown in small home gardens; corned beef and chickens fetched low prices and eggs could often be raised at home; "greens" and rhubarb grew in back yards and in the Fall canning and preserving cost only the sugar. There were no flashy carriages and the social life was quite private. When the Berkshire Courier, our local weekly newspaper, made social announcements, it was usually marriages, births, and deaths, visiting relatives from out of town, and trips to New York or the West by local residents.

I grew up in the midst of definite ideas as to wealth and poverty, work and charity. Wealth was the result of work and saving and the rich rightly inherited the earth. The poor, on the whole, were themselves to be blamed. They were

unfortunate and if so their fortunes could easily be mended with care, But chiefly, they were "shiftless" and "shiftlessness" was unforgivable.

The chief criterion of local social standing was property and ancestry; but the ancestors were never magnates like the patroons of the manors along the Hudson to the West; nor were they persons of great prestige and learning with aristocratic connections like the residents of Boston and eastern Massachusetts. They were usually ordinary folk of solid respectability, farm owners, or artisans merging into industry. Standing did not depend on what the ancestor did, or who he was, but rather that he existed, lived decently and thus linked the individual to the community. Physically and socially our community belonged to the Dutch valley of the Hudson rather than to Puritan New England, and travel went south to New York more often and more easily than east to Boston.

39-2-67

The stores dealt chiefly in staples for ordinary living-- food, clothes, medicines, and so forth. Most of them originally catered to a large farmer trade between country and town. The surrounding farmers bought in their produce and traded it for manufactured goods and certain luxuries. But this type of trading in my boyhood was being gradually reduced in extent. Western farm produce was underselling local efforts except in the case of milk, butter and fresh vegetables. There were one or two good jewelry and watch repairing stores, a confectionary store and a number of tropical fruit stands.

One of our citizens impressed me greatly: C. C. Taylor was a little white-haired man who was writing a history of the town; he was an official of the bank and what was of closer interest to me, he lived on a beautiful hill on lower Main street. He kept a herd of cattle. They gave so much milk that he told my mother that anytime she wanted skimmed milk, to send me down and get all we wanted. I remember those morning walks, up to the great elm on our corner; down the vast expanse of Main street; past the Town Hall and the watering trough opposite; then by the Kellog meadow and home and Mike Gibbons' cottage and up to the Taylor home and the delicious fresh milk.

There were one or two liquor saloons, which the town did not like to recognize,

but had to. George Briggs, a native American, used to run such a saloon, but got out of the business when I was quite small and went into the more respectable business of selling meat; but the townspeople never forgot his former calling. The most prosperous saloon in my boyhood was on Railroad street, which led from Main street to the railroad station. It was run by a man of foreign descent named Brazie. Here was a center of drinking and carousing and perhaps some gambling. My mother laid down here one of her few strict commands; she was not talkative, but listened well. She gave few commands; but she said firmly that I was never to go into a liquor saloon or even near it. I never did, and indeed, so strong was the expression of her wishes here, that never in my life since have I felt at ease drinking at a bar.

39-2-68

The reason for my mother's attitude was clear. Great Barrington had few places of amusement or means for recreation. Community social life centered in entertainments in Town Hall; the "Bohemian glass blowers," or, as I vividly remember, the Sam Lucas singers; but for the ordinary man, including both hard-working merchant and busy artisan, not to mention laborers and visitors passing through, the liquor saloon was recreation and drunkenness was escapism. Numbers of the most respectable townsfolk were sometimes seen openly the worse for overindulgence in liquor. My own Uncle Jim, a reputable and hardworking barber, came home now and then walking very straight because of liquor. When the Murphy crusade for total abstinence swept the valley, I as a boy was one of the first to don the blue ribbon. I kept the pledge until I went as a student to Germany.

Over against this general basic community of white Americans were two groups. One was composed of a mass of Irish peasants who began to reach this town in the early fifties after the well-known famine. They were Catholics and came in increasing numbers as house servants and workers in the local woolen mills. The older Irish families became laborers on the railroads and artisans of various sorts. They formed a group of the respectable poor. They were followed by poorer and more ignorant peasants, ill-trained and ragged and given to drink. They became herded in slum areas in the upper part of the town surrounding the mills. They received low

wages and were exploited in the usual ways, not as much as in the cities, but more than was necessary in a town like Great Barrington. As a boy, I was afraid of the Irish and kept away from their part of town as much as possible. Sometimes they called me "nigger" or tried to attack me. On the other hand, the older and better class of them had children in school whom I knew quite well.

39-2-69

The mass of the Irish, however, were separated from the townfolk by their religion and their monopoly of house service. The Catholic church was perched across the river beyond the mills, and thither the girl servants trudged faithfully of early mornings to mass. This and other traits of the Irish became the basis of jokes and ridicule in town and throughout New England. Indeed, I was struck in later years when I came back from the South to New England, to find that the "nigger" jokes of Tennessee were replaced at Harvard by tales of the "two Irishmen" and songs like "mush-mush-mush turaliady."

My own attitude toward this hard-working Irish minority was naturally complicated. They did not belong to my traditional community and consequently I felt no comradeship with them. I think I rather assumed, along with most of the townfolk, that the dirty, stinking Irish slums were something that the Irish themselves preferred and made. Certainly in school and church and on the street, I got no idea that the town was responsible for the slums. My Housatonic river, for instance, was "golden" because of the waste which the paper and woolen mills poured into it and because more and more the river became a public sewer into which town and slum poured their filth.

The other minority in my town were my own colored people, but they were few in number. In Great Barrington there were perhaps twenty-five, certainly not more than fifty, colored folk in a population of five thousand. My family was among the oldest inhabitants of the valley. The family had spread slowly through the country intermarrying among cousins and other black folk, with some, but limited, infiltration of white blood. Other dark families had come in and there was some intermingling with local Indians. In one or two cases there were groups of apparently later black immigrants from Africa, near Sheffield for instance.

There survived there an isolated group of black folk whose origin was obscure. We knew little of them but felt above them because of our education and economic status.

The colored population of the town had been increased a little by "contrebands," freed Negroes from the South, who on the whole were well received by the colored group; although the older group held some of its social distinctions and the newcomers astonished us by forming a little Negro Methodist Zion church, which we sometimes attended. There were the Masons, a family of six, a little uncouth and very religious; but good-hearted, hard workers and so jolly. I came to like them very much. There were visitors from neighboring towns. I remember a lovely little plump and brown girl who appeared out of nowhere, and smiled at me demurely; and there were always strange cousins. The colored folk were not set aside in the sense that the Irish were, but were a part of the community of long standing; and in my case as a child, I felt no sense of difference or separation from the main mass of townspeople.

39-2-70

After I entered High School, I began to feel the pressure of the "veil of color"; in little matters at first and then in larger. There were always certain compensations. For instance, George Beebe was a handsome classmate in high school, two or three years older than I, and extravagantly dressed. My own clothes were never ragged, but seldom new and certainly not in current style. Yet George and I were excellent friends because with all his clothes he was rather dumb in class and knew it, while I was bright and just this side of shabby, so that we balanced each other. The Sabins, Clarence and Ralph, lived near me on the opposite street. Clarence was serious and studious, and Ralph a little devil. We were friends and playmates. Art Benham, whose father was a railroad engineer, was a pixie, red-haired, ugly and gifted. He and I were joint editors of the only paper that was ever published during my day. It was the High School Howler, gotten out by hand, and lasting only for two or three issues.

The boy who lived nearest me was Jim Parker, son of a watch-maker. He and Fred Sanford used to go hunting with firearms in the forest. This repelled me

a little, as I did not like killing things, but they were all good pals whom I could easily outdistance in class. Other boys of my group were Boardman Tobey, son of a jeweler, who came to school once with shoes said to have cost four dollars. We did not believe such a price possible. George Phelps, the tinner's son, lived next door and we met daily. Ned Hollister's father had his large grocery store near the watering-trough for horses; his stock of tropical fruit introduced me to dozens of oranges which Ned forced on me when accidently his stone hit me instead of the "duck on the rock" at which he was aiming. He attained fame by bringing the first high-wheeled bicycle to town.

39-2-71

One girl, Mary Dewey, eldest daughter of our most distinguished lawyer, surpassed me in arithmetic. She could add up columns of figures with astonishing rapidity, but my grasp of history and ability to write were better than hers. The other girls in my classes were not to me notable. Edith Pixley and Lottie Doolittle were pretty but did not know much. Sabra Taylor and Minnie Crissy were sober country girls and good students whom I liked. Agnes O'Neil was a newcomer to town whose ancestors nobody knew. She dressed quite gorgeously and George Beebe escorted her about. But otherwise she was negligible.

In our day and school, because we were younger, and less sophisticated, our chief business was studying or playing. I can remember when the new school principal, Frank Hosmer of Amherst, tried to introduce a uniform cap with gilt lettering, G.B.H.S. on the front, to indicate the "Great Barrington High School". We were almost unanimously against it, and called it "The Great Big Hosmer Speculation." As a matter of fact, we students for the most part and particularly myself, did not have the money to pay for this unnecessary expense. On the other hand, we did have some interesting group activities. Hosmer and young Frank Wright, who was reading law in Judge Dewey's office, put on a play at Town Hall -- Scott's "Lady of the Lake"; and most high school students took some part. There was a folk play, "Old John Brown Had a Little Indian", in which I was one of the participants. For recreation we played games: "marbles", "hi-spy", "duck on a rock", and "Indians". We went mountain climbing and explored caves; we swam, and

coasted the long hill from far up Castle street, across the railroad tracks down to Main street. Most of the children used to skate; but not I for two reasons: skates cost too much, and mother was afraid of water.

Our chief holidays were fourth of July, Cattle-show and Christmas. Fourth of July was a romp for children with a few but not many casualties. Once in a while we had fire works as a treat from some philanthropist. Usually we only set off our individual packs of small crackers. Christmas was a festival of Church and home, and there was no public illumination, and no frantic buying of presents. We played base-ball but it had not yet become a national game and consisted of "one old cat" or at most two chosen sides. We tried football sometimes. I was not particularly good at these games but joined gaily in the fun.

39-2-72

Of other schoolmates, there were two Irish boys whom I liked. Mike Gibbons had marvelous facility at playing "marbles", and Ned Kelly who was fat and jolly. Later he became town clerk. An older fellow student of Long English ancestry, Walter Sanford, became local judge. Will Beckwith lived on a farm near town, where sometimes my mother went as temporary "help". I always came out over week-ends, played with Will, and ate with the family. Mother always had a rich cake ready for me. Later, Will was one of the few Great Barrington boys who went to college. Three other boys I knew quite well, but they did not go to the public school. Charles and John Church went to Edward Van Lennep's private school, where numbers of rich young people from out of town were taught. Our own opinion in the high school was that these students did not have brains enough to go to public school. We were probably prejudiced. Mr. Van Lennep tried to have good relations between the town boys and his pupils. The Church family had considerable inherited wealth from their ancestors, the Coffins. The Coffins had taken advantage of the war tariffs and manufactured paper. The young Churches were educated to become a part of the idle rich, but Charles did not take to this role kindly. He and I were quite good friends. The younger, John, on the other hand, was a little exclusive,. I remember him especially because he married May Loop, an orphaned hoyden of an old but poor family. She lived next door to me, and was one of the

group with which I played on Church street, where I lived. Later, when I had left town and gone South to school, she had married John. She wrote me and asked if I could find her a colored servant. I couldn't.

There was one little boy to whom I was closely drawn. He was Louis Russell, the son of Parley Russell, the mill-owner, who had married a second wife. This Mrs. Russell, whom I knew and who was well acquainted with my family, was a lovely lady who tried to rear young Louis. He was frail, good-hearted, but slow-witted, and did not go to public school. Mostly he was kept at home, and Mrs. Russell made special effort to find companions for him, and she especially chose me. So that quite often I went across the railroad tracks and up the wide and flowered meadow which led to the Russell home. It was one of the most imposing in the village, isolated, and surrounded with grass, flower, and fruit. There were stables in the rear, and outhouses for farming.

39-2-73

I always had a good time when I went to play with Louis. We were welcomed in the house; we ate bread and milk together in the big kitchen; and the Irish servants were kind. Once or twice Mrs. Russell insisted on my taking home certain of Louis's toys. The one which gave me most pleasure was an old wooden bicycle. It was to Mrs. Russell to whom my high school principal turned when he wanted me to take up Greek, and I and my mother hesitated because of the cost of the books. She bought all my Greek books.

Of the other town folk outside my schoolmates, I remember especially Johnny Morgan. He was a small man, I think of Welsh descent, and ran a bookstore in the front part of the little shop where the village post office occupied the rear. I went to the post office daily, not because I was expecting mail or often got any, but because of the intriguing exhibition of periodicals and books in Johnny Morgan's store. He became interested in me and very sympathetic. He did not repel me by asking too many questions or trying to find out my plans and ideas. But he made little suggestions and did not object to my looking at the illustrations in Puck and Judge. I looked them over each week.

I remember one momentous transaction. From early days I had been intrigued

by books as books. In our living room I took possession of an old "secretary" which had come down in the family and gathered together in it a number of stray volumes which I found about the house. One I distinctly remember, "Opie on Lying". There were a few others. I did not read them, but they formed my library. Then one Fall -- it was in 1882-- I was in my second year in high school, I saw in Johnny Morgan's window a gorgeous edition of Macaulay's "History of England", in five volumes, and I wanted it fiercely. Its price was, of course, far beyond my ability to pay, but Johnny Morgan suggested that I buy it on installments. This was not a usual method at that time in Great Barrington. It was our rule to "pay as you go". But I seized on Morgan's suggestion and for several months paid in installments of, I think, twenty-five cents a week. At Christmas time I took my precious purchase home and it still stands in my library.

39-2-74

The first glimpse in the outer and wider world was through John Morgan's. There I remember very early seeing pictures of U. S. Grant and Tweed who was beginning his extraordinary career in New York state; and later of Hayes and the smooth and rather cruel face of Tilden. Johnny Morgan made other suggestions to me. He arranged while I was in high school, that I become the local Great Barrington correspondent of the Springfield Republican, which was the most influential and widely circulated paper in western Massachusetts. I sent it from time to time some items of interst, but not many, as I was soon graduated from high school.

Outside my school, my chief communication with the people of the town was through the church. In Great Barrington there were three leading Protestant churches, and later a fourth. The most important church was the Congregational. It had the largest attendance of all the churches, including merchants and farmers, and professional men of the town. My own family on both sides had been Episcopalians, but because we lived near the Congregational church, and because my mother had many acquaintances there, and because the minister, Scudder, was especially friendly my mother early joined this church. I think we were the only colored communicants. But I grew up in this church and its Sunday School, and it was there that one of the lady members, looking down on a chubby little brown child walking beside his

mother, saw me take off my hat. My long rather stiff curls were revealed, and with considerate kindness she said sweetly: " Little girls keep their hats on in church." This of course precipitated at home a wild fight on my part to have my curls cut off, and of course in time, and to my mother's grief, off they came.

In the festivities of the whole year, when strawberries became ripe, when harvest brought in fruit and vegatables, and at Christmas time, there were celebrations in Sunday School, and I was always there. I felt absolutely no discrimination, and I do not think there was any, or any thought of it. When the great church was burned down, I was a sensitive mourner and oversaw at every period its protentious rebuilding. I remember the altar, whose Greek inscription I was proudly able to read: "He alethia eleutherosi humas." (The truth shall make you free) I heard the dedicatory sermon: " For thus said the High and Mighty One, who inhabiteth eternity, Whose Name is Holy. I dwell in the high and lofty place. With him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit to revive the spirit of the humble, to revive the ~~spirit~~ heart of the contrite ones."

The new Sunday School building was my chief pride and joy. It had climbed out of the basement and had broad and beautiful rooms with sunlit windows looking out on lawn and flowers. The carpet, the chairs, the tables, were all new, and the teacher were inspired to new efforts with their growing classes. I was quite in my element and led in discussions, with embarrasing questions, and long disquisitions. I learned much of the Hebrew scriptures. I think I must have been both popular and a little dreaded, but I was very happy.

The other leading church was the Episcopalian, a little more heavy in architecture and aristocratic in concept. The older families and the more well-to-do attended. I remember one incident which characterized the religious situation in town. Our leading lawyer had been made a county judge. Judge Dewey lived on the corner of my street, and in a house with which I was very familiar. As a little boy there lived in one of the upper chambers there, overlooking both Main and Church streets, a young lady who was sick. My mother used to take me there once in a while and I would spend an hour or so in this chamber talking to the lady.

39-2-75

Of what we talked, I have not now the faintest idea, but apparently we both were much interested. My mother explained that the lady had cancer, which was the first I had heard of this dread disease. Then visits ceased.

In this house, Judge Dewey and his family lived, his eldest daughter Mary, who had the phenomenal mathematical ability which I have mentioned, a second daughter Sarah, and little Margaret. In the Congregational church, of which Judge Dewey was a high official, the governing board decided to use at Communions individual wine-cups instead of the one great silver beaker. Judge Dewey was outraged. He declared that the decision was against the Bible, and he led his flock from Church street down to the Episcopal church, where thereafter he became a communicant. It was a town sensation.

39-2-76

In the upper part of the town, toward the mill, was a small white wooden Methodist church. It had a small congregation of the less well-known inhabitants of the town. They met quietly and regularly. Then of course across the river, and uncounted by the mass of townfolk, was the Catholic church, with a large attendance of Irish working people, and a cemetery near by. Later, and while I was in high school, the colored folk of the town, mostly newcomers, and not old families like the Burghardts, organized a small branch of the A. M. E. Zion church, which had been formed in New York late in the eighteenth century. The colored people had long owned a small plot of land in the lower part of the town on Main street. They were induced to sell this for a small plot on a side street, and there they built a little chapel. The older Negroes were not at all happy about this segregated institution, but now and then we used to attend the services, which became an inconspicious part of the religious organization of the community.

There was little crime or misdemeanor in our town. We had a single policeman, a little old man named Abe who wore a badge and carried a club. We boys used to make sly fun of him. But there was a little one-roomed "Lock-up" and once in a while it had an occupant for a night. In school there were the usual youthful disputes and arguments; but seldom were there fights, and never gangs or feuds. I remember being principal of one fight when I was in grammar school. It was with

a strong country boy, but what it was about I have quite forgotten; it had no racial cause I am sure. We left school at noon and instead of going home to lunch, we went up back of the railway station. There before cheering schoolmates we slugged it out manfully. I was pretty thoroughly trounced, but we were both able to report to class at one o'clock looking fairly presentable with our "honor" vindicated. It was, as I learned in after life, a quite usual human culture pattern.

39-2-77

Once while I was in high school, a number of us students stole some grapes from a tempting arbor. Now, taking fruit had never been regarded by us as more than the right of town boys and we knew all the best orchards. But in this case we filched some choice and carefully tended grapes from a prominent citizen. There was considerable indignation and Judge Dewey suggested that I and the others might be better off in Reform School. We had a very good one in the eastern part of the State which the judge was connected with. The victim of the theft, however, refused to press any charge and nothing more was heard of Judge Dewey's proposal. But I was considerably disturbed. During my ten years of boyhood life there was in the county one murder; once the bank was robbed of a small sum; there were minor cases of stealing and trespass and some drunkenness which called for arrest.

In government, Great Barrington was in theory and largely in practice, a democracy of the New England type. In general politics we were nearly all Republicans. Indeed, it was not respectable to be anything else; one of our prominent lawyers, Joyner, a thin, tall swarthy man, was a Democrat and we suspected him of low origin and questionable designs.

From early years, I attended the town meeting every spring and in the upper room in that little red brick town hall, fronted by a Roman "victory" commemorating the Civil War, I listened to the citizens discuss things about which I knew and had opinions: streets and bridges and schools, and particularly the high school, an institution comparatively new. We had in the town, several picturesque hermits, usually retrograde Americans of old families. There was Crosby, the gunsmith, who lived in a lovely dale with brook, waterfall and water wheel. He was a frightful

apparition but we boys often ventured to visit him. Particularly was there Baretown Beebe, who came from forest fastnesses which I never penetrated. He was a particularly dirty, ragged, fat old man, who used regularly to come down from his rocks and woods and denounce high school education and expense.

I was thirteen or fourteen years of age and a student in the small High School with two teachers and perhaps 25 pupils. The High School was not too popular in this rural part of New England and received from the town a much too small appropriation. But the thing that exasperated me, was that every Spring at Town Meeting, which I religiously attended, this huge, ragged old man came down from the hills and for an hour or more reviled the High School and demanded its discontinuance.

39-2-78 (5)

I remember distinctly how furious I used to get at the stolid town folk, who sat and listened to him. He was nothing and nobody. Yet the town heard him gravely because he was a citizen and property-holder on a small scale and when he was through, they calmly voted the usual funds for the High School. Gradually as I grew up, I began to see that this was the essence of democracy; listening to the other man's opinion and then voting your own, honestly and intelligently.

While without conscious socialist tendencies the Town owned its own water supply which poured into the homes from a dark and secret lake hidden in the hills; our charity looked after the few paupers who were "On the Town" and we cared for our streets and sewers. On the other hand our fire department was volunteer and we had no public park save the square around the Town Hall. Indeed what with our meadows and mountains, we needed none.

We made no social arrangements for sickness. That was mainly a matter of friendly charity among relatives and neighbors. There was but one hospital in the county, and that was at Pittsfield and called the "House of Mercy". We had a few physicians in town and they in attending my family were very considerate in their charges. I was seldom sick: whooping cough and measles I remember, but little else. Forturately I have never broken a bone.

In general thought and conduct I became quite thoroughly New England. It was not good form in Great Barrington to express one's thought volubly, or to give way to excessive emotion. We were even sparing in our daily greetings. There was on the street only a curt "good morning" to those whom you knew well and no greetings at all from others. I am quite sure that in a less restrained and conventional atmosphere I should have easily learned to express my emotions with far greater and more unrestrained intensity; but as it was I had the social heritage not only of a New England clan but Dutch taciturnity. This was later reinforced and strengthened by inner withdrawals in the face of real and imagined discriminations. The result was that I was early thrown in upon myself. I found it difficult and even unnecessary to approach other people and by that same token my own inner life perhaps grew the richer; but the habit of repression often returned to plague me in after years, for so early a habit could not easily be unlearned. The Negroes in the South, when I came to know them, could never understand why I did not naturally greet everyone I passed on the street or slap my friends on the back.

39-2-79

Of course our democracy was not full and free. Certain well-known and well-to-do citizens were always elected to office-- not the richest nor most noted but just as surely not the poorest nor the Irish Catholics.

The town and its surroundings were a boy's paradise: there were mountains to climb and rivers to wade and swim; lakes to freeze and hills for coasting. There were orchards and caves and wide green fields; and all of it was apparently property of the children of the town. My earlier contacts with playmates and other human beings were normal and pleasant. Sometimes there was a dearth of available playmates but that was peculiar to the conventions of the town where families were small and children must go to bed early and not loaf on the streets or congregate in miscellaneous crowds. Later, in the high school, there came some rather puzzling distinctions which I can see now were social and racial; but the racial angle was more clearly defined against the Irish than against me. It was a matter of income and ancestry more than color.

I have written elsewhere of the case of our exchanging visiting cards when one girl, a newcomer, did not seem to want mine, to my vast surprise.

I presume I was saved evidences of a good deal of actual discrimination by my own keen sensitiveness. My companions did not have a chance to refuse me invitations; they must seek me out and urge me to come as indeed they often did. When my presence was not wanted they had only to refrain from asking. But in the ordinary social affairs of the village -- the Sunday school with its picnics and festivals; the temporary skating rink in the town hall; the coasting in crowds on all the hills -- in all of these, I took part with no thought of discrimination on the part of my fellows, for that I would have been the first to notice.

39-2-80

Indeed, even in high school it was not regarded as good form for the boys to pair about with the girls. They did not walk together on the streets. They did not talk with each other too often on the grounds. I suppose that this fact explains much that bothers us today. Today, high schools with their higher age level, and retarded pupils, have become social centers and even matrimonial agencies, particularly in the South. It is this concept of the high school which partially explains Little Rock.

Later, I was protected in part by the fact that there was little social activity in the high school; there were no fraternities; there were no school dances; there were no honor societies. Whatever of racial feeling gradually crept into my life, its effect upon me in these earlier days was rather one of exaltation and high disdain. They were the losers who did not ardently court me, and not I, which seemed to be proven by the fact that I had no difficulty in outdoing them in nearly all competition, especially intellectual. In athletics I was not outstanding. I was only moderately good at baseball and football; but at running, exploring, story-telling and planning of intricate games, I was often if not always the leader.

After I entered the high school, economic problems and questions of the future began to loom. They were partly settled by my own activities. My mother's limited resources of income were helped through boarding the barber, my uncle; supplemented

infrequently by her own day's work, and by some kindly unobtrusive charity. But I was keen and eager to eke out this income by various jobs; splitting kindling, mowing lawns, doing chores. I early came to understand that to be "on the town", the recipient of public charity, was the depth not only of misfortune but of a certain guilt. I presume some of my folk sank to that but not to my knowledge. We earned our way. I have a little post card dated in 1883 in which Miss Smith on September 19 writes, "We would like to have you come certainly next Saturday as you did last week to do some splitting for us." This was a matter of splitting up kindling for two maiden ladies and this was one of the first of my economic enterprises.

39-2-81

My first regular wage began as I entered the high school: I went early of mornings and filled with coal one or two of the new so-called "base burning" stoves in the millinery shop of Madame L'Hommedieu. From then on, all through my high school course, I worked after school and on Saturdays.

For some time too I sent weekly letters to a colored weekly "New York Age" and sold copies, and before the A and P stores dealt in groceries and simply were selling tea, I was one of their local agents. Thus in all sorts of little ways I managed to earn some money and never asked nor thought of gifts.

Of the great things happening in the United States at that time we were touched only by the Panic of 1873, when my uncle in 1876 came home from the little town east of us where he was a leading barber. He brought me, I remember, a silver dollar, which was an extraordinary thing. Up to that time I had seen nothing but paper money.

The United States in the decades 1870-1890 was an extraordinary country. Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Grover Cleveland were presidents. James G. Blaine was an aspirant who barely missed the highest office and the country was reckless and prosperous; squandering its seemingly endless resources; tying east and west with railways; exploiting iron and coal and oil and making fortunes for a new and ruthless caste of business men who were cashing in on the cost of Civil War. Many results of this I could see in my town.

On the other hand, the inner social group of my own relatives and colored friends always had furnished me as a boy most interesting and satisfying company. The color line was manifest and yet not absolutely drawn. I remember a cousin of mine who brought home a white wife. The chief objection was that he was not able to support her and nobody knew her family; and knowledge of family history was counted as highly important. Many of the colored people had some white blood from unions several generations past. That colored folk congregated together in their own social life was natural because that was the rule in the town. There were little social knots of people, but not much that today would be called social life, save that which centered about the churches; and there the colored folk often took part.

34-2-82

The fate of my various relatives among the black Burghardts I do not know very well. One cousin, Jimmie Burghardt, lived near Williams college and always wanted to enter. But he never did. He lacked both money and Greek and worked as college janitor. But his granddaughter is stenographer in a large New York corporation. Others have prospered as western farmers, one became a singer and teacher of music and another was head of the home economics department in the colored school system of a large Border state city. Of course it is probably true that there are hundreds of black Burghardt descendants working as ordinary citizens - teachers and a few others in the professions, civil servants, artisans and skilled laborers; and plain hard workers on street and in home. I greet them all.

Now and then I made little trips to neighboring towns: to my cousins, the Pipers in Sheffied, five miles south, to play with John and his sisters; to Pittsfield, two long miles north, where my cousins Mary and Lizzie Potter lived and where I saw the lovely Rita Bradwell. Once I stayed with my uncle in Amherst who lived with a niece and owned a barber shop. He bought me a new suit of beautiful "navy-blue" cloth.

But my greatest boyhood trip came in 1883, when I was 15 and in third year high school. In 1874 my grandfather having lost his third wife was proposing to marry a widow, Mrs. Green, and assured her of a home in New Bedford whither he

had moved from Springfield. He writes: "I have bought of the Petomska Mills Corporation the house and lot southwest corner of Landby and Third streets. The lot is the whole width of what the corporation owns on Landby and runs south far enough to comprise 20 roods for $2,000 -- one half to be paid in cash -- and the rest either over a year or with 7% interest and secured by mortgage on the premises."

39-2-23

Grandfather then adds: "Entreat me not to leave thee or to return from following after thee, for whither thou goest, I will go, where thou lodgest will I lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried."

"I like you better as our acquaintance extends, my dear Anna. Come to my house as soon as it shall please you so to do, there shall be but one home, one purse, one affection, one God."

They were eventually married, and in 1883 my grandfather's last wife wrote my mother. She had known and liked my father and understood his difficulties with his father. When he had left us and was presumably dead, she heard of me and wanted me to come and let my grandfather see and know me. My mother was excited and determined that I should make the trip. How she managed to raise the money, I do not know. But always, Mother, in her resourceful way always got for me whatever she thought I needed. She got together money for my trip, hoping that grandfather might eventually help in my education. So off I went to my first great excursion into the world.

I went down the Housatonic railroad to Bridgeport and missed my train to New Haven because of the contradiction of clocks with the new standard time. I traded my ticket for another route by way of Hartford. There I saw the capitol building and wrote about signing the register for "distinguished guests!" -- was late in reaching Providence and a bit put out because my grandmother's friend was not promptly on hand to meet me.

One incident during my stay was unforgettable. One afternoon the center table in the parlor was decorated with a festive cloth, a cut-glass decanter of wine and two wine-glasses. Grandfather expected a visitor, and so I hovered in the background.

The visitor proved to be a large black man, with pleasant countenance and well-dressed. My grandfather in long black coat, received Mr. Freedom with grave courtesy. They sat down and talked seriously; finally my grandfather arose filled the wine glasses and raising his glass and touched the glass of his friend, murmuring a toast. I had never before seen such ceremony: I had read about it in books, but in Great Barrington both white and black avoided ceremony. To them it smacked of pretense. We went to the other extreme of casual greeting, sprawling posture and curt rejoinder. The black Burghardts indulged in jokes and back-slapping. I suddenly sensed in my grandfather's parlor what manners meant and how people of breeding behaved and were able to express what we in Great Barrington were loath to give out to, or unable. I never forgot that toast.

39-2-84

The house in New Bedford was sold after grandfather's death in 1867 for $2,110. He is buried in Oak Grove Cemetery near the Yale Campus, New Haven, in a lot which he owned, and which is next to that of Jehudi Ashmun of Liberian fame. His eldest daughter married a light mulatto and their descendants are now passing for white and probably quite unaware of their colored blood. My Aunt Henrietta married a man named Bates, of Cumberland, Alleghany County, Maryland.

On my return from New Bedford I had another stirring experience. I stopped again with grandmother's friend in Providence and he took me to the annual picnic at Rocky Point on Narragansett Bay where the colored people of three states were wont to assemble. I viewed with astonishment 10,000 Negroes of every hue and bearing, saw in open-mouthed astonishment the whole gorgeous gamut of the American Negro world; the swaggering men, the beautiful girls, the laughter and gaiety, the unhampered self-expression. I was astonished and inspired. I apparently noted nothing of poverty or degradation, but only extraordinary beauty of skin-color and utter equality of men, with absence so far as I could see of even the shadow of the line of race. I came home by way of Springfield and Albany where I was a guest of my elder half-brother and saw my first electric street light blink and sputter.

I was graduated from high school in 1884 and was of course the only colored student. Once during my course another dark boy had attended the school for a short time, but I was very much ashamed of him because he did not excel the whites as I was quite used to doing. All thirteen of us graduates had orations, and mine was on "Wendell Phillips." The great anti-slavery agitator had just died in February and I presume that some of my teachers must have suggested the subject, although it is quite possible that I chose it myself. But I was ~~fascinated~~ fascinated by his life and his work and took a long step toward a wider conception of what I was going to do.

39-2-85

Most of the short speeches were fairly conventional essays; but I thought the talk of Minnie Crissey on reading was especially good and I envied her knowledge of books. My own essay brought loud applause from the audience because of my race and subject. I was born in a community which conceived itself as having helped put down a wicked rebellion for the purpose of freeing four million slaves. They deeply admired Phillips despite the fact that recently he had adopted Socialism. My mother was in the audience and was filled with pride.

Meanwhile elsewhere in the world there were stirring and change which were to mean so much in my life: In Japan the Meiji Emperors rose to power the year I was born; in China the intrepid Empress Dowager was fighting strangulation by England and France; Prussia had fought with Austria and France, and the German Empire arose in 1871. In England, Victoria opened her eighth parliament and the duel of Disraeli and Gladstone began; while in Africa came the Abyssinian expedition and opening of the Suez Canal, so fateful for all my people.

CHAPTER VIII

I GO SOUTH

In the summer of 1884, after my graduation from High School, there loomed the problem as to where and if I was to go to college. The fact that I was going had been settled in my own mind from the time that my school principal, Frank Hosmer, had recommended my High School course. Hosmer was a graduate of Amherst and later in life he became president of Oahu College, Hawaii. He suggested, quite as a matter of course, that I ought to take the college preparatory course which involved algebra, geometry, Latin and Greek. If Hosmer had been another sort of man, with definite ideas as to a Negro's "place", and had recommended agriculture or domestic economy, I would doubtless have followed his advice, had such "courses" been available. I did not then realize that Hosmer was quietly opening college doors to me, for in those days they were barred with ancient tongues.

This meant a considerable expenditure for books which were not free in those days-- and were more costly than my own folk could afford; but Mrs. Russell, the wife of one of the mill-owners, or rather I ought to describe her as the mother of one of my playmates, after some hesitation offered to furnish all the necessary books. I accepted the offer as something normal and right; only after many years did I realize how critical this gift was for my career. I am not yet sure how she came to do it; perhaps my wise principal suggested it. Comparatively few of my white classmates planned or cared to plan for college-- perhaps two or three in my class of thirteen. I became therefore a high school student preparing for college and thus occupied an unusual position among whites in the town.

I collected catalogues of colleges and over the claims of Williams and Amherst, nearest my home, or of Yale not much further, I blithely picked Harvard, because it was oldest and largest and most widely known. But a question arose in my case-- a young and ambitious colored man. What were the possibilities of employment or of any career after such training? Why encourage such a colored man toward such training? I imagine this matter was discussed considerably among my friends, white and black.

However in my mind there was no doubt but that I was going to college. The whole matter was subtly taken out of my hands and a sort of guardianship of family and white friends was quietly established. I was advised that after all I was rather young to go directly to college; and also our high school was below the standard of Harvard entrance requirements. It might then be wise for me to work and study a year and then enter college in the Fall of eighty-five. There followed an unexpected change when in the Fall of 1884, my Mother died.

I felt a certain gladness to see her at peace at last, for she had worried all her life. Of my own loss I had then little realization. That came only in after years. Now it was the choking gladness and solemn feel of wings! At last, I was going beyond the hills and into the world that beckoned steadily. There followed the half-guilty feeling that now I could begin life without forsaking my Mother. I had realized all along that even college would not have induced me to leave my Mother in want. I somehow argued that the family would support Mother in my absence yet I must have known this was impossible; that what she would always need was for me to be near. Now I was free and unencumbered and at the same time more alone than I had ever dreamed of being. This very grief was a challenge. Now especially I must succeed as my mother so desperately wanted me to.

I was, however, an orphan, without a cent of property, and with no relative who could for a moment think of undertaking the burden of my further education. My Grandfather was growing old, and had little. But the family at home could and did help out; and the town in its quiet and unemotional way was satisfied with my record and silently began to plan.

There were three white men in Great Barrington who seemed to have clear ideas as to my future. The first was the High School principal, whom I have mentioned. The second was Edward Van Lennep, principal of the only local private school, and very active in the Congregational Church, where he was superintendent of the Sunday School, which I attended. Whether or not he consulted with Mr. Hosmer, I do not know, but he probably did. At any rate

39-2-87

he was satisfied that I ought to go to college and that the fact that my skin was colored was of no importance. When, then, a suggestion was made which involved the raising of a scholarship for me, Mr. Lennep and his pastor, Mr. Scudder, were eager to co-operate.

The third man was the Rev. C. C. Painter, whose son Charles was a schoolmate of mine during the High School course. Mr. Painter was a Congregational minister and for a time served in the Federal Indian Bureau. There and elsewhere he saw the problem of the reconstructed South, and conceived the idea that this was the place for me to be educated and that in the South lay my future field of work.

8-2-8

Meantime my family contributed an unexpected piece of good fortune. There had been a great-uncle of mine, Tom Burghardt, son of Jack, whose tombstone I had seen often in the town graveyard. My family used to say in undertones that the unpaid wage of Tom Burghardt helped to build the Pacific Railroad. Nearly all his life Tom Burghardt had been a servant in the Kellog family, only the family usually forgot to pay him any wage. Finally when he died they did give him a handsome burial and a white tombstone. Then Mark Hopkins, a son or relative of the great Mark, appeared on the scene and married a daughter of the Kellogs. He became one of the Huntington-Stanford-Crocker Pacific Associates who built, manipulated and cornered the Pacific railroads and with the help of the Kellog West-egg, Hopkins made nineteen million dollars in the West by methods not to be too strictly inquired into.

His widow came back to Great Barrington in the eighties and took up residence in the old family mansion on Main street, overlooking the wide meadows and great East Mountains beyond, with its wealth of blue granite. I knew the white old house well and its picket fence. I passed it almost daily when as a little boy I went to get milk from the Taylor home on the opposite hill. Mrs. Hopkins brought with her to Great Barrington from San Francisco a young MAN named Dennis who became my friend. He was a well educated young mulatto, quick, competent and in complete charge of Mrs. Hopkins local business affairs.

I used to meet him almost daily on my way to school and we had most interesting conversations. He was perhaps the first to tell me of his employer's plan to build a new mansion of blue granite, between the old home and the school yard and rising above the lovely stretch of meadows. I think it was Dennis in consultation with my family who saw to it that I was offered a place as time-keeper on the new project, at what seemed to me the fabulous wage of a dollar a day. I had never before earned more than a dollar a week.

34-2-39

Norcross Brothers of Worcester were the contractors; stonecutter, masons and carpenters came to town. I was duly installed in one of the temporary work sheds, with desk and high chair, fronting a window, by which passed all the yardfull of workers each day. My superior was a pleasant Frenchman, who liked my French name and to whose home I used now and then to go.

It was a most interesting experience and had new and intriguing bits of reality and romance. As time-keeper and the obviously young and inexperienced agent of superiors, I was the one who handed the discharged workers their last wage envelopes. I talked with contractors and saw the problems of employers. I poured over the plans and specifications and even came in some contact with the distinguished English architect, Searles, who finally came to direct the work after the American architect failed to meet the expanding ideas of Mrs. Hopkins. Searles had the glamour and the clothes of an English gentleman and soon the whole direction and control of the Hopkins fortune passed into his hands. Dennis the steward was gradually pushed aside and down into "his place". The architect eventually married the widow and her wealth, and the steward killed himself.

So the Hopkins millions passed strangely into foreign hands and after the death of Mrs. Hopkins and Searles himself, went to his nephew, an utter stranger to the town and its people. This posed for me my first problem of inheritance. Meantime the fabrication and growth of this marvelous palace, beautiful beyond anything that Great Barrington had seen, went slowly and majestically on, and always I could sit and watch it grow. Eventually its grounds occupied my old

school site; the school buildings were torn down and new grounds were found across the river.

Here I worked through the Summer of 1885. I boarded with my Aunt Minerva at a nominal charge. I bought a new wardrobe, visited my cousins now and then in the county, and then in September came the plan which Mr. Painter had evolved for a scholarship. He induced my Mother's Congregational church and three other churches which he had once pastored in Connecticut, each to furnish me $25 a year for the length of my college course. This would be enough to support me at Fisk University, a college for Negroes in Nashville, Tennessee, which was said to do excellent work.

39-2-90

Disappointed though I was at not being able to go immediately to Harvard, I regarded this merely as a temporary change of plan; I would of course go to Harvard in the end. But here and now was adventure. I was going into the South; the South of slavery, rebellion and black folk; above all, I was going to meet colored people of my own age and education, of my own ambitions.

My family and colored friends rather resented the idea. Their Northern Free Negro prejudice naturally revolted at the idea of sending me to the former land of slavery, either for education or for living. I am rather proud of myself that I did not agree with them. Whether or not I should always live and work in the South, I did not then stop to decide; that I would give up the idea of graduating from Harvard, did not occur to me. But I wanted to go to Fisk, not simply because it was at least a beginning of my dream of college, but also, I suspect, because I was beginning to feel lonesome in New England. Unconsciously, I realized, that as I grew older, and especially now that I had finished the public school, the close social intermingling with my white fellows would grow more restricted. There would be meetings, parties, clubs, to which I would not be invited. Especially in the case of strangers, visitors, newcomers to the town would my presence and friendship become a matter of explanation or even embarrassment to my schoolmates. I became aware, once a chance to go to a group of young people of my own race was opened up for me, of the spiritual isolation in which I was living.

I heard too in these days for the first time the Negro folk songs. A Hampton Quartet had sung them in the Congregational Church. I was thrilled and moved to tears and seemed to recognize something inherently and deeply my own. I was glad to go to Fisk. On the other hand my people had clung to a more unromantic view of the situation. They said frankly that it was a shame to send me South. I was Northern born and bred and instead of preparing me for work and giving me an opportunity right there in my own town and state, they were bundling me off to the South. This was undoubtedly true. The educated young white folk of Great Barrington became clerks in stores, bookkeepers and teachers, and a few went into professions. Others went to the cities or the West where they were welcome. Great Barrington was not able to conceive of me in such local positions. It was not so much that they were opposed to it, but it did not occur to them as a possibility.

39-2-91

On the other hand there was the call of the black South; teachers were needed. The crusade of the New England schoolmarm had done a fine work. The freed slaves, if properly led, had a great future. Temporarily they were deprived of their full voting privileges, but this was but a passing set-back. Black folk were bound in time to play a large role in the south. They needed trained leadership. I was sent to help furnish it.

Meantime I was learning something of industry. I began to see the workers as human beings and know how hard a task, stone cutting by hand was; I began to realize what discharge from a job meant when there was no union and no funds for supporting the unemployed; but all this was vague in my mind.

I went into Tennessee at the age of seventeen to enter Fisk University. I collected all my personal property which I could take with me: my books; my grandfather's wrought iron tongs and shovel; I kept a few pieces of the blue china which all my life had graced the Thanksgiving and Christmas table. I longed for the great brass kettle in which Grandmother Burghardt had washed and made soap, but I was dissuaded. Nor could I carry the family Bible which went to cousin Inez. Mrs. Cass remitted the rent due so as to cover my railway fare. I left no other debts.

Then came the fascinating railroad ride to New York; the ferry ride up the Hudson past the great city, and transfer to Grand Central. Next day as I was riding through Kentucky, a brown boy from Bowling Green sat down beside me. He was Otho Porter and was also going to Fisk University. I liked his frank face and very neat appearance and when he proposed that we be roommates I eagerly consented. Roommates we were for all my college course. He became the leading colored physician in Kentucky, whom I often visited in after years. Ah! the wonder of that journey, with its faint spice of adventure, as I entered the land of slaves.

39-2-92

I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own color or rather of such various and such extraordinary colors, which I had only glimpsed before, but who it seemed were bound to me by new and exciting and eternal ties. Never before had I seen young men so self-assured and who gave themselves such airs, and colored men at that; and above all for the first time I saw beautiful girls. At my home among my white school mates there were a few pretty girls; but either they were not entrancing or because I had known them all my life, I did not notice them; but at Fisk the never-to-be-forgotten marvel of that first supper came with me opposite two of the most beautiful beings God ever revealed to the eyes of seventeen. I promptly lost my appetite, but I was deliriously happy! Of one of these girls I have often said, no human being could possibly have been as beautiful as she seemed to my young eyes in that far-off September night of 1885. She was the great-aunt of Lena Horne and fair as Lena Horne is, Lena Calhoun was far more beautiful.

So I came to a region where the world was split into white and black halves, and where the darker half was held back by race prejudice and legal bonds, as well as by deep ignorance and dire poverty. But facing this was not a lost group, but at Fisk a microcosm of a world and a civilization in potentiality. Into this world I leapt with enthusiasm. A new loyalty and allegiance replaced my Americanism: henceforward I was a Negro.

To support this was the teaching and culture background of Fisk of the latter nineteenth century. All of its teachers but one were white, from New England or from the New Englandized Middle West.

My own culture background thus suffered no change nor hiatus. Its application only was new. This point d'appui was not simply Tennessee, which was never a typical slave state, but Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisana and Texas, whence our students came; and who as mature men and women, could paint from their own experience a wide and vivid picture of the post-war South and of its black millions. There were men and women who had faced mobs and seen lynchings; who knew every phase of insult and repression; and too there were sons, daughters and clients of every class of white Southerner. A relative of a future president of the nation had his dark son driven to school each day.

39-2-93

I arrived on the Fisk campus in September and in Octcber was struck down by a severe attack of typhoid fever which was too prevalent in Nashville. This was a campus crisis. First I was from New England, a rare phenomenon at Fisk. Second my excellent public school training landed me in the sophomore class, an unheard of thing, especially for a lad of seventeen when my college mates averaged five to ten years older. I was a campus curiosity even for the teachers. As I lay deathly sick, an orphan in a strange land, the whole school hung on the bulletins. When at last I crept out, thin and pale, I was the school favorite. Then in a few weeks came the annual school-wide English examination, which induced poorly trained students to review reading, writing and arithmetic. I stood second with only Mary Bennett, the white German teacher's daughter outranking me. I could not quite forgive her as a girl and a white one at that. I also knew that the test was unfair to most of the students who had never had decent elementary school training in the colored public schools of the South. Nevertheless my popularity rather went to my head. I was bright, but sharp tongued and given to joking hard with my fellows. Some resented this and I remember C.O. Hunter, a big, black, earnest boy near twice my size who resented some quip of mine. He took me so firmly by the arm that I winced. He said "Don't you do that again!" I didn't.

Procter was a tall, rail-like lad in the class below me. We were rivals

in debate and twenty years later, I met him again in Atlanta, swollen physically to huge proportions and pastor of the leading Negro church for intelligent social work. We worked together after the Atlanta riot. G.D. Field was a little black man, serious, who knew and hated the white South. He always carried a pistol. "No" he answered as I expressed surprise "You don't need it often, but when you do, it comes in handy!" L.B. Moore was tall and dark, with a scintillating mind. He was always a leader in jokes and study. He married a Methodist bishop's daughter and eventually became head of a department at Howard University.

39-2-94

One man whom we called "Pop" Miller, I grew cordially to dislike. He was much older than most of the students and had been retarded by poverty in his education. His wife was taking in washing to keep him in school. He was a fat, black man, and exceedingly pious. When I recovered from the fever, quite naturally on the rebound, I joined the college Congregational church. I was not "religious" but I was honest and believed, in our placid New England way, most of the church creed. I wrote of this to the pastor of my church in February, 1886:

"You have no doubt expected to hear of my welfare before this, but nevertheless you must know I am very grateful to you and the Sunday School for what you have done. In the first place I am glad to tell you that I have united with the Church here and hope that the prayers of my Sunday School may help guide me in the path of Christian duty. During the revival we had nearly forty conversions. The day of prayer for colleges was observed here with two prayer meetings. The Rev. Mr. Aitkin, the Scotch revivalist, spoke to us a short time ago, and tomorrow Mr. Moody will be present at our chapel exercises.

"Our University is very nicely situated, overlooking the city, and the family life is very pleasant indeed. Some mornings as I look about upon the two or three hundred of my companions assembled for morning prayers I can hardly realize they are all my people; that this great assembly of youth and intelligence are the representatives of a race which twenty years ago was in bondage. Although

this sunny land is very pleasant, notwithstanding its squalor, misery and ignorance spread broadcast; and although it is a bracing thought to know that I stand among those who do not despise me for my color, yet I have not forgotten to love my New England hills, and I often wish I could join some of your pleasant meetings in person as I do in spirit."

39-2-45

But "Pop" Miller did not allow my church membership to progress as placidly as I planned. He was an official of the church and a fundamentalist in religion. He soon had me and others accused before the church for dancing. I was astonished. I had danced all my life quite as naturally as I sang and ran. In great Barrington there was little chance to dance on the part of anyone but in the small group of colored folk there was always some dancing along with playing games at homes. When I came South and was among my own young folk who not only danced but danced beautifully and with effortless joy, I joined and learned eagerly. I never attended public dance halls, but at the homes of colored friends in the city, we nearly always danced and a more innocent pastime I could not imagine. But Miller was outraged. What kind of dancing he was acquainted with I do not know, but at any rate in his mind dancing figured as a particularly heinous form of sin. I resented this and said so in very plain terms. The teachers intervened and tried to reconcile matters in a way which for years afterward made me resentful and led to my eventual refusal to join a religious organization. They admitted that my dancing might well be quite innocent, but said that my example might lead others astray. They quoted Paul: "If meat maketh my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth." I tried to accept this for years, and for years I wrestled with this problem. Then I resented this kind of sophistry. I began again to dance and I have never since had much respect for Paul.

I remember quite vividly many others of those schoolmates of long ago. Ransom Edmondson was a handsome man, tall and thin, olive-skinned with a mass of brown hair, wearing spectacles and curiously dignified. He was five or six years older than I and acted as assistant librarian under Professor Morgan who

taught Latin. He and a younger brother were sons of a rich white planter. Frank Smith of the class ahead of me was a yellow dandy, faultlessly dressed and a squire of dames. He later married Lena Calhoun with whom I was hopelessly in love; but Smith was over 25 years of age and ready for a wife. I had yet ten years to work and wait. Tom Talley had one of the great bass voices of all time. But he gave his life and strength to teaching and singing for the college and never had sufficient time for the study which his magnificent voice required. Little Sissie Dorsey, a golden fairy with the voice of an angel sang at all our concerts. Mattie Nichol was a dark cream and gorgeous little person with a fiery temper. John Barber was a handsome smiling playboy, spoiled by his mother. After graduation he married Mattie but [redacted] two years later he laid his head on the railroad tracks and let a locomotive run over it.

All my schoolmates were not handsome and rich. There was black, coarse-looking Sherrod, poor and slow, who worked his way painfully through college, studied medicine at neighboring Meharry Medical School and became one of the best physicians in Mississippi.

Two girls were rivals of mine and resented my superior attitude toward girls; but we did not dislike each other. Maggie Murray crowed over me when I forgot my lines at rhetorical exercises. Later she became the third wife of Booker Washington and survived him. Mamie Steward came from Western New York and was my classmate. We were keen but appreciative rivals. Emma Terry was black, smooth skinned and kindly, and a favorite with all. Tom Calloway was a pal of mine and remained so for forty years. He was the executive go-getter, strong and tireless. I was the planner. Together we collected funds for the first Fisk gymnasium. I edited the school paper, the Fisk Herald, and Calloway was business manager. We made it self-supporting during our time.

Other Fiskites who impressed me were William Morris who was the first colored member of our faculty and to my pride as good as any of the whites. The colored Crothwaite family as students and graduates greatly influenced me. George McClennen was an old graduate, very religious but not dogmatic, who wrote

poetry which had merit. He talked earnestly to us about life. Alice Vassar was another of our beautiful voices to whom we listened with joy.

The college curriculum was limited but excellent. Adam Spence was a great Greek scholar by any comparison. Thomas Chase with his ridiculously small laboratory nevertheless taught us not only chemistry and physics but something of science and life. In after years I used Bennett's German in Germany, and with the philosophy and ethics of President Cravath, I later sat under William James and George Plmer at Harvard. The excellent and earnest teaching, the small colleg classes; the absence of distractions, either in athletics or society, eabled me to arrange and build my program for freedom and progress among Negroes. I replaced my hitherto egocentric world by a world centering and whiring about my race in America.

39-2-97

For this group I buil my plan of study and accomplishment. Through the leadership of men like mysef and my fellows, we were going to have these enslaved Israelites out of the stil enduring bondage in short order. It was a battle which might conceivably call forforce, but I could think of it mainly as a battle of wits; of knowledge and dee, which by sheer reason and desert, must eventually overwhelm the forces of hae, ignorance and reaction. Consider for a moment our president, Erastus Cravath whose son became head of one of the nation's greatest corporation law firms. Wn he died in 1901, I said at his memorial excercises in Atlanta:

"He was cast in bdy and mind of large mold-- one never expected little actions in any work fromim either of hand or soul. There was none of that quick nervous energy or asty action or brilliant deed that have so often seared and marred the world. Hs was rather slow well-balanced mind. He knew how to pause in his work and in his peed and gather strength for slow but irrepressible advance. But if his mind worked lowly and calmly it also worked with a logical persistency and far reaching graspof thought that was bound to bring results in the long run. I remember that as students it was a standing joke among us that no matter how

long President Cravath's sentences might be or how intricate and involved, they were sure at sometime to come to a logical and grammatical conclusion-- their construction was never changed-- there were no rhetorical dashes but they moved ponderously and doggedly to the end and the end was usually worth hearing. He was a man of broad sympathies. He appreciated a joke although he was not quick to see one. There was once in school a very small and terribly mischievous boy named Cummings, but I doubt if the grave president ever knew why the school persisted in smiling when he prayed, 'Oh Lord forgive us for our shortcomings.'

39-2-98

"Erastus Cravath was a man who formed his life ideal when he was yet young; who early came to believe in the possibilities of the Negro race and the reality of the broader humanity taught by the Christian religion. He did not hold this merely as a theory, as an intellectual belief, but as a thing worth living and fighting for-- and for it he lived and fought."

Always in my dreaming, a certain redeeming modicum of common sense has usually come to my rescue and brought fantasy down to the light of common day: I was not content to take the South entirely by hearsay; and while I had no funds to travel widely, I did, somewhat to the consternation of both my teachers and fellow-students, determine to go out into the country and teach summer-school. I was only eighteen and knew nothing of the South at first hand, save what little I had seen in Nashville from the protected vantage ground of a college campus. I had not seen anything of the small Southern town and the countryside, which are the real South. If I could not explore Darkest Mississippi, at least I could see East Tennessee, which was not more than fifty miles from the college. I determined to know something of the Negro in the country districts; to go out and teach during the summer vacation. I was not compelled to do this, for my scholarship was sufficient to support me, but that was not the point. I had heard about the country in the South as the real seat of slavery. I wanted to know it.

Needless to say the experience was invaluable. I traveled not only in space but in time. I touched the very shadow of slavery. I lived and taught school in

log cabins built before the Civil War. My first school was the second held in the district since Emancipation. I touched intimately the lives of the commonest of mankind--people who ranged from bare-footed dwellers on dirt floors, with patched rags for clothes, to rough, hard-working farmers , with plain, clean plenty.

39-2-99

First, there was a Teachers' Institute at the county-seat; and there distinguished guests of the superintendent taught the teachers fractions and spelling and other mysteries-- white teachers in the morning, Negroes at night. This was to supplement the wretched elementary training of the prospective teachers. A picnic now and then, and a supper, and the rough world of the colored folk was softened by laughter and song.

There came a fine day when all the teachers left the Institute and began the hunt for schools. I learned from hearsay (for my mother was mortally afraid of fire-arms) that the hunting of ducks and bears and men is wonderfully interesting, but I am sure that the man who has never hunted a country school in the South has something to learn of the pleasures of the chase. I see now the white, hot roads lazily rise and fall and wind before me under the burning July sun; I feel the deep weariness of heart and limb as ten, eight, six miles stretch relentlessly ahead; I feel my heart sink heavily as I hear again and again, "Got a teacher? Yes." So I walked on and on-- horses were too expensive-- until I had wandered beyond railways, beyond stage lines, to a land of "varmints" and rattlesnakes, where the coming of a stranger was an event, and men lived and died in the shadow of one blue hill.

Sprinkled over hill and dale lay cabins and farm-houses, shut out from the world by the forests and the rolling hills toward the east. There I found at last a little school. Josie told me of it; she was a thin, homely girl of twenty, with a dark-brown face and thick, hard hair. I had crossed the stream at Watertown, and rested under the great willows; then I had gone to the little cabin in the lot, where Josie was resting on her way to town. The gaunt black farmer made me welcome, and Josie, hearing my errand, told me anxiously that they wanted a school over the hill; that but once since the Civil War had a teacher been there; that she herself longed to learn-- and thus she ran on, talking fast and loud, with much

earnestness and energy.

Next morning I crossed the tall round hill, lingered to look at the blue and yellow mountains stretching toward the Carolinas, then plunged into the wood, and came out at Josie's home. It was a dull frame cottage with four rooms, perched just below the brow of the hill, amid peach-trees. The father was a quiet, simple soul, calmly ignorant, with no touch of vulgarity. The mother was different-- strong, bustling, and energetic, with a quick, restless tongue, and an ambition to live "like folks." There was a crowd of children. Two boys had gone away. There remained two growing girls; a shy midget of eight; John tall, awkward and eighteen; Jim, younger, quicker, and better looking; and two babies of indefinite age.

Then there was Josie herself. She seemed to be the centre of the family; always busy at service, or at home, or berry-picking; a little nervous and inclined to scold, like her mother, yet faithful, too, like her father. She had about her a certain fineness, the shadow of an unconscious moral heroism that would willingly give all of life to make life broader, deeper, and fuller for her and hers. I saw much of this family afterwards, and grew to love them for their honest efforts to be decent and comfortable, and for their knowledge of their own ignorance. There was with them no affectation. The mother would scold the father for being so "easy"; Josie would roundly berate the boys for carelessness; and all knew that it was a hard thing to dig a living out of a rocky side-hill. I found a place where there had been a Negro public school only once since the Civil War; and there for two successive terms during the summer I taught at $28 and $30 a month.

It was an enthralling experience. I remember the day I rode horseback out to the commissioner's house with a pleasant young white fellow who wanted the white school. The road ran down the bed of a stream; the sun laughed and the water jingled, and we rode on. "Come in," said the commissioner--"come in. Have a seat. Yes, that certificate will do." I was pleasantly surprised when the superintendent invited me to stay for dinner; and he would have been astonished if he had dreamed that I expected to eat at the table with him and not after he was through.

The schoolhouse was a log hut, where Colonel Wheeler used to store his corn. It sat in a lot behind a rail fence and thorn bushes, near the sweetest of springs. There was an entrance where a door once was, and within, a massive rickety fireplace; great chinks between the logs served as windows. Furniture was scarce. My desk was made of three boards, reinforced at critical points, and my chair, borrowed from my landlady, had to be returned every night. Seats for the children-- these puzzled me much. I was haunted by a New England vision of neat little desks and chairs, but, alas! the reality was rough plank benches without backs, and at times without legs. They had the one virtue of making naps dangerous-- possibly fatal, for the floor was not to be trusted. All the appointments of my school were primitive: a windowless log cabin; hastily manufactured benches; no blackboards; almost no books, long, long distances to walk. On the other hand, I heard the sorrow songs sung with primitive beauty and grandeur. I saw the hard, ugly drudgery of country life and the writhing of landless, ignorant peasants. I saw the race problem at nearly its lowest terms.

It was a hot morning late in July when the school opened. I trembled when I heard the patter of little feet down the dusty road, and saw the growing row of dark solemn faces and bright eager eyes facing me. First came Josie and her brothers and sisters. The longing to know, to be a student in the great school at Nashville, hovered like a star above this child-woman amid her work and worry, and she studied doggedly. There were the Dowells from their farm towards Alexandria-- Fanny, with her smooth black face and wondering eyes; Martha, brown and dull; the pretty girl-wife of a brother, and the younger brood.

There were the Burkes-- two brown and yellow lads, and a tiny haughty-eyed girl. Fat Reuben's little chubby girl came, with golden face and old-gold hair, faithful and solemn. 'Thenie was on hand early-- a jolly, ugly, good-hearted girl, who slyly dipped snuff and looked after her little bow-legged brother. When her mother could spare her, 'Tildy came-- a midnight beauty, with starry eyes and tapering limbs; and her brother, correspondingly homely. And the big boys-- the hulking Lawrences; the lazy Neills, unfathered sons of mother and daughter; Hickman, with a stoop in his shoulders, and the rest.

39-2-101

There they sat, nearly thirty of them, on the rough benches, their faces shading from a pale cream to a deep brown, the little feet bare and swinging, the eyes full of expectation, with here and there a twinkle of mischief, and the hands grasping Webster's blue-back spelling-book. I loved my school, and the fine faith the children had in the wisdom of their teacher was truly marvellous. We read and spelled together, wrote a little, picked flowers, sang, and listened to stories of the world beyond the hill.

39-2-102

At times the school would dwindle away, and I would start out. I would visit Mun Eddings, who lived in two very dirty rooms, and ask why little Lugene, whose flaming face seemed ever ablaze with the dark-red hair uncombed, was absent all last week, or why I missed so often the inimitable rags of Mack and Ed. Then the father, who worked Colonel Wheeler's farm on shares, would tell me how the crops needed the boys; and the thin slovenly mother, whose face was pretty when washed, assured me that Lugene must mind the baby. "But we'll start them again next week." When the Lawrences stopped, I knew that the doubts of the old folks about book-learning had conquered again, and so, toiling up the hill, and getting as far into the cabin as possible, I put Cicero "pro Archia Poeta" into the simplest English with local applications, and usually convinced them-- for a week or so.

On Friday nights I often went home with some of the children-- sometines to Doc Burke's farm. He was a great, loud, thin Black, ever working, and trying to buy the seventy-five acres of hill and dale where he lived; but people said that he would surely fail, and the "white folks would get it all." His wife was a magnificent Amazon, with saffron face and shining hair, uncorseted and barefooted, and the children were strong and beautiful. They lived in a one-and-a-half-room cabin the hollow of the farm, near the spring. The front room was full of great fat white beds, scrupulously neat; and there were bad chromos on the walls, and a tinted centre-table. In the tiny back kitchen I was often invited to "take out and help" myself to fried chicken and wheat biscuits, "meat" and corn pone, string-beans and berries.

On this visit, at first I was a little alarmed at the approach of bedtime in the one lone bedroom, but embarrassment was very deftly avoided. First, all the children nodded and slept, and were stowed away in one great pile of goose feathers; next, the mother and the father discreetly slipped away to the kitchen while I went to bed; then, blowing out the dim light, they retired in the dark. In the morning all were up and away before I thought of waking. Across the road, where fat Reuben lived, they all went outdoors while the teacher retired, because they did not boast the luxury of a kitchen.

39-2-103

I liked to stay with the Dowells, for they had four rooms and plenty of good country fare. Uncle Bird had a small, rough farm, all woods and hills, miles from the big road; but he was full of tales-- he preached now and then-- and with his children, berries, horses, and wheat he was happy and prosperous.

Often, to keep the peace, I must go where life was less lovely; for instance, 'Tildy's mother was incorrigibly dirty, Reuben's larder was limited seriously, and herds of untamed insects wandered over the Eddingses' beds. Best of all I loved to go to Josie's, and sit on the porch, eating peaches, while the mother bustled and talked: how Josie had brought the sewing-machine; how Josie worked at house service in winter, but that four dollars a month was "mighty little" wages; how Josie longed to go away to school, but that it "looked like" they never could get far enough ahead to let her; how the crops failed and the well was yet unfinished; and, finally, how "mean" some of the white folks were.

For two summers I lived in this little world; it was dull and humdrum. The girls looked at the hill in wistful longing, and the boys fretted and haunted Alexandria. Alexandria was "town",-- a straggling, lazy village of houses, churches, and shops, and an aristocracy of white Toms, Dicks, and Captains. Cuddled on the hill to the north was the village of the colored folks, who lived in three-or four-room unpainted cottages, some neat and homelike, and some dirty. The dwellings were scattered rather aimlessly, but they centered about the twin temples of the hamlet, the Methodist, and the Hard-Shell Baptist churches. These, in turn, leaned gingerly on a sad-colored schoolhouse.

Hither my little world wended its crooked way on Sunday to meet other worlds, and gossip, and wonder, and make the weekly sacrifice with frenzied priest at the altar of the "old-time religion." Then the soft melody and mighty cadences of Negro song fluttered and thundered.

39-2-104

I heard the Negro folksong first in Great Barrington, sung by the Hampton Singers. But that was second-hand sung by youth who never knew slavery. I now heard the Negro songs by those who made them and in the land of their American birth. It was in the village into which my country school district filtered of Saturdays and Sundays. The road wandered from our rambling log-house up the stony bed of a creek, past wheat and corn, until we could hear dimly across the fields a rhythmic cadence of song-- soft, thrilling, powerful, that swelled and died sorrowfully in our ears. I had never seen a Southern Negro revival. To be sure, we in Berkshire were not perhaps as stiff and formal as they in Suffolk of olden time; yet we were very quiet and subdued, and I know not what would have happened those clear Sabbath mornings had someone punctuated the sermon with a scream, or interrupted the long prayer with a loud Amen!

And so most striking to me, as I approached the village and the little plain church perched aloft, was the air of intense excitement that possessed that mass of black folk. A sort of suppressed terror hung in the air and seemed to seize them-- a pythian madness, a demoniac possession, that lent terrible reality to song and word. The black and massive form of the preacher swayed and quivered as the words crowded to his lips and flew at us in singular eloquence. The people moaned and fluttered, and then the gaunt-cheeked brown woman beside me suddenly leaped straight into the air and shrieked like a lost soul, while round about came wail and groan and outcry, and a scene of human passion such as I had never conceived before.

I have called my community a world, and so its isolation made it. There was among us but a half-awakened common consciousness, sprung from common joy and grief, at burial, birth, or wedding; from a common hardship in poverty, poor land, and low wages; and, above all, from the sight of the Veil that hung between us and Opportunity.

39-2-125

All this caused us to think some thoughts together; but these, when ripe for speech, were spoken in various languages. Those whose eyes twenty-five and more years before had seen "the glory of the coming of the Lord," saw in every present hindrance or help a dark fatalism bound to bring all things right in His own good time.

The mass of those to whom slavery was a dim recollection of childhood found the world a puzzling thing: it asked little of them, and they answered with little, and yet it ridiculed their offering. Such a paradox they could not understand, and therefore sank into listless indfference, or shiftlessness, or reckless bravado. There were, however, some-- such as Josie, Jim, and Ben-- to whom War, Hell, and Slavery were but childhood tales, whose young appetites had been whetted to an edge by school and story and half-awakened thought. Ill could they be content, born without and beyond the World. And their weak wings beat against their barrien-- barriers of caste, of youth, of life; at last, in dangerous moments, against everything that opposed even a whim.

No one but a Negro going into the South without previous experience of color caste can have any conception of its barbarism. It is not a matter of law or ordinance; it is a question of instinctive feeling; of inherited and inborn knowledge. On a Nashville street, seventy-one years ago, I quite accidently jostled a white woman as I passed. She was not hurt in the slightest, nor even particularly inconvenienced. Immediately in accord with my New England training, I raised my hat and begged her pardon. I acted quite instinctivly and with genuine regret for a little mistake. The woman was furious; why I never knew; somehow, I cannot say how, I had transgressed the interracial mores of the South. Was it because I showed no submissiveness? Did I fail to debase myself utterly and eat spiritual dirt? Did I act as equal among equals? I do not know. I only sensed scorn and hate; the kind of despising which a dog might incur. Thereafter for at least half a century I avoided the necessity of showing them courtesy of any sort.

If I did them any courtesy which sometimes I must in sheer deference to my own standards of decency, I contrived to act as if totally unaware that I saw them or had them in mind.

39-2-106

Murder, killing and maiming Negroes, raping Negro women-- in the eighties and in the southern South, this was not even news; it got no publicity; it caused no arrests; and punishment for such trangression was so unusual that the fact was telegraphed North.

Lynching was a continuing and recurrent horror during my college days: from 1885 through 1894, seventeen hundred Negroes were lynched in America. Each death was a scar upon my soul, and led me on to conceive the plight of other minority groups; for in my college days Italians were lynched in New Orleans, forcing the Federal government to pay $25,000 in "indemnity", and the anti-Chinese riots in the West culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1892. Some echoes of Jewish segregation and progroms in Russia came through the magazines; I followed the Dreyfus case; and I began to see something of the struggle between East and West. Yet at this time the full force of legal caste in the south had not yet fallen on Negroes. Street cars were not yet separate and there was still some Negro voting.

One unforgettable thing Fisk University did for me and that was to guide and enlarge my appreciation of music. In Great Barrington the only music we had was that of the old English hymns, some of them set to German music. The music was often fine, but the words usually illogical or silly. I grew up, therefore, singing lustily bits of real music and paying little or no attention to the words. Then there were the so-called Gospel Hymns, with the rhythm of the Negro spirituals and words of no account at all. Yet I warbled blithely "Hold the Fort, for I am coming!"

At Fisk, little Professor Spence, the great Greek scholar, had a rare appreciation of music and took it upon himself to guide the school. Already Fisk had the tradition of her Jubilee Singers, who once hid in a Brooklyn organ loft, lest pious Congregationalists see their black faces before they heard their heavenly voices. Henry Ward Beecher took them to Plymouth church where the

newspapers called them "Beecher's Nigger Minstrels;" then the nation listened and the world opened its arms and the Fisk Jubilee Singers literally sang before Kings. They brought back to Nashville enough money to build Jubilee Hall. There I met some of these singers and heard their music.

39-2-107

When I came to Fisk, Spence had organized the Mozart Society and gathered in it all the good voices of the school, some of which were of phenomenal excellence. He trained them in the rendition of the great religious oratorios. They sang The Messiah, the Elijah, and Mozart's Twelfth Mass. I became a member of the Mozart Society and it did great things for my education.

Every year we sang at commencement the "Hallelujah Chorus." I can see now the banked mass of faces of every color and hue with no orchestra save the piano; and the little long-coated, white-haired Spence waving his hands in front. And there Ed Bailey stood up, a slight black boy whom the average American would have completely ignored, or said that he ought to be plowing instead of singing. His clear tenor voice rose with singular beauty; and we who listened were always near to tears, and feeling what he was saying: "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people!" We there then were the People to whom Jehovah spoke. No student ever left Fisk without a deep and abiding appreciation of real music.

The net result of the Fisk interlude was to broaden the scope of my program of life, not essentially to change it, to center it in a group of educated Negroes, who from their knowledge and experience would lead the mass. I never for a moment dreamed that such leadership could ever be for the sake of the educated group itself, but always for the mass. Nor did I pause to enquire in just what ways and with what technique we would work-- first, broad, exhaustive knowledge of the world; all other wisdom, all method and application would be added unto us.

In essence I combined a social program for a depressed group with the natural demand of youth for "Light, more light." Fisk was a good college; I liked it; but it was small, it was limited in equipment, in laboratories, in books; it was not a university. I wanted the largest and best in organized learning. Nothing could be too big and thorough for training the leadership of the American Negro.

There must remain no suspicion of part-knowledge, cheap equipment, for this mighty task. The necessity of earning a living scarcely occurred to me. I had no need for or desire for money.

I turned with increased determination to the idea of going to Harvard. There I was going to study the science of sciences-- Philosophy. Vainly did Chase point out, as James did later, that the world was not in the habit of paying philosophers. In vain did the president offer me a scholarship at Hartford Theological Seminary. I believed too little in Christian dogma to become a minister. I was not without faith: I never stole material nor spiritual things; I not only never lied, but blurted out my conception of truth on the most untoward occasions; I drank no alcohol and ~~new~~ KNEW nothing of women, physically or ~~psychically~~, to the incredulous amusement of most of my ~~most~~ more experienced fellows. I above all believed in work-- systematic and tireless.

39-2-108

My early political knowledge came largely from newspapers which I read outside my curriculum. I read of the contests of the Democratic and Republican parties, from the first seating of Hayes, through the administrations of Garfield and and Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison and Cleveland again. All this compiled with the conventional theory of party government, and while the issues were not as clear cut and the motives as unmixed as they ought to have been, nevertheless the increasing triumph of democratic government was in my mind unquestioned. The Populists as a third party movement beginning during this time, did not impress me, since I did not know its significance.

The year before I entered college, England killed the arbitrary power of the Justice of the Peace and the County Squire, doubled the number of its voters and was forced into a struggle to yield Ireland home rule; eventually Japan attempted a constitution with elective representatives; Brazil was struggling to become a republic and France fought to curtail the political power of the Catholic Church.

My problem then was how, into the inevitable and logical democracy which was spreading over the world, could black folk in America be openly and effectively admitted; and the colored people of the world allowed their own self-government?

I therefore watched, outside my textbooks and without reference to my teachers, the race developments throughout the world. The difficulty here, however, was securing any real and exhaustive knowledge of facts. I could not get any clear picture of the current change in Africa and Asia.

At Fisk I began my writing and public speaking. I edited the Fisk HERALD. I became an impassioned orator and developed a belligerent attitude toward the color bar. I was determined to make a scientific conquest of my environment, which would render the emancipation of the Negro race easier and quicker. The persistence which I had learned in New England stood me now in good stead. Because my first college choice had been Harvard, to Harvard I was still resolved to go.

It was a piece of unusual luck, much more than my own determination, that admitted me to Harvard in the fall of 1885. There had been arising in Harvard at that time a feeling that the institution was becoming too ingrown, too satisfied with a sense of its New England sufficiency. A determined effort was made in 1884 and later to make Harvard a more national institution, with good students from the South and the West. I saw advertisements of scholarships which were to be offered and I made application. In my favor were my New England elementary education, and the fact that I was studying in the South and that I was colored. There had been hitherto very few colored students at Harvard.

I was immediately accepted on condition that I enter as a Junior, even after receiving my Fisk A.B. This was not altogether unfair, since my own High School in New England was somewhat behind Harvard's requirements and Fisk, because of the wretched Southern common school system, still further behind. However, all this made little difference to me. I wanted to go to Harvard because of what it offered in opportunity for wide learning. I received the promise of $250 Price Greenleaf Aid to cover my expenses for the year 1885-1886.

My class was graduated from Fisk in June, 1888. There were five of us--from Texas, Tennessee, New York, Massachusetts and Mississippi. Edmondson had to leave school before graduation, but we later restored him to the class role.

We all had spoken Commencement orations; others talked of "Anglo-Saxon Influence"; "Women in public life"; "Feudalism"; "Thought as the prime condition of Progress." I took as my subject "Bismarck." This choice in itself showed the abyss between my education and the truth in the world. Bismarck was my hero. He had made a nation out of a mass of bickering peoples. He had dominated the whole development with his strength until he crowned an emperor at Versailles. This foreshadowed in my mind the kind of thing that American Negroes must do, marching forth with strength and determination under trained leadership. On the other hand, I did not understand at all, nor had my history courses led me to understand, anything of current European intrigue, of the expansion of European power into Africa, of the Industrial Revolution built on slave trade and now turning into Colonial Imperialism; of the fierce rivalry among white nations for controlling the profits from colonial raw material and labor-- of all this I had no clear conception. I was blithely European and imperialist in outlook; democratic as democracy was conceived in America.

011-2-63

So far my formal education had touched politics and religion, but on the whole had avoided economics. It was the moral aspects of slavery which we stressed, not the economic. I saw serfdom when I taught a rural school, but in class I do not remember ever hearing Karl Marx mentioned nor socialism discussed. We talked about wage and poverty, but little was said of trade unions and that little was unfavorable. The parents of the students almost never belonged to unions, because of the opposition of white workers. Most of us looked forward to the learned professions as a life career, We knew something of land and farming, but nothing of transport and manufacturing. Manual labor and house service was the first step of our masses toward income.

At Fisk a very definite attempt was made to see that we did not lose or question our Christian orthodoxy. At first the effort seemed to me entirely superfluous, since I had never questioned my religious upbringing. Its theory had presented no particular difficulties: God ruled the world, Christ loved it, and men did right, or tried to; otherwise they were rightly punished. But the

book on "Christian Evidences" which we were compelled to read, affronted my logic. It was to my mind, then and since, a cheap piece of special pleading. Our course in general philosophy under the serious and entirely lovable president was different. It opened vistas. It made me determine to go further in this probing for truth. Eventually it landed me squarely in the arms of William James of Harvard, for which God be praised.

39-2-111

After graduation I must start for Harvard. In order to supplement my scholarship, I had something of the small wage which I earned by teaching at country schools during vacation. This needed to be added to and a scheme to this end was planned by Fortson, a student in the High School department of Fisk. Fortson was a very earnest and austerely religious young man, who had for some time earned money to go to school by serving as waiter in a summer hotel at Lake Minnetonka near Minneapolis in Minnesota. He had risen to the position of second waiter and knowing the demand for music he proposed to several of us that we form a Glee Club and spend the summer at Minnetonka. He selected four boys who had been singing as a Glee Club. They were Calloway, Talley, McClellan, and Anthony. They had all had some experience, but not much, at working at hotels. Finally, I was selected as business manager-- with the idea that I could accompany the group, work with them during the summer, and then toward the end of the season go on ahead to make a series of engagements for them in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Chicago. From there they would return to Fisk and I would go east to Harvard. During college I had developed rather as the executive planner, the natural secretary of affairs rather than ornamental president and chairman. The only difficulty about the Minnesota excursion was that I had never worked in a hotel in my life.

In this way I received an impression of American civilization in the Middle West at the age of twenty. I knew New England by my birth and elementary education. I had spent three years in the South and now I was having a chance to see the West. The experience was extraordinary. I had never seen a hotel of the type of that at Lake Minnetonka .

The Berkshire House in Great Barrington catered to rich people from New York. They were on the whole a quiet and rather stodgy set. They sat on the front porch, took drives into the country, and sometimes played cards.

39-2-112

The crowds at Lake Minnetonka were larger and noisier. They were not as well-bred. They spent a great deal of money and drank a good deal of liquor. Usually during the daytime at least they were fairly respectable in behavior, and among them were a majority of conventional people of good repute. But I began to realize that at night, especially on week-ends, their behavior approached an orgy. Husbands arrived with other men's wives and gay women without husbands were in evidence. Poor Fortson was greatly distressed and got us to draw up a protest and revelation for the hotel management. I am sure they did not thank him for it. The head waiter, his superior, was a large, dark man of middle age with impeccable manners, who without doubt knew what to expect at this hotel and was not at all disturbed by it.

Our group of Fisk students were rather carefully guarded and had our own dormitory, where we knew but little of the goings on. Not being experienced waiters, we acted as bus boys, standing around the edge of the dining room and carrying out from time to time the loads of dirty dishes. Those who were alert and watchful could often pick up tips. I never received a cent in this way because I was always looking with astonished curiosity at the actions of the guests and the antics of the waiters. I remember one time overhearing a group of cooks and stewards staggering in bleary eyed in the morning. One of them remarked as he passed: "The sporting life's hell!" I was curious to know of just what the sporting life consisted. Then there came the difficulty of getting food. We were supposed to have our meals served before the dining room opened, but I noticed with astonishment that none of the waiters bothered to come to such meals, and I was facing the prospect of starving, when I learned that practically all the help got their food by deftly stealing it. Orders of the choicest viands never reached the guests in numbers of cases, while the waiters were well fed.

Thereafter I didn't steal food, but I ate much that others stole.

It was on the whole a rather disillusioning experience. But the concerts which we gave were fairly successful, and early in September I sorrowfully left my comrades and started South and East. On my success in securing engagements depended the real fate of this summer venture. Here then came another series of adventures. I stopped at Minneapolis and St. Paul, at Madison and Milwaukee, and at Chicago. It was a hot summer and particularly in Chicago I suffered more from the heat than I had in Nashville. It was a hard two weeks' work, and I met all sorts of people. Some were not interested in Negro singers even if they came from Fisk. Others were interested in me and the school. On the whole, my reception was pleasant and courteous. I met some very sympathetic and understanding persons-- ministers, heads of Christian associations, and literary groups. My technique was to present what few letters of introduction I had; to tell them of the work of Fisk University and of the object of this group of singers. Despite rebuffs and disappointments, I succeeded in getting enough engagements so that the group netted about $100 apiece outside of expenses for this part of their summer's work.

Then I started East, and here again in a couple of days' trip, I met a phase of American civilization that I had read about but never before experienced. I had a very small amount of pocket money, which would be supplemented later by remittances from the Glee Club and my Harvard scholarship. I think I had less than $50 in my pocket. Naturally I could not afford a Pullman and so sat up in the coach all night. It was, I think, upon the second night when the train made a short stop in Rochester, New York. I was awakened by a young man who was in a great hurry and who asked me if I could possibly do him a favor. He wanted to send a remittance of $10 and mail it on this train before it started. He had, however, only small bills. Could I possible let him have a $10 bill in exchange for them? I aroused myself and said yes. He handed me the bills and asked me to count them. Instead of ten dollars, there were only nine. He apoligized profusely and counting the bills again immediately handed me the extra dollar bill, thanked me, hurried to mail his letters and disappeared.

By that time I was thoroughly awake and getting a little suspicious. When I counted my bills again I found I had $5, not $10. This was almost a catastrophe, which was increased when the college demanded as I registered that my tuition of $150 must be paid in December. I reminded them that I had Price Greenleaf Aid of $250, but was told that that was not payable till later in the year. I had to protest pretty strongly before they agreed to advance enough to cover my tuition. These experiences gave me a new idea of culture in the United States.

29-2-114

For several decades after I was graduated from Fisk, alumni called on me to criticise publicly changes in Fisk University policy which in their opinion threatened the established ideals of the institution. In 1898 Booker Washington was made a member of the Fisk board of trustees following the advice of my schoolmate, Maggie Murray who had just married him. It was thought that Washington's influence might bring contributions to the dwindling income of this leading Negro college. Industrial courses were substituted for regular studies.. At the urging of George Haynes, I spoke at the 1898 Commencement on "Gallileo Gallilei", blasting the telling of a lie to save the truth. The president, caught unwillingly between two fires, resigned.

Years later another president of Fisk yielded to the wide-spread idea that influential Southern whites should be induced to help lead Negro college education. He cultivated white Nashville, took the Fisk Glee Club, with men and women into the back doors of white social clubs to sing for white men, and seriously curtailed freedom and initiative among students. As my daughter was then graduating, I was to be present at Fisk and was asked to address the alumni. In a speech entitled "Diuturni Silentiae"(taken from one of Cicero's orations,) I attacked the current policy, with frank and open criticism, and after a long struggle, in which I issued in New York a new "Fisk Herald", again a president resigned. This was not easy work and it brought on me much criticism from white and black, but I think I did my clear duty and gave a needed service and helped save the ideals of a great school.

39-2-115

CHAPTER IX

HARVARD IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Harvard University in 1888 was a great institution of learning. It was 238 years old and on its governing board were Alexander Agassiz, Phillips Brooks, Henry Cabot Lodge and Charles Francis Adams; and a John Quincy Adams, but not the ex-President. Charles William Eliot, a gentleman by training and a scholar by broad study and travel, was president. Among its teachers emeriti were Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell. Among the active teachers were Francis Child, Charles Eliot Norton, Charles Dunbar, Justin Winsor and John Trowbridge; William Goodwin, Frank Taussig, Nathaniel Shaler, George Palmer, William James, Francis Peabody, Josiah Royce, Barrett Wendell, Edward Channing, and Albert Bushnell Hart. A young instructor who arrived in 1890 was George Santayana. Seldom, if ever, has any American University had such a galaxy of great men and fine teachers as Harvard in the decade between 1885 and 1895.

To make my own attitude towards the Harvard of ~~that~~ that day clear, it must be remembered that I went to Harvard as a Negro, not simply by birth, but recognizing myself as a member of a segregated caste whose situation I accepted but was determined to work from within that caste to find my way out.

The Harvard of which most white students conceived I knew little. Of fraternities I had not even heard of Phi Beta Kappa, and of such important social organizations as the Hasty Pudding Club, I knew nothing. I was in Harvard for education and not for high marks, except as marks would insure my staying. I did not pick out "snap" courses. I was there to enlarge my grasp of the meaning of the universe. We had for instance no chemical laboratory at Fisk. Our mathematical courses were limited; above all I wanted to study philosophy! I wanted to get hold of the basis of knowledge, and explore foundations and beginnings. I chose therefore, Palmer's course in ethics, but he being on Sabbatical for the year, William James replaced him, and I became a devoted follower of James at the time he was developing his pragmatic philosophy.

Fortunately I did not fall into the mistake of regarding Harvard as the

beginning rather than the continuing of my college training. I did not find better teachers at Harvard, but teachers better known, who had had wider facilities for gaining knowledge and had a broader atmosphere for approaching truth.

I hoped to pursue philosophy as my life career, with teaching for support. With this program I studied at Harvard from the Fall of 1888 to 1890, as undergraduate. I took a varied course in Chemistry, Geology, Social Science and Philosophy. My salvation here was the type of teacher I met rather than the content of the courses. William James guided me out of the sterilities of scholastic philosophy to realist pragmatism; from Peabody's social reform with a religious tinge, I turned to Albert Bushnell Hart to study history with documentary research; and from Taussig with his reactionary British economics of the Ricardo school, I approached what was later to become Sociology. Meantime Karl Marx was mentioned but only incidentally and as one whose doubtful theories had long since been refuted. Socialism as dream of philanthropy or as Will-o-wisp of hotheads was dismissed as unimportant.

39-2-116

When I arrived at Harvard, the question of board and lodging was of first importance. Naturally, I could not afford a room in the college yard in the old and venerable buildings which housed most of the well-to-do students under the magnificent elms. Neither did I think of looking for lodgings among white families, where numbers of the ordinary students lived. I tried to find a colored home, and finally at 20 Flagg Street, I came upon the neat home of a colored woman from Nova Scotia, a descendant of those black Jamaican Maroons whom Britain deported after solemnly promising them peace if they would surrender. For a very reasonable sum, I rented the second story front room and for four years this was my home. I wrote of this abode at the time: "My room is, for a college man's abode, very ordinary indeed. It is quite pleasantly situated -- second floor, front, with a bay window and one other window. The door is on the south west corner. As you enter you will perceive the bed in the opposite corner, small and decorated with floral designs calculated to puzzle a botanist.

39-2-117

It is a good comfortable bed however, and my landlady keeps it neat. On the left hand is a bureau with a mirror of doubtful accuracy. In front of the bay window is a stand with three shelves of books, and on the left of the bureau is an improvised bookcase made of unpainted boards and uprights, containing most of my library of which I am growing quite proud. Over the heat register, near the door, is a mantle with a plaster of Paris pug-dog and a calendar, and the usual array of odds and ends. A sofa, commode, trunk, table and chairs complete the floor furniture. On the wall are a few quite ordinary pictures. In this commonplace den I am quite content."

Later I became a boarder at Memorial Hall, which was the great dining hall of the university, and after that a member of the Foxcraft Club, where many students of moderate means boarded.

Following the attitudes which I had adopted in the South, I sought no friendships among my white fellow students nor even acquaintanceships. Of course I wanted friends but I could not see them. My class was large; with some three hundred students. I doubt if I knew a dozen of them. I did not seek them, and naturally they did not seek me. I made no attempt to contribute to the college periodicals, since the editors were not interested in my major interests. Only one organization did I try to enter, an I ought to have known better than to make this attempt. But I did have a good singing voice and loved music, so I entered the competition for the Glee Club. I ought to have known that Harvard could not afford to have a Negro on its Glee Club travelling about the country. Quite naturally I was rejected.

I was happy at Harvard, but for unusual reasons. One of these circumstances was my acceptance of racial segregation. Had I gone from Great Barrington high school directly to Harvard, I would have sought companionship with my white fellows and been disappointed and embittered by a discovery of social limitations to which I had not been used. But I came by way of Fisk and the South and there I had accepted color caste and embraced eagerly the companionship of those of my own color. This, was of course, no final solution. Eventually with them and

39-2-118

in mass assault, led by culture, we Negroes were going to break down the boundaries of race; but at present we were banded together in a great crusade and happily so. Indeed, I suspect that the prospect of ultimate full human intercourse without reservations and annoying distinctions, made me all too willing to consort now with my own and to disdain and forget as far as was possible that outer, whiter world.

In general, I asked nothing of Harvard but the tutelage of teachers and the freedom of the laboratory and library. I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life. I sought only such contacts with white teachers as lay directly in the line of my work. I joined certain clubs like the Philosophical Club; I was a member of the Foxcroft dining club because it was cheap. James and one or two other teachers had me at their homes at meal and reception. I found friends and ost interesting and inspiring friends among the colored folk of Boston and surrounding places. Naturally social intercourse with whites could not be entirly forgotten, so that now and then I joined its currents and rose or fell with them. I escorted colored girls to various gatherings, and as pretty ones as I cald find to the vesper exercises, and later to the class day and commencement social functions. Naturally we attracted attention and the Crimson noted my girl friends; on the other part came sometimes the shadow of insult, as when atone reception a white woman seemed determined to mistake me for a waiter.

In general, I was encased in a completely colored world, self-sufficient and provincial, ad ignoring just as far as possible the white world which conditioned it. This was self-protective coloration, with perhaps an inferiority complex, but withbelief in the ability and future of black folk.

My friends nd companions were taken mainly from the colored students of Harvard and neighboring institutions, and the colored folk of Boston and surrounding towns. With them I led a happy and inspiring life. There were among them many educated and well-to-do folk; many young people studying or planning to study; many charming young women. We met and ate, danced and argued and planned

a new world.

Toward whites I was not arrogant; I was simply not obsequious, and to a white Harvard student of my day, a Negro student who did not seek recognition was trying to be more than a Negro. The same Harvard man had much the same attitude toward Jews and Irishmen.

39-2-119

I was, however exceptional among Negroes in my ideas on voluntary race segregation, they for the most part saw salvation only in integration at the earliest moment and on almost any terms in white culture; I was firm in my criticism of white folk and in my dream of a Negro self-sufficient culture even in America.

This setting of myself off from my white fellows, or being cut off did not mean unhappiness nor resentment. I was in my early manhood, unusually full of high spirits and humor. I thoroughly enjoyed life. I was conscious of understanding and power, and conceited enough still to imagine, as in high school, that they who didnot know me were the losers, not I. On the other hand, I do not think that my white classmates found me personally objectionable. I was clean, not well-dressed but decently clothed. Manners I regarded as more or less superflous and deliberately cultivated a certain brusquerie. Personal adornment I regarded as pleasant but not important. I was in Harvard, but not of it, and realized all the irony of my singing "Fair Harvard." I sang it because I liked the music, and not from any pride in the Pilgrims.

With my colored friends I carried on lively social intercourse, but necessarily one which involved little expenditure of money. I called at their homes and ate at their tables. We danced at private parties. We went on excursions down the Bay. Once, with a group of colored students gathered from surrounding institutions, we gave Aristophanes' "The Birds" in a Boston colored church. The rendition was good, but not outstanding; not quite appreciated by the colored audience; but well-worth doing. Even though it worked me near to death, I was proud of it.

39-2-120

Thus this group of professional men, students, white collar workers and upper servants, whose common bond was color of skin in themselves or in their fathers; together with a common history and current experience of discrimination, formed a unit which like many tens of thousands of like units across the nation had or were getting to have a common culture pattern which made them an interlocking mass; so that increasingly a colored person in Boston was more neighbor to a colored person in Chicago than to the white person across the street.

Mrs. Ruffin of Charles street, Boston, and her daughter Birdie were often hostesses to this colored group: she was widow of the first colored judge appointed in Massachusetts, an aristocratic lady, with olive skin and high piled masses of white hair. Once a Boston white lady said to Mrs. Ruffin ingratiatingly: "I have always been interested in your race." Mrs. Ruffin flared: "Which race?" She began a national organization of colored women and published the "Courant", a type of small colored weekly paper which was spreading over the nation. In this I published many of my Harvard daily themes.

Naturally in this close group there grew up among the young people friendships ending in marriages. I myself outgrowing the youthful attractions of Fisk, began serious dreams of love and marriage. There however, were still my study plans to hold me back and there were curious other reasons. For instance it happened that two of the girls whom I particularly liked had what was to me then the insuperable handicap of looking like white; while they had enough black ancestry to make them "Negroes" in America. I could not let the world even imagine that I had married a white wife. Yet these girls were intelligent and companionable. One went to Vassar College which then refused entrance to Negroes. Years later when I went there to lecture I remember disagreeing violently with a teacher who thought the girl ought not to have "deceived" the college by graduating before it knew her Negro descent! Another favorite of mine was Deenie Pindell. She was a fine forthright woman, blonde, blue-eyed and fragile. In the end I had no chance to choose here, for she married Monroe Trotter.

Trotter was the son of a well-to-do colored father and entered Harvard in my first year in the Graduate School. He was thick-set, yellow with close cut dark hair. He was stubborn and straight-laced and an influential member of his class. He organized the first Total Abstinence club in the Yard. I came to know him and joined the company when he and other colored students took in a trip to Amherst to see Forbes and Lewis graduate in the class with Calvin Coolidge.

39-2-121

Lewis afterward entered the Harvard Law School and became the celebrated center rush of the Harvard football team. He married the beautiful Bessie Baker who had been with us on that Amherst trip. Forbes, a brilliant, cynical dark man, later joined with Trotter in publishing the Guardian, the first Negro paper to attack Booker T. Washington with open opposition. Washington's friends retorted by sending Trotter to jail when he dared to heckle Washington in a public Boston meeting on his political views. I was not present nor privy to this occurrence, but the unfairness of the jail sentence led me eventually to form the Niagara Movement, which later became the N.A.A.C.P.

Thus I lived near to life, love and tragedy; and when I met Maud Cuney, I became doubly interested. She was a tall imperious brunette, with gold-bronze skin, brilliant eyes and coils of black hair; daughter of the Collector of Customs at Galveston, Texas. She came to study music and was a skilled performer, when the New England Conservatory of Music tried to "jim-crow" her in the dormitory. We students rushed to her defense and we won. I fell deeply in love with her, and we were engaged.

Thus it is clear how in the general social intercourse on the campus I consciously missed nothing. Some white students made themselves known to me and a few, a very few, became life-long friends. Most of my classmates, I knew neither by sight nor name. Among them many made their mark in life: Norman Hapgood, Robert Herrick, Herbert Croly, George Dorsey, Homer Folks, Augustus Hand, James Brown Scott and others. I knew none of these intimately. For the most part I do not doubt that I was voted a somewhat selfish and self-centered "grind" with a chip on my shoulder and a sharp tongue.

Something of a certain inferiority complex was possibly a cause of this. I was desperately afraid of intruding where I was not wanted; appearing without invitation; of showing a desire for the company of those who had no desire for me. I should in fact have been pleased if most of my fellow students had wanted to associate with me; if I had been popular and envied. But the absence of this made me neither unhappy nor morose. I had my "island within" and it was a fair country.

39-2-122

Only once or twice did I come to the surface of college life. First I found by careful calculation that I needed the cash of one of the Boylston prizes in oratory to piece out my year's expenses. I got it through winning a second oratorical prize. The occsion was noteworthy by the fact that another black student, Clement Morgan, got first prize at the same contest.

With the new increaseat Harvard of students who grew up outside of New England, there arose at this time acertain resentment at the way New England students were dominating and conducting college affairs. The class marshall on commencement day was always a Saltonstal, a Cabot, a Lowell, or some such New England family. The crew and most of the oher heads of athletic teams were selected from similarly limited social groups. Th class poet, class orator, and other commencement officials invariably were elected because of family and not for merit. It so happened that when the offcials of the class of 1890 were being selected in early spring, a plot ripened. Prsonally, I knew nothing of it, and was not greatly interested. But in Bostorand in the Harvard Yard the result of the elections was of tremendous signifiance; for this conspiratorial clique selected Clement Morgan as class orator, Nw England and indeed the whole country reverberated.

Morgan was a black mn. He was working in a barber shop in St. Louis at the time when he ought to have been in school. With the encouragement and help of a colored teacher whom he later married, he came to Boston and entered the Latin School. This meant thatwhen he finally entered Harvard, he entered as freshman in the orthodox way and was well acquainted with his classmates. He was fairly well received, considering his color. He was a pleasant unassuming person and one of the best speakers of clearly enunciated English on the campus. In his junior

year, he had earned the first Boylston prize for oratory, in the same contest where I won second prize. It was, then, logical for him to become class orator and yet this was against all the traditions of America. There were editorials in the leading newspapers, and the South especially raged and sneered at the audience of "black washerwomen" who would replace Boston society at the next Harvard commencement.

39-2-123

At the same time, the action was contagious at that year and the next in several leading Northern colleges, colored students became the class orators. Ex-President Hayes, as I shall relate later, sneered at this fact. While, as I have said, I had nothing to do with this plot, and as not even present at the election which chose Morgan, I was greatly pleased at this breaking of the color line. Morgan and I became fast friends and spent a summer giving readings along the North Shore to help our college costs.

Harvard of this day was a great opportunity for a young man and a young American Negro and I realized it. I formed habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the daytime and had my day parceled out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with thoroughness and with prevision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. From the beginning my relations with most of the teachers at Harvard were pleasant. They were on the whole glad to receive a serious student, to whom extra-curricular activities were not of paramount importance and one who in a general way knew what he wanted.

Harvard had in the social sciences no such leadership of thought and breadth of learning as in philosophy, literature and physical science. She was then groping and is still groping toward a scientific treatment of human action. She was facing at the end of the century a tremendous economic era. In the United States, finance was succeeding in monopolizing transportation, and raw materials like sugar, coal and oil. The power of the trust and combine was so great that the Sherman Act was passed in 1890. On the other hand, the tariff at the demand of manufacturers continued to rise in height from the McKinley to the indefensible

Wilson tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the Industrial North and the New South was being perfected and in 1890 the series of disfranchising laws began to be enacted by the Southern states destined in the next sixteen years to make voting by Southern Negroes practically impossible. A financial crisis shook the land in 1893 and popular discontent showed itself in the Populist movement and Coxey's Army. The whole question of the burden of taxation began to be discussed.

39-2-124

These things we discussed with some clearness and factual understanding at Harvard. The tendency was toward English free trade and against the American tariff policy. We reverenced Ricardo and wasted long hours on the "Wages-fund." I remember Taussig's course supporting dying Ricardean economics. Wages came from what employers had left for labor after they had subtracted their own reward. Suppose that this profit was too small to attract the employer, what would the poor worker do but starve! The trusts and monopolies were viewed frankly as dangerous enemies of democracies, but at the same time as inevitable methods of industry. We were strong for the gold standard and fearful of silver. On the other hand, the attitude of Harvard toward labor was on the whole contemptuous and condemnatory. Strikes like that of the anarchists in Chicago, the railway strikes of 1886; the terrible Homestead strike of 1892 and Coxey's Army of 1894 were pictured as ignorant lawlessness, lurching against conditions largely inevitable.

Karl Marx was mentioned, only to point out how thoroughly his theses had been disproven; of that theory itself almost nothing was said. Henry George was given but tolerant notice. The anarchists of Spain, the Nihilists of Russia, the British miners -- all these were viewed not as part of the political development and the tremendous economic organization but as sporadic evil. This was natural. Harvard was the child of its era. The intellectual freedom and flowering of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were yielding to the deadening economic pressure which would make Harvard rich but reactionary. This defender of

wealth and capital, already half ashamed of Sumner and Phillips, was willing finally to replace an Eliot with a manufacturer and a nervous warmonger. The social community that mobbed Garrison, easily electrocuted Sacco and Vanzetti.

It was not until I was long out of college and had finished the first economics and politics, that I realized the fundamental influence of man's efforts to earn a living had upon all his other efforts. The politics which we studied in college were conventional, especially when it came to describing and elucidating the current scene in Europe. The Queen's Jubilee in June, 1887, while I was still at Fisk, set the pattern of our thinking. The little old woman at Windsor became a magnificent symbol of Empire. Here was England with her flag draped around the world, ruling more black folk than white and leading the colored peoples of the earth to Christian baptism, and as we assumed, to civilization and eventual self-rule.

39-2-125

In 1885, Stanley, the traveling American reporter, became a hero and symbol of white world leadership in Africa. The wild, fierce fight of the Mahdi and the driving of the English out of the Sudan for thirteen years did not reveal its inner truth to me. I heard only of the martyrdom of the drunken Bible-reader and freebooter, Chinese Gordon.

The Congo Free State was established and the Berlin Conference of 1885 was reported to be an act of civilization against the slave trade and liquor. French, English and Germans pushed on in Africa, but I did not question the interpretation which pictured this as the advance of civilization and the benevolent tutelage of barbarians. I read of the confirmation of the Triple Alliance in 1891. Later I saw the celebration of the renewed Triple Alliance on the Tempelhofer Feld, with the new young Emperor Wilhelm II, who, fresh from his dismissal of Bismarck, led the splendid pageantry; and finally the year I left Germany, Nicholas II became Czar of all the Russias. In all this I had not yet linked the political development of Europe with the race problem in America.

I was repeatedly a guest in the home of William James; he was my friend and guide to clear thinking; I was a member of the Philosophical Club and talked with

Royce and Palmer; I remember vividly once standing beside Mrs. Royce at a small reception. We ceased conversation for a moment and both glanced across the room. Professor Royce was opposite talking excitedly. He was an extraordinary sight: a little body; indifferently clothed; a big red-thatched head and blazing blue eyes. Mrs. Royce put my thoughts into words: "Funny-looking man, isn't he?" I nearly fainted! Yet I knew how she worshipped him.

39-2-126

I sat in an upper room and read Kant's Critique with Santayana; Shaler invited a Southerner, who objected to sitting beside me, out of his class; he said he wasn't doing very well, anyway. I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany. Most of my courses of study went well. It was in English that I came nearest my Waterloo at Harvard. I had unwittingly arrived at Harvard in the midst of a violent controversy about poor English among students. A number of fastidious Englishmen like Barrett Wendell had come to Harvard about this time; moreover New England itself was getting sensitive over western slang and Southern drawls and general ignorance of grammar. Freshmen then at this time could elect nearly all their courses except English; that was compulsory, with theses, daily themes and tough examinations.

On the other hand I was at the point in my intellectual development when the content rather than the form of my writing was to me of prime importance. Words and ideas surged in my mind and spilled out with disregard of exact accuracy in grammar, taste in word or restraint in style. I knew the Negro problem and this was more important to me than literary form. I knew grammar fairly well, and I had a pretty wide vocabulary; but I was bitter, angry and intemperate in my first thesis. Naturally my English instructors had no ideas of nor interest in the way in which Southern attacks on the Negro were scratching me on the raw flesh. Tillman was raging in the Senate like a beast and literary clubs, especially rich and well-dressed women engaged his services eagerly and listened avidly. Senator Morgan of Alabama had just published a scathing attack on "niggers" in a leading magazine, when my first Harvard thesis was due. I let go at him with no holds barred.

My long and blazing effort came back marked "E" -- not passed!

It was the first time in my scholastic career that I had encountered such a failure. I was aghast, but I was not a fool. I did not doubt but that my instructors were fair in judging my English technically even if they did not understand the Negro problem. I went to work at my English and by the end of that term had raised it to a "C". I realized that while style is subordinate to content, and that no real literature can be composed simply of meticulous and fastidicus phrases, nevertheless that solid content with literary style carries a message further than poor grammar and muddled syntax. I elected the best course on the campus for English composition -- English 12.

39-2-127

I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890 for Barrett Wendell, then the great pundit of Harvard English. I wrote: "Spurred by my circumstances, I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in high school to go to college -- partly because other men did, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life... I believe, foolishly perhaps, but sincerely, that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell liked that last sentence . Out of fifty essays, he picked this out to read to the class.

Commencement was approaching, when, one day I found myself at midnight on one of the swaggering streetcars that used to roll out from Boston on its way to Cambridge. It was in the spring of 1890, and quite accidentally I was sitting by a classmate who would graduate with me in June. As I dimly remember, he was a nice-looking young man, almost dapper; well-dressed, charming in manner. Probably he was rich or at least well-to-do, and doubtless belonged to an exclusive fraternity, although that did not interest me. Indeed I have even forgotten his name. But one thing I shall never forget and that was his rather regretful admission (which slipped

out as we gossiped) that he had no idea as to what his life work would be, because, as he added, "There's nothing in which I am particularly interested!"

I was more than astonished -- I was almost outraged to meet any human being of the mature age of twenty-two who did not have his life all planned before him; at least in general outline; and who was not supremely, if not desperately, interested in what he planned to do.

39-2-128

Since then, my wonder has left my classmate, and been turned in and backward upon myself: how long had I been so sure of my life-work and how had I come so confidently to survey and plan it? I now realize that most college seniors are by no means certain of what they want to do or can do with life; but stand rather upon a hesitating threshold, awaiting will, chance or opportunity. Because I had not mingled intimately or understandingly with my white Harvard classmates, I did not at the time realize this, but thought my unusual attitude was general.

In June 1890, I received my bachelor's degree from Harvard cum laude in Philosophy. I was one of the five graduating students selected to speak at commencement. My subject was "Jefferson Davis." I chose it with deliberate intent of facing Harvard and the nation with a discussion of slavery as illustrated in the person of the president of the Confederate States of America. Naturally, my effort made a sensation. I said, among other things: " I wish to consider not the man, but the type of civilization which his life represented: its foundation is the idea of the strong man -- Individualism coupled with the rule of might -- and it is this idea that has made the logic of even modern history, the cool logic of the Club. It made a naturally brave and generous man Jefferson Davis: now advancing civilization by murdering Indians, now hero of a national disgrace, called by courtesy the Mexican War; and finally as the crowning absurdity, the peculiar champion of a people fighting to be free in order that another people should not be free. Whenever this idea has for a moment escaped from the individual realm, it has found an even more secure foot-hold in the policy and philosophy of the State. The strong man and his mighty Right Arm has become the Strong Nation

with its armies. Under whatever guise, however a Jefferson Davis may appear as man, as race, or as a nation, his life can only logically mean this: the advance of a part of the world at the expense of the whole; the overwhelming sense of the I, and the consequent forgetting of the Thou. It has thus happened that advance in civilization has always been handicapped by shortsighted national selfishness. The vital principal of division of labor has been stifled not only in industry, but also in civilization; so as to render it well nigh impossible for a new race to introduce a new idea into the world except by means of the cudgel. To say that a nation is in the way of civilization is a contradiction in terms, and a system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie. Yet this is the type of civilization which Jefferson Davis represented: it represents a field for stalwart manhood and heroic character, and at the same time for moral obtuseness and refined brutality. These striking contradictions of character always arise when a people seemingly become convinced that the object of the world is not civilization, but Teutonic civilization."

39-2-129

A Harvard professor wrote to Kate Field's Washington then a leading periodical: "Du Bois, the colored orator of the commencement stage, made a ten-strike. It is agreed upon by all the people I have seen that he was the star of the occasion. His paper was on 'Jefferson Davis', and you would have been surprised to hear a colored man deal with him so generously. Such phrases as a 'great man', a 'keen thinker', a 'strong leader', and other akin occurred in the address. One of the trustees of the University told me yesterday that the paper was considered masterly in every way. Du Bois is from Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and doubtless has some white blood in his veins. He, too, has been in my classes the past year. If he did not head the class, he came pretty near the head, for he is an excellent scholar in every way, and altogether the best black man that has come to Cambridge."

Bishop Potter of New York wrote in the Boston Herald: "When at the last commencement of Harvard University, I saw a young colored man appear . . . . and

heard his brilliant and eloquent address, I said to myself: 'Here is what an historic race can do if they have a clear field, a high purpose, and a resolute will.'"

The New York Nation commented editorally: "When the name of William Edward Du Bois was called and a slender, intellectual-looking mulatto ascended the platform and made his bow to the President of the University, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Bishop of New York, and a hundred other notables, the applause burst out heartily as if in recognition of the strange significance of his appearance there. His theme ... heightened this significance. Du Bois handled his difficult and hazardous subject with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."

39-2-130

Already I had now received more education than most young white men, having been almost continously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel prepared. I felt that to cope with the new and extraordinary situations then developing in the United States and the world, I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun my training in knowledge of social conditions.

I revelled in the keen analysis of William James, Josiah Royce and young George Santayana. But it was James with his pragmatism and Albert Bushnell Hart with his research method, that turned me back from the lovely but sterile land of philosophic speculation, to the social sciences as the field for gathering and interpreting that body of fact which would apply to my program for the Negro. As undergraduate, I had talked frankly with William James about teaching philosophy, my major subject. He discouraged me, not by any means because of my record in his classes. He used to give me A's and even A-plus, but as he said candidly, there is "not much chance for anyone earning a living as a philosopher." He was repeating just what Chase of Fisk had said a few years previously.

I knew by this time that practically my sole chance of earning a living combined with study was to teach, and after my work with Albert Bushnell Hart in United States history, I conceived the idea of applying philosophy to an historical interpretation of race relations.

In other words, I was trying to take my first steps toward sociology as the science of human action. It goes without saying that no such field of study was then recognized at Harvard or came to be recognized for twenty years after. But I began with some research in Negro history and finally at the suggestion of Hart, I chose the suppression of the African slave trade to America as my doctor's thesis. Then came the question as to whether I could continue study in the graduate school. I had no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school of Harvard and was appointed Henry Bromfield Rogers fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed; so that from 1890 to 1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University, studying in history and political science and what would have been sociology if Harvard had yet recognized such a field.

39-2-131

My grandfather Du Bois died while I was at Harvard, and although the settlement of the estate was held up for lack of exact data concerning my father's death, eventually $400 was paid me during my senior year. I finished the first draft of my thesis and delivered an outline of it at the seminaries of American history and political economy December 7, 1891. I received my masters degree in the Spring. I was thereupon elected to the American Historical Society and asked to speak in Washington at their meeting in December 1892. The New York Independent noted this among the "three best papers presented," and continued:

"The article upon the 'enforcement of the Slave Laws' was written and read by a black man. It was thrilling when one could, for a moment, turn his thoughts from listening to think that scarcely thirty years have elapsed since the war that freed his race, and here was an audience of white men listening to a black man -- listening moreover, to a careful, cool, philosophical history of the laws which had not prevented the enslavement of his race. The voice, the diction, the manner of the speaker were faultless. As one looked at him, one could not help saying ' Let us not worry about the future of our country in the matter of race distinctions.'"

I began with a bibliography of Nat Turner and ended with this history of the suppression of the African Slave Trade to America; neither needed to be done again

at least in my day. Thus in my quest for basic knowledge with which to help guide the American Negro, I came to the study of sociology, by way of philosophy and history rather than by physics and biology. After hesitating between history and economics, I chose history. On the other hand, psychology, hovering then on the threshold of experiment under Muensterberg, soon took a new orientation which I could understand from the beginning. I worked on my thesis, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America," and hoped to get my doctor's degree in another two years.

39-2-132

Already I had made up my mind that what I needed was further training in Europe. The erman Universities were at the top of their reputation. Any American schoar who wanted preferment went to Germany for study. The faculties of Johns Hopkis, and the new University of Chicago, were beginning to be filled with German PH.D's and even Harvard had imported Muensterberg for the new experimental psychology, ad Kuno Frank had long taught there. British Universities did not recognize Ameican degrees and French Universities made no special effort to encourage Ameican graduates. I wanted then to study in Germany. I was determined that any failre on my part to become a recognized American scholar must not be based on any ack of modern training.

I was cofident. So far I had met no failure. I willed and lo! I was walking beneath the ems of Harvard, -- the name of allurement, the college of my youngest, wildest visios! I needed money; scholarships and prizes fell into my lap -- not all I wated or strove for, but all I needed to keep in school. Commencement came and standing before governor, president, and grave gowned men, I told them certain truths, waving my arms and breathing fast! They applauded with what may have seemed o many as uncalled-for fervor, but I walked home on pink clouds of glory! I asked for a fellowship and got it. I announced my plan of studying in Germany, but Harvard had no more fellowships for me. A friend, however, told me of the Slater Fund and how the Board was looking for colored men worth educating.

No thought of modest hesitation occurred to me. I rushed at the chance. It was one of those tricks of fortune which always seem partly due to chance:

In 1882, the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and the board in 1890 was headed by ex-President R. B. Hayes. Ex-President Hayes went down to Johns Hopkins University which admitted no Negro students and told a "darkey" joke in a frank talk about the plans of the fund. The Boston Herald of November 2, 1890, quoted him as saying: " If there is any young colored man in the South whom we find to have a talent for art or literature or any special aptitude for study, we are willing to give him money from the education funds to send him to Europe or give him advanced education." He added that so far they had been able to find only "orators." This seemed to me a nasty fling at my black classmate, Morgan, who had been Harvard class orator a few months earlier.

39-2-133

The Hayes statement was brought to my attention at a card party one evening; it not only made me good and angry but inspired me to write ex-President Hayes and ask for a scholarship. I received a pleasant reply saying that the newspaper quotation was incorrect; that his board had some such program in the past but had no present plans for such scholarships. I wrote him referring him to my teachers and to others who knew me, and intimating that his change of plan did not seem to me fair nor honest. He wrote again in apologetic mood and said that he was sorry the plan had been given up; that he recognized that I was a candidate who might otherwise have been given attention. I then sat down and wrote Mr. Hayes this letter:

May 25, 1891

"Your favor of the 2nd. is at hand. I thank you for your kind wishes. You will pardon me if I add a few words of explanation as to my application. The outcome of the matter is as I expected it would be. The announcement that any agency of the American people was willing to give a Negro a thoroughly liberal education and that it had been looking in vain for men to educate was to say the least rather startling. When the newspaper clipping was handed me in a company of friends, my first impulse was to make in some public way a categorical statement denying that such an offer had ever been made known to colored students. I saw this would be injudicious and fruitless, and I therefore determined on the

plan of applying myself. I did so and have been refused along with a "number of cases" beside mine.

"As to my case I personally care little. I am perfectly capable of fighting alone for an education if the trustees do not see fit to help me. On the other hand the injury you have - unwittingly I trust - done the race I represent, and am not ashamed of, is almost irreparable. You went before a number of keenly observant men who looked upon you as an authority in the matter, and told them in substance that the Negroes of the United States either couldn't or wouldn't embrace a most liberal opportunity for advancement. That statement went all over the country. When now finally you receive three or four applications for the fulfillment of that offer, the offer is suddenly withdrawn, while the impression still remains.

39-2-134

"If the offer was an experiment, you ought to have had at least one case before withdrawing it; if you have given aid before (and I mean here toward liberal education - not toward training plowmen) then your statement at John Hopkins was partial. From the above facts I think you owe an apology to the Negro people. We are ready to furnish competent men for every European scholarship furnished us off paper. But we can't educate ourselves on nothing and we can't have the moral courage to try, if in the midst of our work our friends turn public sentiment against us by making statements which injure us and which they cannot stand by.

"That you have been looking for men to liberally educate in the past may be so, but it is certainly strange so few have heard it. It was never mentioned during my three years stay at Fisk University. President Price of Livingstone, [then a leading Negro spokesman] has told me that he never heard of it, and students from various other Southern schools have expressed great surprise at the offer. The fact is that when I was wanting to come (to) Harvard, while yet in the South, I wrote to Dr. Haygood, (Atticus G. Haygood a leader of Southern white liberals), for a loan merely, and he never even answered my letter. I find men willing to help me thro' cheap theological schools, I find men willing to help me use my hands before I have

got my brains in working order, I have an abundance of good wishes on hand, but I never found a man willing to help me get a Harvard PH.D."

Hayes was stirred. He promised to take up the matter the next year with the board. Thereupon, the next year I proceeded to write the board:

39-2-135

"At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of Master of Arts, and was reappointed to my fellowship for the year 1891-92. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the Suppression of the Slave Trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington during the Christmas holidays.... Properly to finish my education, careful training in an European university for at least a year is, in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable." I thereupon asked respectfully "aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices" and if this was not practicable, "that the board loan me a sufficient sum for this purpose." I did not of course believe that this would get me an appointment, but I did think that possibly through the influence of people who thus came to know about my work, I might somehow borrow or beg enough to get to Europe.

I rained recommendations upon Mr. Hayes. The Slater Fund Board surrendered, and I was given a fellowship of seven hundred and fifty dollars to study a year abroad; with the promise that it might possibly be renewed for a second year. To salve their souls, however, this grant was made as half gift and a half repayable loan with 5% interest. I remember rushing down to New York and talking with ex-President Hayes in the old Astor House, and emerging walking on air. I saw an especially delectable shirt in a shop window. I went in and asked about it. It cost three dollars, which was about four times as much as I had ever paid for a shirt in my life; but I bought it.

CHAPTER X

EUROPE 1892 TO 1894

When I was a young man I conceived that the foundations of World culture were laid, the way was charted, the progress toward certain great goals was undoubted and inevitable. There was room for argument concerning details and methods and possible detours in the onsweep of civilisation; but the fundamental facts were clear, unquestioned and unquestionable.

Between the years 1885 and 1894 I received my education at Fisk University, Harvard College and the University of Berlin. It was difficult for me at the time to form any critical estimate of any meaning of the world which differed from the conventional unanimity about me. Apparently one consideration alone saved me from complete conformity with the thoughts and confusions of then current social trends; and that was the problem of racial and cultural contacts. Otherwise I might easily have been simply the current product of my day. Even as it was, the struggle for which I was preparing and the situations which I was trying to conceive and study, related themselves primarily to the plight of the comparatively small group of American Negroes with which I was identified, and theoretically to the larger Negro race. I did not face the general plight and conditions of all humankind. That I took that for granted, and in the unanimity of thought and development of that day, as I saw it, this was scarcely to be wondered at.

41-148-1

It was to my mind and the minds of most of my teachers a day of Progress with a capital P. Population in all the culture lands was increasing swiftly doubling and more; cities everywhere were growing and expanding and making themselves the centers and almost the only centers of civilisation; transportation by land and sea was drawing the nations near and making the lands of the earth increasingly accessible. Inventions and technique were a perpetual marvel and their accomplishment infinite in possibility. Commerce was madly seeking markets all around the earth; colonies were being seized and countries integrated into European civilisation in Asia, Africa, South America and the islands. Of the methods of this colonial imperialism, the condition of colonial peoples and the effect of colonies

on home labor, I knew little until years later.

Above all, science was becoming a religion; psychology was reducing metaphysics to experiment and a sociology of human action was planned. Fighting the vast concept of evolution, religion went into its heresy trials, its struggles with "higher criticism", its discomfort at the "revised version" of the New Testament which was published the year I entered college. Everywhere men sought wealth and especially in America there was extravagant living among the rich; everywhere the poor planned to be rich and the rich planned to be richer; everywhere wider, bigger, higher, better things were set down as inevitable.

41-148-2

All this, of course dominated education; especially the economic order determined what the next generation should learn and know. On the whole, looking at the marvelous industrial expansion of America, seeing the rise of the western farmer and the wages of the eastern mechanic, all seemed well; or if not, if there were ominous protests and upheavals, these were but the friction necessary to all advance. "God's in His heaven; All's right with the world," Browning was singing -- that colored Robert Browning, who died just after I received my first bachelor's degree.

Had it not been for the race problem early thrust upon me and enveloping me, I should have probably been an unquestioning worshipper at the shrine of the established social order and of the economic development into which I was born. But just that part of this order which seemed to most of my fellows nearest perfection, seemed to me most inequitable and wrong; and starting from that critique, I gradually, as the years went by, found other things on which to question in my environment.

At first, however, my criticism was confined to the relation of my people to the world movement. I was not questioning the world movement in itself. What the white world was doing, its goals and ideals, I had not doubted were quite right. What was wrong was that I and people like me and thousands of others who might have my ability and aspiration, were refused permission to be a part of this world. It was as though moving on a rushing express, my main thought was as to my

relations with the other passengers on the express, and not to its rate of speed and its destination.

In the days of my formal education, my interest became concentrated upon the race struggle. My attention from the first was focused on democracy and democratic development; and upon the problem of the admission of my people into the freedom of democracy. This my training touched but obliquely. We studied history and politics almost exclusively from the point of view of ancient German freedom, English and New England democracy, and the development of the white United States. Here, however, I could bring criticism from what I knew and saw touching the Negro.

41-148-3

Europe modified profoundly my outlook on life and my thought and feeling toward it, even though I was there but two short years with my contacts limited and my friends few. But something of the possible beauty and elegance of life permeated my soul; I gained a respect for manners. I had been before, above all, in a hurry. I wanted a world, hard, smooth and swift, and had no time for rounded corners and ornament, for unhurried thought and slow contemplation. Now at times I sat still. I came to know Beethoven's symphonies and Wagner's Ring. I looked long at the colors of Rembrandt and Titian. I saw in arch and stone and steeple the history and striving of men and also their taste and expression. Form, color, and words took new combinations and meanings.

I crossed the ocean in a trance. Always I seemed to be saying, "It is not real; I must be dreaming!" I can live it again -- the little, Dutch ship -- the blue waters -- the smell of new-mown hay-- Holland and the Rhine. I saw the Wartburg and Berlin; I made the Harzreise and climbed the Brocken; I saw the Hansa towns and the cities and dorfs of South Germany; I saw the Alps at Berne, the Cathedral at Milan, Florence, Rome, Venice, Vienna, and Pesth; I looked on the boundaries of Russia; and I sat in Paris and London.

On mountain and valley, in home and school, I met men and women as I had never met them before. Slowly they became, not white folks, but folks. The unity beneath all life clutched me. I was not less fanatically a Negro, but "Negro" meant a

greater, broader sense of humanity and world-fellowship. I felt myself standing, not against the world, but simply against American narrowness and color prejudice, with the greater, finer world at my back.

In Germany in 1892, I found myself on the outside of the American world, looking in. With me were white folk -- students, acquaintances, teachers -- who viewed the scene with me. They did not always pause to regard me as a curiosity, or something sub-human; I was just a man of the somewhat privileged student rank, with whom they were glad to meet and talk over the world; particularly, the part of the world whence I came.

41-143-4

I found to my gratification that they, with me, did not regard America as the last word in civilization. Indeed I derived a certain satisfaction in learning that the University of Berlin did not recognize a degree even from Harvard University, no more than Harvard did from Fisk. Even I was a little startled to realize how much that I had regarded as white American, was white European and not American at all: America's music is German, the Germans said; the Americans have no art, said the Italians; and their literature, remarked the English, is mainly English. All agreed that Americans could make money and did not care how they made it. And the like. Sometimes their criticism got under even my anti-American skin, but it was refreshing on the whole to hear voiced my own attitude toward so much that America had meant to me.

I wrote in my diary: "Holland is an extremely neat and well-ordered mud-puddle, situated at the confluence of the English, French, and German languages. My memory of my first sight of it is inextricably interwoven with a smell of clover. It was after a two weeks' sea voyage -- pleasant to be sure, fascinating as the changing, changeless sea ever is, but <u>two weeks</u> -- then I came on deck one sunny morning to see long low green fields, sleepy little farm-houses, long, prim, and decent rows of trees, stolid windmills and cows. So far as landscape is concerned, I never saw ought else in Holland and had I (God forbid!) followed my first inclinations, I should have gone away from this dear old nook with the usual uninteresting tale. I stayed a week or so, and I am very glad.

"There is to be sure a certain sameness about the homely country -- a slowness which makes an American gasp and sometimes swear, and yet the very monotony of the country, the low dogged hum of its simple life, has for the leiterer a charm I can only liken to that of the backyard of my New England home. The Dutchman is in no hurry; he sees no necessary connection between the new and the good -- rather the contrary; he is ponderously honest, and he is guiltless of anything savoring of personal beauty. His nation may become grasping and greedy, but the individual Dutchman is too honest to know it or to believe it when it is told."

"If Rotterdam had been any but a Dutch town, I shouldn't have seen it -- I mean if Dutch business methods had not been so exasperatingly deliberate as to take six days to get a draft on Baring Bros. of London cashed, I should not have spent even a night at this interesting place. As it was, I was imprisoned for nearly a week in the town, in daily terror lest mine host should present his ruddy bill before my extremely wan purse. And I liked it: a nice place in its way. To be sure I must say I never saw so poorly tailored a town in my life. I saw very few persons whose clothes seemed to have been made with the slightest reference to their bodies, except the housemaids. In maidservants, Rotterdam has apparently reached the ne plus ultra: elaborately beruffled caps, immaculate white stockings and slippers, simple gingham dresses, and healthy, honestly homely faces, made them most pleasant figures to meet on the promenade.

41-148-5

Rotterdam as a city has a certain lack of individuality which is in itself characteristic. You see, it lies in the midstream of Dutch commerce with the great world and the current has changed it. It has almost forgotten its native tongue -- so used is it to jabbering English, French, and German, and it has a general unconnected sort of air which would make a nervous people picturesque, but only makes the Rotterdamites a wee bit ludicrous.

"One annoyance I met here and all over Europe: the landlord would hasten to inform me beamingly that 'Fellow Americans had just arrived.' If there was one thing less desirable than "white" fellow Americans' to me, it was black 'fellow Americans' to them."

Of greatest importance was the opportunity which my Wanderjahre in Europe gave of looking at the world as a man and not simply from a narrow racial and provincial outlook. This was primarily the result not so much of my study, as of my human companionship, unveiled by the accident of color. From the days of my later youth in the South to my boarding a Rhine passenger steamer at Rotterdam in August, 1892, I had not regarded white folk as human in quite the same way that I was. I had reached the habit of expecting color prejudice so universally, that I found it even when it was not there. So when I saw on this little steamer a Dutch lady with two grown daughters and one of twelve, I proceeded to put as much space between us as the small vessel allowed. But it did not allow much, and the lady's innate breeding allowed less. Soon the little daughter came straight across the deck and placed herself squarely before me. She asked if I spoke German; before I could explain, the mother and other daughters approached and we were conversing.

Before we reached the end of our trip, we were happy companions, laughing, eating and singing together, talking English, French and German and viewing the lovely castled German towns. Once or twice when the vessel docked for change of cargo, the family strolled off to visit the town. Each time I found excuse to linger behind and visit alone later; until once at Düsseldorf, all got away before I sensed it and left me and the prettiest daughter conversing. Then seeing we had docked she suggested we follow and see the town. We did; and thereafter we continued acting like normal, well-bred human beings. I waved them all good-bye, in the solemn arched aisles of the Cologne cathedral, with tears in my eyes.

So too in brave old Eisenach, beneath the shadow of Luther's Wartburg, I spent a happy holiday in a home where university training and German home-making left no room for American color prejudice.

From this unhampered social intermingling with Europeans of education and manners, I emerged from the extremes of my racial provincialism. I became more human; learned the place in life of "Wine, Women, and Song;" I ceased to hate or suspect people simply because they belonged to one race or color; and above all I began to understand the real meaning of scientific research and the dim outline of

41-148-6

methods of employing its technique and its results in the new social sciences for the settlement of the Negro problems in America.

In the Marbach home which took only properly introduced "paying guests" were two grown daughters, and two young women who were relatives; two young Frenchmen, an English youth and myself. Herr Oberharrer, Doctor Marbach and his efficient and correct wife presided. At first my German was halting and I was shy. But soon the courtesy of the elders and the ebullient spirits of the young folks brought my good nature and keen sense of camaraderie. The very mistakes of those of us who were foreigners -- mistakes in grammar and usage and etiquette -- became a source of merriment and sympathy. We became a happy group closely bound to each other. We went together to church services and to concerts. We took long excursions through field and forest to places of interest, lunching in homely inns or in the open.

I remember once the contest in poetry we had in a forest glen looking out on a great mountain range; I recited in English and one of the Frenchmen in his tongue. Then Madame Marbach (who always chaperoned us) recited "Du bist wie eine Blume." We wept openly at its beauty and I looked at Dora with her blue eyes and black hair and the lovely coloring of her skin. Dora almost paired with me, first to correct my German and then by preference. Once we all went to the annual ball of the upper middle class folk in the town. It was formal and a little stiff. The carefully gowned matrons sat around the walls of the room, knitting and gossiping and keeping watch over the demure white gowned girls in their charge. The fathers sat at tables and drank beer. I danced with all the girls of our home; then bowing from the waist ventured to ask other young ladies to whom I had been introduced. Then came the "Damen Wahl"; I drew back, but it was unnecessary, for my card was filled for every dance.

I was very fond of Dora Marbach and as I well knew, so was she of me. Our fellows joked about us and when I sang the folk-song of "Die Lora am Thore," little Bertha invariably changed the name to "Dora." We confessed our love for each other and Dora said she would marry me "gleich!" But I knew this would be unfair to her and fatal for my work at home, where I had neither property nor social standing for this

41-148-7

blue-eyed stranger. She could not quite understand. Naturally I received much advice as to marriage plans. One lady told me very seriously "Sie sollen heirathen eine hell-blonde!" But I knew better, although there may have been some echo in my mind of the proverb:

"Es waer so schoen gewesen
Es hat nicht sollen sein!"

It was an American woman who sought to see to it that no entanglement between me and Dora took place. She and her husband came to board with the Marbachs for a month or so. He was a professor in Colorado, a good-natured, ill-mannered Westerner. She was a nervous gossip, astonished to see a Negro so well-received in this household. What she told Frau Marbach about American Negroes I do not know, but I can imagine. There was nothing said of the couple but all were glad when they left. I felt a little sensitive when I left. I exchanged letters with the family while I remained in Germany but I never returned to this beloved foster home.

In the fall I went up to Berlin and registered in the university. In my study, I came in contact with several of the great leaders of the developing social sciences: in economics, sociology and in social history. My horizon in the social sciences was broadened not only by teachers, but by students from France, Belgium, Russia, Italy and Poland.

For matriculation in groups of one hundred we went into a large room with a high ceiling ornamented with busts of Berlin's famous professors. The year's Rector Magnificus was the widely famous Rudolf Virchow. He was a meek and calm little man, white-haired and white-bearded, with kindly face and pleasant voice. I had again at Berlin as at Harvard, unusual opportunity. Although a foreigner, I was admitted my first semester to two seminars under Schmoller and Wagner, both of them at the time the most distinguished men in their line; I received eventually from both of them pleasant testimony on my work in economics, history, and sociology. I sat under the voice of the fire-eating Pan-German, von Treitschke; I heard Sering and Weber; I wrote on American agriculture for Schmoller and discussed social conditions in Europe with teachers and students. Under these teachers and in this social setting,

41-1488

I began to see the race problem in America, the problem of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the political development of Europe as one. I began to unite my economics and politics; but I still assumed that in these groups of activities and forces, the political realm was dominant.

Matriculation commenced the 15th of October. I registered as number 85 of the more than 5,000 who usually matriculate here. The lectures mostly began the week following. Each professor writes a more or less legible announcement as to the time and place of the commencement of his lectures. The student then has to scurry about and examine a dozen different blackboards and hundreds of different slips of paper to find his particular professor's announcement. Poorly written English is bad enough, but when puzzling German is cloaked in execrably written German script, it is a combination fearful and wonderful to behold. Schmoller's scrawl caused me trouble, Wagner was well-nigh illegible, but Treitschke -- well, I haven't deciphered his announcement yet.

The lectures are of two sorts -- private and public. The first have four hours a week, generally mornings on Tuesdays or Fridays, or on two afternoons from four to six. These lectures must be paid for at the rate of $5 a course for the semester. In this heaven of eclecticism every student must take at least a one-point course. The public lectures are full, and have one or two hours a week, on Wednesday or Saturday mornings or on other evenings at six or seven.

41-148.7

An American astounded a professor by asking how much work a student was expected to do. The real answer is none or all he can manage. Only two things are required: the signature of the teacher at the beginning and at the end of the course. One of the articles furnished at matriculation is an "Anmelde-Buch" in which the names of the various professors and lectures you propose to take must be written. This is taken to the Questor who receives the tuition and receipts. Then you must trot to each professor and get his signature for each set of lectures at the beginning and end of the semester.

The students take part in the recitation room proceeding mainly with their feet. A shuffle of feet presages disapproval, a stamping means applause. A few days ago, when Wagner mentioned Bismarck and called him the principal creator of German unity,

a rub-a-dub followed from the 300 students for nearly five minutes. Shuffling is used also to express disapproval of late arrivals. Sometimes the disturbance is not generally thought great enough and the shuffling is rebuked by hissing. At other times when the tardy one is unusually noisy, there is a deafening whirr of feet which stops the lecture and never fails to abash the intruder. Commencing late, the lectures also end late. The students generally submit to remaining 5 minutes past but after that there comes an ominous clicking of inkstands and now and then designed and premature applause cuts off the lecturer's last words.

"To me by far the most interesting of the professors is the well-known von Treitschke, the German Machiavelli. He never comes to his lectures until very late, often commencing his ten o'clock lecture on Politik at 10:30 -- never before 10:20. He is a large man, of 'fair round belly with good capon lined', or possibly with the more unpoetic beer; he generally dresses rather carefully in dark gray or blue cutaway with cylinder hat, gloves and the all-prevading German cane. His complexion is dark, his well-kept hair and full beard iron gray, and his features rather gross. He is stone deaf with a slight impediment in his speech, and a sort of breathless way of speaking, that makes him very difficult at first for a foreigner to understand. The task, however, is worth all pains, for his is one of the most forcible and independent minds on the faculty.

"His entrance is always the same. He comes in slowly, somewhat out of breath, with his overcoat, hat, and cane on his left arm. These he hangs on the wall and ascends to his desk where he stands as he speaks. He then takes off his right glove and putting his head a bit on one side says:'Meine Herren,' with a falling inflection. Then begins the lecture, which, as I overheard a puzzled and sighing American say, 'has but one period and that's at the end..' He does not speak so fast, but his articulation is bad(imagine badly articulated German!) and he has a way of catching his breath in the midst of his sentences instead of at the end, giving the ear no natural pause.

"His lectures are nevertheless intensely interesting. He is rapt in his subject, a man of intense likes and dislikes, beliefs and disbeliefs. He is the very

41-1413-10

embodiment of united monarchical, armed Germany. He has pity for France, hearty dislike for all things English -- while for America, well, the United States is his bete noire, which he seldom fails to excoriate. One day he startled me by suddenly declaring during a lecture on America:'Die Mullattern sind niedrig! Sie fuhlen sich niedrig.'(Mulattoes are inferior; they feel themselves inferior.') I felt as if he were pointing me out; but I presume he was quite unaware of my presence. However my presence or absence would have made no difference to him. He was given to making extraordinary assertions out of a clear sky and evidently believing just what he said. My fellow students gave no evidence of connecting what he said with me. Yet von Treitschke was not a narrow man. His outlook is that of the born aristocrat who has something of the Carlyle contempt of levelling democracy. On the other hand he criticises his own government and nation unsparingly when he sees fit -- I have heard him characterize one of the highest officials as a 'verrueckte Dumkopf' while the students cheered. He grows enthusiastic in his lectures, gestures considerably, and has a little half-caustic smile which always foreshadows some sharp critical sally that usually brings down the house; as for instance when he characterised some current author's work as efforts 'to widen the boundaries of human stupidity.'

"The Berlin student is not typical of his class, nor will the stranger find here so much of the purely student life. Berlin stands, I imagine, to the smaller universities something as Harvard to the Western Universities. The students generally go to a local university first, then spend a semester or more in the classic glare of Berlin with its 83 full professors, 87 assistant professors, and 186 instructors; returning finally to their own universities to take their degree. The galaxy of learning here at Berlin is not so brilliant today, I imagine, as in the day of the great Mommsen.

"Yet it is sufficiently attractive. All of these professors, of course, I have not had the opportunity of seeing, much less hearing -- indeed, four years at Harvard left some great names and faces unconnected in my mind. Those I have

41-148-11

seen here are more especially connected with my department of political science; but they are celebrated enough to merit some particular notice. Wagner I have already spoken of personally -- his hobby is the discovery of the golden mean between the warring extremes of his science. He comes dangerously near committing the common mistake in such cases of mistaking his extremes. He is publishing a new edition of his valuable Lehrbuch, and as inducement is offering various blandishments to the national apparition of socialism. The bete noire of the German economist is, of course, the British school founded, as Wagner says, with a jerk of his head, by 'Adahm Smiss.' Wagner, however, gives them due credit for their great work and agrees with them more fully than with the younger German radicals headed by Schmoller.

"There is evidently no intellectual love lost between Wagner and Schmoller. Schmoller is a large man about 50, with flowing beard, grown bald and prematurely gray. His complexion is dark and his eyes small and bright. He wears glasses, speaks with an accent, and is evidently a man of strong prejudices, fearless and sharp in expression of opinion, but a tireless investigator. He strikes me as more of a historian than economist. He conducts the economics seminar every other semester, alternating with Wagner. This semester Schmoller has the seminar, consisting of upward of 40 members, two of whom are American born, representing Harvard and Boston University. The papers presented so far have been indifferent, but the discussion animated and intelligent.

21-041-14

"The difference in general appearance between the Berlin student and his Harvard brother is very marked. The Harvard man affects a slouchy stride, jams his hands in his pockets, dresses well, and yet with a certain conscious carelessness; and would appear as a sort of devil-may-care young fellow, out of swaddling clothes but not yet in straitjacket. The Berlin student affects a strut, never uses his trousers pockets or whistles in public, dresses poorly but with a certain primness of collar, gloves, and cane; and would appear as a young man of intellect, promise, and present importance. A crowd of German students is more picturesque.

"In social life particularism is more marked here than even at Harvard. The simpleton who asks: Well, how about the social life of the Harvard students? should

be questioned in turns: Which Harvard students? So in Berlin. Most of the students have spent their 'kneipe' years elsewhere and come here if not for more serious, at least for a different sort of play. The 'Verbindungen' do not consequently play so much of a role here as elsewhere.

"After so much has been written, most people understand the German student fraternities. They are of two sorts: the Verbindungen and the Vereine. The Verbindungen are in two great divisions: the Verbindungen with affiliate chapters in all universities; under these come the corps, to which formerly only the nobles belonged, but which now differ but little from the other divisions -- the Burschenshaften, the Landsmannschaften, which have the bulk of members. Second, the 'Freie Verbindungen,' which are local societies.

"All the inter-university Verbindungen wear the student caps, a band of three colors across the breast; practice the sham scar duels to a considerable extent, do not wear beards, 'kneipe' together, and address each other by the familiar 'Du' instead of the polite 'Sie.' The objects of the Verbindungen are purely social. They meet at stated times in their 'local', drink beer, and sing, fight, etc. Duelling still goes on -- have recently seen three or four freshly cut cheeks and heads -- but not to a very great extent. I should judge that less than a tenth, possibly less than a twentieth of the members, bear scars. The custom as carried out now is entirely harmless -- more so than the Harvard Dickey initiation, I should say. All the different societies parade slowly in the little square before the University in full regalia. Their number are, however, insignificant -- generally not more than fifty or sixty in all.

"The Vereine are clubs for local social and literary purposes. They wear no caps or only colors on their fob watch chains. There are numerous Vereine in Berlin for all purposes, from philosophy to chess, and from converting the Jews to Alp-climbing. Outside of this, there is also an independent 'student union' of those belonging to no societies.

"The political situation is followed with keen interest by the students, though there is very little outspoken opinion. It is easy to see, that William II is not

41-14B-13

altogether popular among the young men, that many are not averse to coquetting a bit with socialism, and there is a general unrest and dissatisfaction among these future citizens.

"Naturally I am attracted to the socialist movement, but the history of the development of Marxism and of the revisionists like Lasalle, Bernstein and Bakunin was too complicated for a student like myself to understand, who had received no real teaching along this line. I was overwhelmed with rebuttals of Marxism before I understood the original doctrine. Even such great occurrences as the French Commune were minimized by the main history teaching to which I had listened in America. Until the fall of Bismarck in 1890, socialist organization or agitation were illegal in Germany, but the increase of industrial workers had led to a vast scheme of state insurance for accidents, old age relief and the like under Bismarck. In 1891, William II through his new Chancellor Caprivi tried a new social policy which allowed socialists to organize and a new Social Democratic party was beginning to grow rapidly at the time I arrived as a student. I frequently attended their meetings, but my student rank hindered me from that close personal acquaintanceship with workers which I should have had for complete understanding. I did soon realize that the Social Democratic party was the largest in the state, but kept from its rightful representation in the Reichstag by privilege and systematic gerrymandering."

41-14B-14

The pageantry and patriotism of Germany in 1892 astonished me. In New England our patriotism was cool and intellectual. Ours was a great nation and it was our duty to preserve it. We "loved" it but with reason not passion. In the South, Negroes simply did not speak or think of patriotism for the nation which held their fathers in slavery for 250 years. On the other hand we revered rebels like Robert Dale Owen, Henry George or Edward Bellamy. When I heard my German companions sing "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber Alles, ueber Alles in der Welt" I realized that they felt something I had never felt and perhaps never would. The march of soldiers, the saluting of magnificent uniforms, the martial music and rhythm of movement stirred my senses.

Then there was that new, young Emperor, "von Gottes Gnade, deutsche Kaiser, Koenig von Preussen", who led and pin-pointed the pageantry. Ever and again he came

riding ahead of his white and golden troops on prancing chargers through the great Brandenburg gate, up the Linden "With banners gaily flying, with trumpet and with drum!" I thrilled at the sight even though I knew of that shrivelled left arm and of his impossible demand for supreme power. I even trimmed my beard and mustache to a fashion like his and still follow it. If I a stranger was thus influenced, what about the youth of Germany? I began to feel that dichotomy which all my life has characterized my thought: how far can love for my oppressed race accord with love for the oppressing country? And when these loyalties diverge, where shall my soul find refuge?

Germany took up my music and art where Fisk had left me; to religious oratorio was now added opera and symphony, song and sonata. I heard cheaply and often from the balcony seats offered students, the great music of the world: but I heard it in reverse; I heard Wagner before Verdi; I listened to Tannhäuser before "Il Trovatore." Nevertheless my delight in good music was signally increased. Beside the Negro folk songs I could now place "Jetz geh' I' an's Brunelle, trink aber net!"

The many vacations of the academic year I used for trips in Germany and to other parts of Europe; but missing after the Summer in Eisenach, the companionship of close friends, I kept up my older habit of travelling alone.

I had some student companionship in Germany and might easily have had more. I was invited to join a "Gesellschaft" for study of comparative international law; I found there some good companions and we talked and published a set of by-laws. To this we added a song book, to which at unanimous request I added a translation of the then popular "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de ay!" Nevertheless I took my first excursion alone and chose the Hansa cities of north-west Germany. I planned this trip for March, but before leaving there came my twenty-fifth birthday on February twenty-third. I asked in no companions.

It was in the long, dark winter of northern Germany, and while I was comfortable, I felt a little lonesome and far-away from home and boyhood friends. I arose at eight and took coffee and oranges, read letters, thought of my dead parents, and was sorry. The night before I had heard Schubert's beautiful Unfinished Symphony, planned

my celebration and written to Grandma and Mabel and had a curious little ceremony with candles, Greek wine, oil, and song and prayer. ~~Then I dedicated my library to mother.~~ I wandered up to the reading room, then to the art gallery, and finally had a fine dinner with Sonderhof over a bottle of Rudesheimer and cigarettes. Then we went to Potsdam for coffee and saw a pretty girl. We came back to the Seminar, took a walk supped on cocoa, wine, oranges and cake and I came home alone. I had candles in my room on Schoenburger Ufer, and a dedication of my small library to the memory of my mother; and I wrote something rather sentimental about life in general:

"Night -- grand and wonderful. I am glad I am living. I rejoice as a strong man to win a race, and I am strong -- is it egotism -- is it assurance -- or is the silent call of the world spirit that makes me feel that I am royal and that beneath my sceptre a world of kings shall bow. The hot dark blood of a black forefather is beating at my heart, and I know that I am either a genius or a fool. O I wonder what I am -- I wonder what the world is -- I wonder if life is worth the Sturm. I do not know -- perhaps I never shall know: But this I do know: be the Truth what it may I will seek it on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking-- and Heaven nor Hell, God nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die. I will in this second quarter century of my life, enter the dark forest of the unknown world for which I have so many years served my apprenticeship --- in the chart and compass which the world furnishes me I have little faith in -- yet I have nothing better -- I will seek till I find -- and die. There is a grandeur in the very hopelessness of such a life -- Life? And is life all? If I strive, shall I live to strive again? I do not know and in spite of the wild sehnsucht for Eternity that makes my heart sick now and then -- I shut my teeth and say I do not care. Carpe Diem! What is life but life, after all? Its end is its greatest and fullest self -- this end is the Good: the Beautiful is its attribute -- its soul, and Truth is its being. Not three commensurable things are these, they are three dimensions of the cube. Mayhap God is the fourth, but for that very reason he will be incomprehensible. The greatest and fullest life is by definition beautiful, beautiful -- beautiful as a dark passionate woman, beautiful as a golden-hearted

41-143-18

school girl, beautiful as a grey haired hero. That is the dimension of breadth. Then comes Truth -- what is, cold and indisputable: What is height. Now I will, so help my soul, multiply breadth by height, beauty by truth and then goodness, strength shall bind them together into a solid whole. Wherefore? I know not now. Perhaps infinite other dimensions do. This is a wretched figure and yet it roughly represents my attitude toward the world. I am striving to make my life all that life may be -- and I am limiting that strife only in so far as that strife is incompatible with others of my brothers and sisters making their lives similar. The crucial question now is where that limit comes. I am too often puzzled to know. Paul put it as meat-eating, which was asinine. I have put it as the (perhaps) life-ruin of Amalie which is cruel. God knows I am sorely puzzled. I am firmly convinced that my own best development is not one and the same with the best development of the world and here I am willing to sacrifice. That sacrifice to the world's good becomes too soon sickly sentimentality. I therefore take the world that the Unknown lay in my hands and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world ...."

I was considerably alarmed at the end of my second semester toward the middle of the year 1893 when no word arrived as to re-appointment to my fellowship which I had confidently expected. I cabled without success. Finally this rather casual reply came from the President of Johns Hopkins, D.C. Gilman:

"The Slater Trustees have renewed your appointment with the understanding that you should give a note for one half the sum as before. You will presently hear from Mr. Strong representing the Treasurer.

"A telegram was received here May 8th, reading: 'Was Du Bois reappointed?' without signature. I answered it and there came back a dispatch from Berlin, saying that the message was undelivered. I did not repeat the message.

"I shall hope to hear from you after receiving this note, and to have the semi-annual letters in the coming year as in the past."

The Christmas holidays of 1893 I spent in making a trip through south Germany. Three of us visited Weimar, Frankfort, Heidelberg and Mannheim. From Christmas Day

to New Year's we stopped in a little German "Dorf" in the Rheinpfals, where I had an excellent opportunity to study the peasant life closely and compare it with country life in the South. Three of us started out -- a Scotsman, an American and myself. The American was descended from German immigrants to the United States and had relatives in the Rhineland in southwest Germany. We spent Christmas in the village of Gimmeldigen. What a lovely holiday, ~~with tasting of the new wine crop,~~ visiting and feasting among peasant folk who treated me like a prince. We visited perhaps twenty different families, talked, ate and drank new wine with them; listened to their gossip, attended their social assemblies, etc. The bill which my obsequious landlord presented on my departure was about one-tenth of what I expected. We stayed in Neustadt a week, with a family whose dead father had driven the first locomotive into France at the opening of the Franco-German war. The daughter was a fine, homely young woman who did everything to make us comfortable.

41-1418-20

We then went to Strassburg, Stuttgart, Ulm, Muenchen, Nuernberg, Prague and Dresden. In those places we stayed from one to five days following our Baedekers closely and paying much attention to the Muenchen and Dresden art galleries. The whole trip cost me about eighty dollars. We parted from our American: he was a good-hearted but rather vulgar man, with an education that left no visible results. John Dollar my British companion and I got on famously together because we were so opposite in temperament. He was coldly and conventionally British in dress and speech. He paraded more than he walked, hated Catholic priests for no reason which he ever stated and was constitutionally afraid of women. With this went a strange simplicity and deep sympathy with human suffering. Later we decided to go down to Italy; to Genoa, Rome and Naples and then over to Venice and Vienna and Budapest. On this trip we used German instead of English because as Dollar assured me it would be much cheaper. He was quite right. We went over the vast barrier of the Alps gazing up on its heaven of snow and sky and then down on the incomparable beauty of the Italian lakes.

These were troubled days all over Europe. Switzerland was following Socialism by adopting social insurance and was on the brink of buying up her railroads.

Humbert I and Leo XIII were at loggerheads over papal territority in Italy. Crispi had risen, fallen and come back to power, and was now heading for the fatal Ethiopian war of 1896. We went to Genoa and Turin; to Florence, Rome and Naples. I saw for the first time some of the world's great sculpture and painting; its historical monuments; I sensed the [illegible] difficulties between France and Italy when Dollar and I, mistaken for Frenchmen were stoned by youth in the Roman forum. We lived cheaply and fared bountifully. We saw Naples, free, lovely and dirty, in all the gay abandon of the fin-de-siecle. It was a great and inspiring trip. We turned back north and saw Venice with its doves and the Palace of the Doges, and then went north east to Vienna.

41-148-21

This was Vienna in its glory, not at its height but still magnificamt. I remember the great Opera house and the way men stood in their seats and looked the audience over; the leisurely way in which we all promenaded in the wide and long halls and lunched at will; and then the finely conducted music and acting. It was one of the world's greatest and most influential cities. Here Dollar left me. I do not think he liked Austria as much as Rome and also his engagements called him.

As for me I had further scenes to examine. While at Berlin, I found myself once explaining to a schoolmate, Stanislaus Ritter von Estreicher, the race problem in America. He was not as impressed as I thought he should be. He said, "I understand only too well; but you should see the race antagonism in my home. Come to Krakow and see the clash of German and Pole!" I promised that I would visit him when near. So now I travelled alone into Hungary, with the object of turning north through Slovenia and over the Tatra mountains into Poland. It was a journey with a hint of adventure and with a far-off likeness to my American South.

In Budapest I was struck by the hostility to German Austria. This was four years after the suicide of Crown Prince Rudolf at Meyerling. Taafe was prime minister and had sought to placate the rising Hungarian drive to greater independence by grant of manhood suffrage. But the Hungarians were asserting their desire for independence. In the post office, they pretended not to understand German even when I tried to buy stamps. It would be the very next year that Kossuth was to

die in Italy and increase the demand for Hungarian independence from Austria.

I fared north over that great plain along which the Magyars came west a thousand years before. I had glimpses of Hungary as I travelled slowly by third-class railway coach, stopping to spend a night here and there. A Hungarian peasant wrote later of conditions in Hungary at the time: "Come with me in the Spring and hoe for sixteen hours for twelve cents a day; eat dry bread and rotten bacon, sleep in a hole dug with his own hoe for six hours. We work even longer in summer. On the putszas four families, 20 to 25 people, live in one room. I have seen men collapsing on the street from starvation. Such things are not exactly calculated to make one enthusiastic about the Fatherland. Do our lords think we shall starve to death without a word?"

J-1-148-22

All this I did not actually see, but I heard its echoes; my dark face elicited none of the curiosity which it had in blonde north Germany, for there were too many dark Gypsies and other brunettes. I saw poverty and despair. I was several times mistaken for a Jew; arriving one night in a town of north Slovenia, the driver of a rickety cab whispered in my ear, "Unter die Juden?" I stared and then said yes. I stayed in a little Jewish inn. I was a little frightened as in the gathering twilight I traversed the foothills of the dark Tatras alone and on foot. I crossed into Poland and stopped to go down into the salt mines of Wielitza.

Finally I came to Krakow and my friend. It was an interesting visit and an old tale. Tyranny in school and work; insult in home and on the street. Of course here, in contrast to America, there were the privileged Poles who escaped personal insult; there was the aristocracy who had some recognized rights. The whole mass of the oppressed were not reduced to one level; nevertheless the degradation was only too familiar. The venerable librarian of the university treated me to Polish "schnapps" which nearly choked me. The family made me most welcome. I never saw my schoolmate again, but I heard later that in the First World War, the Germans tried to make him a Quisling for them. In 1940, von Estreicher died in a German concentration camp, after he had refused to be one of German's puppet rulers of Poland.

I came back to Berlin by way of Prague and Dresden and started my third and final

semester. Schmoller wanted to present me for my doctorate, despite the fact that I had not finished the "triennium" required in a German University and my work at Harvard was not recognized. The faculty was willing in my case but was restrained by the professor of English who threatened to push the similar claims of several Britishers. I therefore regretfully had to forego the chance of a German doctorate and wait for the degree from Harvard.

4/14/B-23

As a farewell to Germany, I made the Hartzreise in the spring of 1894. Again I went alone, but with my now familiar German and wide experience of travel, I felt at home. I kept no diary of this trip, but started west from Berlin to Magdeburg and Halberstadt in Saxony. I passed the splendid seat of the Prince zu Steinberg-Wernigerhode. Then I climbed to the Brocken and lived Walpurgis night again. I forded streams and climbed mountains until in full darkness I came to an old inn. ~~Back at the inn~~ I ordered beer and kalbsbratten and dined alone. This was my perfect farewell to a Germany which no longer exists.

I stayed in Europe as long as the last penny allowed -- eager for work and home and yet reluctant. My old pal Dollar wrote me from England and we planned to meet in London before I left for America.

I now turned home. If I had spent a fourth semester at Berlin, that would not only exceeded my funds covering two years of work but also have taken me up to Christmas and make the securing of work in America for the next year unlikely. A better alternative occurred to me and that was to spend the Spring in France. The years of preparation were over and life was to begin. I computed my balance of funds carefully. I could go first class to London, spend a short time with my friend Dollar and then take first class cabin accomodations to the United States. Or by carefully husbanding my funds, riding third class on railways and returning steerage to New York I could spend a month or more in France. My earlier idea had been to spend a year in Germany and a year in France in graduate study; but I had to choose between a more complete German experience and two incomplete glimpses of both countries. So I spent nearly all my time in Germany. But here at the end was an opportunity at least to have a glimpse of France and then rough it home. Of course

if I had intimated my need for further funds to Dollar he would have been willing and able to make me a loan. But here my New England frugality stopped me. I already was in debt for my half of my fellowships; I had no job; and I had lived well enough in Europe to endure for a week, the experience of immigrants to America. Even they on arrival might easily have a better chance for life than I in my own country.

I went to France and saw Paris; wandered wide and deep and made my French fairly understandable. I sensed the everlasting lure of Paris, three years after the suicide of Boulanger and the year of the final completion of the Franco-Russian alliance. It was also the year President Carnot was assassinated and Dreyfus condemned for treason. But these events gained only my passing attention. I was fascinated by the glory of French culture in painting, sculpture, architecture and historical monument. I saw Sarah Bernhardt; I haunted the Louvre.

In June I met my friend Dollar in London for a few days of a last farewell. Dollar, dear old boy, hadn't the slightest idea that I was going steerage and prattled finely about "selecting a cabin" and all that. We wandered about the depot, watching the crowds, edified by Dollar's explanation of the station until finally I entered the carriage, bade my good friend adieu and rattled off.

We stopped at Southhampton in a sort of flurry, nobody not even the guards seeming to know what we were to do next. As we stood helplessly on the platform the guard suddenly screamed "2nd cabin passengers this way" and left us steerage people alone. Finally they called us and grabbing our luggage we followed our guide who led us thru' the streets in one long line to a small brick shed about a mile off, where we deposited our baggage in the ante-room and entered. Within the walls were white-washed bricks, the ceiling wooden and iron and wooden columns in the center. At one end there was an alcove where several cooks were busy and distributed thru' the room were long wooden tables and benches on which not over clean tablecloths were spread. It was a most miscellaneous crowd: men, women, children, girls, husbands, wives,- and as I should judge about an even mixture of honest people and rascals. Let me describe some types about me: opposite me a good-natured, honest,

41-148.24

red-bearded Englishman, well-dressed -- paper collar, silver ring, etc. Tells me he's been in America before and talks sensibly. Beside me a short bull-necked candidate for states prison, drunk and sleeping with his head on the table; on the other side an ill-smelling old man with chin beard, goodnatured and a bit stupid. Yonder is a tall girl -- rather good looking, a bit tawdrily dressed -- afraid for her future. There is a motherly old lady in black with a look of sorrow on her face -- poor thing. They're eating now -- grabbing things and swilling tea.

Well there we sat in this great bare room that whole afternoon: the ship would not sail till the morrow and we must of course sleep there unless as the steward gently hinted, we went to a hotel. By careful maneuvering I secured a doorless compartment alone and an ill-smelling bunk. A rather restless night it was however-- the smell, the noise of the drunken roisterers and the thoughts of the wild trip I was about to take. Two of the roisterers came staggering in about midnight, mistook my compartment for theirs, staggered about, guffawed, hiccoughed and joked and at last managed to tumble to their own bed. Then I was waked again by one of them crawling thru' the hall on his knees with a lighted match, seeking a penny he'd dropped -- not exactly a comfort giving exhibition in a dry, wooden hovel. Finally my troubled morning dreams were mingled with the stench of the beer which his poor stomach refused longer to hold. This was too much -- I could not eat breakfast but rushed out of the fetid atmosphere of the crowded hall into the wet misty atmosphere of Southhampton. It was early Sunday morning and all shops were closed -- oh what a dreary lonesome feeling that was. At last I bought an indifferent breakfast for 10 pence and then returned to the "barracks" to find that we would not sail before afternoon. In despair I started off again and succeeded in finding a more interesting wandering. Southhampton is in many respects a fine old town with its historic gates and old bits of town wall and I enjoyed this all thoroughly. Finally I returned to dinner -- a jam and a crowd in which I joined with loathing. Then came a baggage van and away we straggled to the quay amid the undisguised amusement of the inhabitants -- and it was a picturesque and laughable crowd -- young and old -- lame and well -- rags and fine clothes -- Jew and gentile, Russians, English, Americans, Negroes, Poles

41-148-25

Germans, French, Greeks, Austrians -- all running and waddling along. Ah -- it was funny and yet sad -- this great stream of hopes and longing -- of disappointment and sorrow, of happiness and crime about to turn itself into Americans. At the quay we were hemmed in by ropes for about a half or three-quarters of an hour and a big red tag with the stamps of the U.S. Consul attached to our bags certifying that he had inspected us -- which was of course a lie. Finally we showed our tickets and came on board. In a few minutes, the two tugs started with us in tow and we had embarked.

I'm not myself of the seasick getting kind but I must confess that the next morning as I felt the ship rising and fading away under my feet and rolling from side to side with something more than ordinary enthusiasm -- I felt a certain settled melancholy which compelled me to confine my first breakfast to an orange and rush in rather undignified haste from the dark dungeons below onto the wet and dirty deck. I was not sicker than this -- missed no meals and gave up no further offering to the sea; but it was a trying time . The sea was very choppy even a bit stormy. Then in addition to that, the filth and nastiness of the people about me, the small amount of deck room -- that was enough to cause the stoutest stomach to revolt, even on land. And the people were sick -- oh so sick, it was pitiable to see them and yet at the same time so laughable. In spite of the efforts of the crew it was well nigh impossible to keep the deck clean, everywhere lay unsightly messes -- as one fellow said as I told of the good dinner we'd had:"Yes, I saw a lot of it up on deck." One can hardly realize how sick it's possible to get. Some of the pale, drawn faces looked quite deathlike and the whole tone of melancholly hopelessness that pervaded the crowd was most remarkable. Some made no attempt at first to come on deck and after a few days I was continually surprised by the appearance of new faces which until then had lain low in the cabins below. Such a sort of universal sickness, however, is a strange opportunity to view human character: these 350 human beings so accidentally thrown together learned to know each other first amid pain and suffering and the little friendships made there, the little deeds good and bad, sank deeper into their souls than usual. It is perhaps this circumstance that gives a sea voyage its most peculiar flavor.

41-146-26

On this our floating island the world is much simpler than usual. First it consists of us and the trembling world of cabins, decks, masts and chimneys. Then there is a great circle of dark blue waters stretching away, away evenly in a circle until meeting with the sky in the dim and misty distance it becomes one with the sky world and its clouds and pale day moon. Our ship is a fairly large one not very swift and a bit old -- the "Chester" of the American line with, all told, some 800 souls aboard. My first work in the morning is to get a slight bath -- a thing of no ordinary difficulty for steerage passengers. I generally get up on deck a bit early. A bell rings and I hasten down two rickety pairs of steep stairs -- that is two stories below the deck where our cabins are. This is a long room -- perhaps (SP) (15 YARDS) long and as wide as the ship. The sides are taken up with the bunks leaving a space perhaps 15 feet in the middle through which a long narrow table of plain boards runs lengthwise. Beside this are narrow stationary seats without backs. The whole room is lighted by only a half dozen small port holes and kerosene lamps giving it a rather gloomy appearance. It is fairly well ventilated, considering its depth below the world. We range ourselves by the tables each bringing the utensils delivered to him by the steward at the beginning of the trip -- a tin plate, cup and spoon, and a knife and fork. The breakfast consists of rather poor coffee (with milk and molasses already in) plenty of good bread and fair butter, and good porridge or stew: a breakfast in which in spite of the noise, the broad talk and the very primitive table manners of my neighbors, I generally enjoy. The next duty is to wash your own dishes for which a can for slops and a can of hot water is provided -- the dish cloth being furnished by the passenger. As usual, some omit even this bit of trouble and have apparently not washed their plates since starting.

There are two fullblooded Negroes aboard and (including myself) three mulattoes. We do not go together -- indeed have not all spoken together, but I think all have had a pleasant voyage with little cause to complain of any prejudice. Of course we awakened more or less curiosity with some and I fancy something of dislike in others. Yet I find us all talking to the women and one, especially from his good heartedness

seems a general favorite; in fine in a gradual line of individuals here the Blacks would by no means stand at the bottom of the row. What I notice in all of the passengers is their good-heartedness -- their straight-forwardness. There is not a trace of deception and desire to injure or envy others traceable. A people with such hearts do not deserve annihilation. Society: What happens when 350 people of the lower classes are for nine days thrown together with very little outside government? The answer to this can be seen on this voyage and is most interesting. We have here of course all grades of society but a majority of what must be called lower. Yet I think that the better classes here, the better and more orderly elements though scarcely greater in numbers has been distinctly more influential. The experience has proven in a degree what I have always thought, that the number of "estates" becomes unlimited in a sense. One can scarcely bring any sort of a crowd of people together without finding a large number of distinct classes. Then again the number of estates is quite limited, for the several classes have developed differences here in no great degree different from the classes elsewhere in the world -- it is the same old strife of finer souls against brutality.

41-1413-28

We have of course strange divisions here: that of education, of course, that of wealth, that of life object, that of nation, and that of language and that of color. There is here a great number of half educated men -- men who for lack of opportunity or perseverance have but tasted the beginnings of life. They are, when not dogmatic and conceited, most interesting men and in all cases studies in human nature. They are often compounded of opposites, an intellectual acumen and desire to learn with low habits and even brutality; then again there are embryonic cranks.

After a week we began to become tired and uneasy. We wanted Life to end and begin. A new land loomed there beyond the horizon and we began searching the skies. I who was born there was also approaching something new and untried after twenty-four years of preparation. At last it loomed on the morning when we saw the Statue of Liberty. I know not what multitide of emotions surged in the others, but I had to recall that mischievous little French girl whose eyes twinkled as she said: "Oh yes the Statue of Liberty! With its back toward America, and its face toward France!"

CHAPTER XI

WILBERFORCE

As a student in Germany, I builded great castles in Spain and lived therein. I dreamed and loved and wandered and sang; then after two long years I dropped suddenly back into "nigger"-hating America!

My Days of Disillusion which followed were not disappointing enough to discourage me. I was still upheld by that fund of infinite faith, although dimly about me I saw the shadow of disaster. I began to realize how much of what I had called Will and Ability was sheer Luck! Suppose my good Mother had preferred a steady income from my child labor rather than bank on the precarious dividend of my higher training? Suppose that pompous old village judge, whose dignity we often ruffled and whose apples we stole, had had his way and sent me while a child to a "reform" school to learn a "trade": Suppose Principal Hosmer had been born with no faith in "darkies," and instead of sending me to college had had me taught carpentry and the making of tin pans? Suppose I had missed a Harvard scholarship? Suppose the Slater Board had then, as now, distinct ideas as to where the education of Negroes should stop? Suppose and suppose! As I sat down calmly on flat earth and looked at my life a certain great fear seized me. Was I the masterful captain or the pawn of laughing sprites? Who was I to fight a world of color prejudice? I raise my hat to myself when I remember that, even with these thoughts, I did not hesitate or waver; but just went doggedly to work, and therein lay whatever salvation I have achieved.

41-148.29 x

I returned to the United States at twenty-six years of age and after twenty years of study to look for a job and begin work. I wrote my friend Dollar in London:

"You know I landed in New York in June, 1924 with $2 plus my fare home up in Berkshire. It was not altogether a happy homecoming -- it was too much of a disillusionment after months of picturesque German gutturals, days of sunny skies, and

weeks of dirty mighty Rome. I felt as though the bottom of the universe was loose and might go down if after all this soaring I stepped full feet upon it. And I must step, walk, stumble and climb now; for the lehr[redacted] jahre were passed -- I fancied -- and the meister jahre begun."

It was a disturbed world in which I landed; 1892 saw the high tide of lynching in the United States; Cleveland had entered his second term in 1893 and the Chicago Exposition had taken place. The Dreyfus case had opened in France with his conviction and imprisonment, and he was destined for twelve years to suffer martyrdom. The war between China and Japan broke out the year of my return. I had rejoiced in the million dollar gift of Daniel Hand for education in my graduation year but recognized clearly the blow that democracy received when Congress repealed the so-called Force bills in 1894, refusing longer even to try to protect the legal citizenship rights of Negroes. But on the other hand, I did not at all understand the implications of the Matabele War in 1893. I did not see how the gold and diamonds of South Africa and later the copper, ivory, cocoa, tin and vegetable oils of other parts of Africa and especially the black labor force were determining and conditioning the political action of Europe.

41-148-30

First came the task of earning a living. I was not nice nor hard to please. I just got down on my knees and begged for work, anything and anywhere. I began a systematic mail campaign. I wrote to no white institution, -- I knew there were no openings there. I wrote one colored public school in East Tennessee, not far from where I had taught school. The board hesitated, but finally indicated that I had rather too much education for their use. I applied to Howard University, Hampton Institute, Tuskegee Institute and my own Fisk. They had no openings.

So I sat down and wrote more letters -- let's see: "President of so and so college: Sir: I am a Negro, 27 years of age, educated in the public schools of Massachusetts, at Fisk University, Nashville and Harvard University, where I took the

degrees of A.B. and A.M. I wish to teach next year. Have you a vacancy, etc." I wrote so many that I scarcely remember where. The hot months rolled by and answers came slowly -- brief no's, polite regrets, general disclaimers and one or two vague notes with dubious hopes. The editors notwithstanding, no college man expects the gates of the wide world to fly open before him 'with impetuous recoil' and yet I say it wasn't too much for a colored man with a Harvard A.M. to expect a bread and butter job -- was it?

At last a few offers came. The first was a telegram from Wilberforce University, a colored church school in Ohio, "Our chair of classics $800 is yours. Wire acceptance. Come next week." I immediately accepted with gratitude. Later there was Lincoln Institute, a state colored school out in Missouri, that offered $1,050 for a teacher of "classics and mathematics." I refused since I had accepted Wilberforce. I knew something about Wilberforce; it was venerable and well known. Finally, August 25, I received a telegram: "Can give mathematics if terms suit. Will you accept. Booker T. Washington." It would be interesting to speculate just what would have happened, if I had received the offer of Tuskegee first, instead of that of Wilberforce.

So, late in hot August, I started for Wilberforce. Life was now begun and I was half happy. Up through the Berkshire Valley with its quiet beauty, then across New York I glided, wrapped in dreams. The lights of Buffalo bade me good-night, and half asleep, I drifted across Ohio.

The depot at Xenia was small and "busy" with a slight admixture of dirt and tobacco juice which was unpleasant. I telephoned to Wilberforce. Then I waited an hour. Finally the President entered the waiting room. I shall never forget that man. He had by long odds the prettiest smile of any man I ever saw -- so quiet and charming. All I remember now of that first meeting is the vision of that smile softly entering the waiting room and remember too that it was borne on two short and rather disreputable looking bowlegs.

Wilberforce was a small colored denominational college married to a state normal school. The church was too poor to run the college; the State tolerated the normal school so as to keep Negroes out of other state schools. Consequently, there were enormous difficulties in both church and state politics. This I soon realized. I had been hired to teach "Latin and Greek." They were not my specialty and despite years spent in their study I really knew far too little to teach them. But I had assumed that I was to assist Professor Scarborough, a well-known Negro scholar long working at Wilberforce. To my amazement I found that I was to replace him, since in a quarrel between him and the President, he had been ousted and I had been advertised as a learned professor just from Germany. This was my introduction to Church politics. I did not like it but the name of Wilberforce lured me.

The breath of it had swept the water and dropped into southern Ohio, where white Southerners had once taken their cure at Tawawa Springs and where white Methodists later planted a school. Then came the little bishop, Daniel Payne, a Negro, who bought it and made it a school of the African Methodists.

Into this situation I landed with the cane and gloves of my German student days; with my rather inflated ideas of what a "university" ought to be and with a terrible plainness of speech that was continually getting me into difficulty; as when, for instance, the student leader of a prayer meeting into which I had wandered casually to look local religion over, suddenly and without warning announced that "Professor Du Bois will lead us in prayer," I simply answered, "No, he won't," and as a result nearly lost my new job. It took a great deal of explaining to the board of bishops why a professor in Wilberforce should not be able at all times and sundry to address God in extemporaneous prayer. I was saved only by the fact that my coming to Wilberforce had been widely advertised and I was willing to do endless work when the work seemed to me worth doing.

41-1418-32

I went to Wilberforce with high ideals. I wanted to help build a great university. I was willing to work night as well as day and taught full time. I helped in student discipline, took part in the social life, and began to write books. But I found myself against a stone wall. Nothing stirred before my impatient pounding! Or if it stirred, it soon slept again.

The African Methodist Church was the greatest social institution of American Negroes. Wilberforce was its largest school. This school therefore became the capital of a nation-wide institution. Its large body of trustees were interested in the church organization, not in the college. The bishops and would-be bishops gathered here in force on each commencement where elders and ministers waylaid them in long conferences. The teachers also found it expedient to make powerful acquaintances at these occasions; but I in my independence met no one but walked off into the woods as the hosts talked.

But I worked hard and this most students and many teachers liked. My program for the day at Wilberforce looked almost as long as a week's program now. I taught Latin, Greek, German, and English, and wanted to add sociology. I had charge of some of the most unpleasant duties of discipline and had outside work in investigation. I met and made many friends: Charles Young, a Negro soldier not long graduated from West Point, was one; he was serving as military instructor here for the Federal government. He and I both refused to attend the annual "revivals" of religion which interrupted school work every year at Christmas time. We both dreamed of a great future for this Negro school. Later Young fought in Mexico against Villa. He ranked first for a generalship in the army when the First World War opened, but was deftly shoved aside. He accepted duty later in Nigeria, West Africa, and died deliberately of black water fever. There was also at Wilberforce a student, Charles Burroughs, a gifted reader, who was in my classes; Paul Laurence Dunbar

41-1418-33

came over from Dayton and read to us. I had known his work but was astonished to find that he was a Negro. And not least, I met the slender, quiet, and dark-eyed girl Nina Gomer who became Mrs. Du Bois in 1896. Her father was chef in the leading hotel of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and her dead mother a native of Alsace.

In May, 1896, I was not only in love with a beautiful girl, but also had carefully calculated that (A) I should marry before thirty, and that (B) my salary of $800 was sufficient for two -- if paid. They had an irritating way at Wilberforce in those days of not paying salaries very promptly. Indeed this nearly ruined my plans. It was May 1, I was penniless and my bride was awaiting me in Iowa. The treasurer was about to leave for General Conference where he had more weighty matters to discuss than teachers' salaries. I waylaid him and firmly persuaded him that until my salary due was paid, he was unlikely to see General Conference. He agreed and on May 12, I arrived in Cedar Rapids.

41-148 34

I went to a little white cottage and met a tall, heavy father, a young step-mother and a shy fat little sister. A benevolent white minister married us, and after inarticulate greetings, we rushed to the Chicago train and next day were back at Wilberforce with a very tired young bride. There was a reception with hilarious students, critical teachers, and good town folk. I had furnished a two-room apartment in the men's dormitory; a bedroom on the west looking down on the ravine and across the hall a sitting-room which I remember chiefly because of a gorgeous crimson couch-cover which I had bought of Carson-Pirie in Chicago by mail order.

Probably Wilberforce was about the least likely of all Negro colleges to adopt me and my program. First of all I was cocky and self-satisfied; I doubtless strutted and I certainly knew what I wanted. My redeeming feature was infinite capacity for work and terrible earnestness, with appalling and tactless frankness. But not all was discouragement and frustration at Wilberforce. Of importance that exceeded everything, was the group of students whom I met and taught. Most of the student body was in high school grades and poorly equipped for study. But filtering into the small college department were a few men and women of first-class intelli-

gence, able and eager to work. As working companions, we made excursions into Greek literature; I gathered a class in German which talked German from the first day; I guided the writing of English themes and did a bit of modern history. Try as I might, however, the institution would have no sociology, even though I offered to teach it on my own time.

I tried various other lines of effort: there was for instance a beautiful ravine where a stream of water flowing through the campus rolled and slithered down to a wide green meadow amid trees, vines, and boulders. On the campus above stood Shorter Hall, named after a dead bishop whose middle-aged son was a professor of mathematics; a good-hearted, irascible man, combined of orthodox religion and wrath for students who couldn't count. In the wing of Shorter Hall, next the ravine, was the library; or rather a few piles of old books which I had arranged to drag down from the attic and planned in this big empty room a real library and reading room for students and teachers. Hitherto the only library facilities were in that upper attic where Professor Scott might admit you with his key, if perchance he could spare time from his chemistry. Remember the libraries at Harvard and Berlin which I had used! And even that at Fisk! I was determined to have a library. But there was no money. There was never money for anything. Then I had an idea: there were my students, boys and girls, with [redacted]a talent in voice and action. There was the divine ravine: why not give "A Midsummer Night's Dream" in that rare bit of wood and foliage? The campus went quite wild over the proposal. It could be given in the Spring just after Commencement. It need not cost much. The whole county would visit it. We began to study the text, plan the scenes, and choose the players. I began to see this play as the greatest course in education of the whole year, of many years gone.

Then came the catastrophe: we heard that Ben Arnett had been appointed Professor of Literature for the year beginning with Commencement. We laid down our text; we

turned our backs on the lush ravine; the waters trickled in vain and the students wandered disconsolately. We teachers began to fight: we wrote, we visited, we held meetings; we stormed through the campus; we faced the bishop. And to understand all this, one must know the Bishopric of the great African Methodist Church.

It was a hierarchy of the conventional type and yet more and different. I knew a dozen of these bishops and a more varied and impressive, a more astonishing body of men I never met. Bishop Payne died the year before I arrived at Wilberforce. He was a man of tremendous character, a Man of God, if such there ever was. Tiny in figure, soft in voice, he thundered through this widespread mass of black folk like a prophet. He made them buy Wilberforce when they had nothing and knew little; he arranged the grounds, gathered the first teachers, and husbanded the pennies. He enforced discipline in the church, he traveled, he preached until his name was known from Carolina to the Rockies. Then he died, but his soul lived on.

41-148-34

Among his successors was Benjamin Arnett, the presiding Bishop over Wilberforce when I arrived; and what Arnett said, went. He was a thick-set man with a sharp, dark face, a blazing eye, and a rare smile and a will to do. With little literary ability, he established a sort of school of literature, bringing together and reprinting [redacted] hundreds of books, pamphlets, and scraps of the writings of American Negro literature. He was a power in Ohio politics. He distributed offices in the church and settled the appointment of teachers at Wilberforce. My own appointment must have had his consent, perhaps even his advocacy, else I would not have been at Wilberforce. He lived in a lovely old home bowered by oaks and there he was handicapped by his family. His oldest son, named after him, was not a complete devil, but he certainly was not fitted to teach youth at Wilberforce. Yet at the end of my first year, the Bishop thrust him down our throats without even the courtesy of a notice; and we raised Hell without stopping to consider what opposition to Bishop

Arnett meant. As a body we refused to teach with Ben Arnett.

We won. Young Ben Arnett never became professor at Wilberforce. But of course the Bishop won too. He held power for life and no one stayed at Wilberforce long when he did not like him. Under my impetuous and uncurbed assault, the Bishop had to bend, but I knew well that my days at Wilberforce were numbered. The ravine with its vines and shrubbery, its singing waters and all its faerie, slept long in peace until twenty-five years later it was buried beneath a culvert of stone and its voice stilled forever.

As I realized that none of my dreams would be realized at Wilberforce, I knew all the sadness of a spent dream. Wilberforce was near the center of the Negro population of the nation. We drew students from New Orleans and New York; from the Atlantic and the Pacific. We escaped the "Jim-Crow" of the slave South and the ostracism of the cold North. The college was poor and neglected and yet the Church which owned it and whose prized child it was, formed a marvellous human institution. Its leaders were of every sort: selfless saints like Payne, Lee, and William Mitchell; ruthless politicians like Arnett; scoundrels like Derrick; and charging bulls like Turner. With high ideals and brute force they rolled and jammed this mass of men and women forward and together until they became a force in the whole nation. Suppose I had had the cunning to help harness and guide this superhuman energy, what could I not have helped to turn it into? Not into a University, certainly, such as I dreamed, but perhaps into something greater. But no, I did not have ability of that sort, nor will to dream of it. And so I turned away, or, rather, I was turned toward other and different goals.

I left one curious and subtle complication spun in the subtle brain of that President Mitchell of whom I have spoken. Wilberforce, as I said, lacked funds. There was no visible source of Negro income large enough to support a college.

41-148-37

The members of the church were fighting desperately for food and clothes. Their labor was being exploited to the last dime by every white American who had a chance or could steal it. President Mitchell found himself always in a financial hole and he eyed the coffers of the State of Ohio, as many before and since had done. Miss Bierce carried on certain classes in teaching. She was a stern, accurate white daughter of the Western Reserve, severe and devoted to her work. When these normal classes threatened to cease because of lack of funds, the President suggested that he and Miss Bierce ask the state teaching authorities for a little help, since the state so needed teachers for its colored children. These students had a right to attend the white schools but they seldom did. The State helped. Opponents pointed out that the State had no right to support a colored State institution, but the President was ready. He and Arnett induced the Legislature to establish "a combined Normal and Industrial Department at Wilberforce University." The witchery in this wording lay in "Industrial" which lured the support of the followers of the rising Booker T. Washington; and also in that little word "at" which made this University a department not "of" Wilberforce, but "at" Wilberforce. This appropriation grew yearly until by 1900, two-thirds of the cost of Wilberforce was borne by the State. Finally, in 1942, the State set up its own college and Wilberforce again tried indifferently to stand alone.

41-148-38

Probably, looking back after the event, I have rationalized my life into a planned, coherent unity which was not as true to fact as it now seems; probably there were hesitancies, gropings, and half-essayed bypaths, now forgotten or unconsciously ignored. But my first quarter-century of life seems to me at this distance as singularly well-aimed at a certain goal, along a clearly planned path. I returned ready and eager to begin a life-work, leading to the emancipation of the American Negro. History and the other social sciences were to be my weapons, to be sharpened and applied by research and writing. Where and how, was the question in 1895. I became uneasy about my life program. I had published my first book, but I was doing nothing directly in the social sciences and saw no immediate prospect. Then the door

of opportunity opened: just a crack, to be sure, but a distinct opening.

When a temporary appointment came from the University of Pennsylvania for one year as "assistant instructor" at $900, I accepted forthwith in the fall of 1896; that year Abyssinia vanquished Italy; and England, suddenly seeing two black nations threatening her Cape to Cairo plans, threw her army back into the Sudan and recaptured Khartoum. The next year the free silver controversy of Bryan and McKinley flamed in America.

First, then, in 1896, I married -- a slip of a girl, beautifully dark-eyed and thorough and good as her mother, a German housewife. Then I accepted a job to make a study of Negroes in Philadelphia for the University of Pennsylvania -- one year at $900. How did I dare these two things? I do not know. Yet they spelled salvation. To remain at Wilberforce without doing my ideals meant spiritual death. Both my wife and I were homeless. I dared a home and a temporary job. But it was a different daring from the days of my first youth. I was ready to admit that the best of men might fail. I meant still to be captain of my soul, but I realized that even captains are not omnipotent in uncharted and angry seas.

VI-14B-39

CHAPTER XII

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

In the Fall of 1896, I went to the University of Pennsylvania as "Assistant Instructor" in Sociology. It all happened this way: Philadelphia, then and still one of the worst governed of America's badly governed cities, was having one of its periodic spasms of reform. A thorough study of causes was called for. Not but what the underlying cause was evident to most white Philadelphians: the corrupt, semi-criminal vote of the Negro Seventh Ward. Everyone agreed that here lay the cancer; but would it not be well to give scientific sanction to the known causes by an investigation, with imprimatur of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

If Lindsay had been a smaller man and had been induced to follow the usual American pattern of treating Negroes, he would have asked me to assist him as his clerk in this study. Probably I would have accepted having nothing better in sight for work in sociology. But Lindsay regarded me as a scholar in my own right and probably proposed to make me an instructor. Evidently the faculty demurred at having a colored instructor. But since I had a Harvard Ph.D., and had published a recognized work in history, the University could hardly offer me a fellowship. A compromise was hit on and I was nominated to the unusual status of "assistant" instructor. Even at that there must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $900 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, no official recognition of any kind; my name was eventually omitted from the catalogue; I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my own department. I did not hesitate an instant but reported for duty with a complete plan of work and outline of methods and aims and even proposed schedules to be filled out. My general plan was

promptly accepted and I started to work, consulting Lindsay regularly but never meeting the faculty. With my bride of three months, I settled in one room in the city over a cafeteria run by a College Settlement, in the worst part of the Seventh Ward. We lived there a year, in the midst of an atmosphere of dirt, drunkenness, poverty, and crime. Murder sat on our doorsteps, police were our government, and philanthropy dropped in with periodic advice.

The world seized and whirled me. I hardly know what was important -- what negligible; somehow I remember life, curiously enough, chiefly as a succession of homes: the settlement at Philadelphia at Seventh and Lombard in the slums where kids played intriguing games like "cops and Lady Bums"; and where in the night when pistols popped, you didn't get up lest you find you couldn't.

41-148-41

I wrote of my first Christmas in Philadelphia:

"We haven't been married long enough to escape the condescending smiles of our neighbors, and yet we feel quite like old married folks. This is our first Christmas and wife thinks we owe to the public to tell just how merry it has been. It began some days ago when wife asked me cautiously how much we could afford to spend for Christmas. I sat down and figured carefully: for there was the sewing machine to pay for out of this month's salary, and doctor's bill, and one other debt -- an old family friend. I finally evolved a surplus of $10.56, and told wife that we could spend five dollars apiece for the holidays. She was perfectly happy, and after some hours of calculating sallied forth to Wanamaker's.

"The next week was filled with shopping and bookkeeping; one would have thought we were spending hundreds of dollars. Wife consulted me religiously on many points, however, both of us maintained a jolly silence. Tuesday we both went down South Street to the Second Street market, and bought two wreaths, a cross, and a fifteen-cent Christmas tree. Wife was somewhat alarmed at first at the prospect of a Christmas tree in our snug little room, but when it was safely ensconced in a corner on the machine, with tinsel, fruit, and cotton snow, she

was quite delighted.

"Christmas Eve found our little gift-packages mailed, the tree glowing and both our empty stockings hung beside it. I had secreted a dainty silk umbrella under the lounge, and I knew that other corners of the room held secrets -- the question being how to get them into the stockings.

"About eight in the evening we sallied out into the crisp air and hurried down to the Mission, where the folks had a tree for the little ones. How much happiness can be packed within four walls! The children were boisterous, rude, and noisy, but so brimming over with pleasure that it did one good to see them. Once at home again and with a last look at our own little tree, we were soon snug in bed, and the thought of the hidden umbrella alone kept me awake. I had almost despaired of getting it into the stocking, when the regular breathing of my wife told me that she had fallen asleep in spite of herself. I carefully slipped from bed, listened, crawled across the floor, listened again, and at last slipped the umbrella into wife's stocking; in a minute more I had chuckled myself to sleep. I was dreaming that I held a professorship that paid $1500 a year -- when suddenly I awoke with a start. Wife hasn't forgiven me yet for awaking so inopportunely, and if I had known the situation before I awoke, I would have stayed asleep. As it was I awoke and caught wife in her little white gown secreting bundles in and about my sock. I laughed, then kept as quiet as I could, and wife didn't say a word.

"Christmas day came with laughing over the night's adventure, the revealing of hiding places and enjoyment of the umbrella, suspenders, and neckties. At three came a cozy dinner with a little brown chicken and bills-of fare w[illegible] on old visiting cards. Finally the whole day melted away in misty happiness and to round it out, I wrote this."

The Provost of the University furnished the following credentials:

41-148-42

"In connection with the College Settlement, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania have undertaken the study of the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia. The University has entered upon this work as a part of its duty and wishes to make the investigation as thorough and exact as possible. We want to know precisely how this class of people live; what occupations they follow; from what occupations they are excluded; how many of their children go to school; and to ascertain every fact which will throw light upon this social problem; and then having this information and these accurate statistics before us, to see to what extent and in what way, proper remedies may be applied. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois is the investigator on behalf of the University, and I write to bespeak for him your cordial reception and earnest co-operation."

The two years at Wilberforce had been my uneasy apprenticeship, and with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania, I began a more clearly planned career which had an unusual measure of success, but was in the end pushed aside by forces which, if not entirely beyond my control, were yet of great weight.

The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania seemed just what I wanted. I had offered to teach social science at Wilberforce outside of my overloaded program, but I was not allowed. My vision was becoming clearer. The Negro problem was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation. At the University of Pennsylvania I ignored the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that, that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing save once to pilot a pack of idiots through the Negro slums.

Of the theory back of the plan of this study of Negroes I neither knew nor cared. I saw only here a chance to study an historical group of black folk and to show

exactly what their place was in the community. I did it despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. Whites said: Why study the obvious? Blacks said: Are we animals to be dissected and by an unknown Negro at that? Yet, I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism of sixty years.

I counted my task here as simple and clear-cut; I proposed to find out what was the matter with this area and why. I started with no "research methods" and I asked little advice as to procedure. The problem lay before me. Study it. I studied it personally and not by Proxy. I sent out no canvassers. I went myself. Personally I visited and talked with 5000 persons. What I could, I set down in orderly sequence on schedules which I made out and submitted to the University for criticism. Other information I stored in my memory or wrote out as memoranda. I went through the Philadelphia libraries for data, gained access in many instances to private libraries of colored folk and got individual information. I mapped the district, classifying it by condition; I compiled two centuries of the history of the Negro in Philadelphia and in the Seventh Ward.

41-148-44

I essayed a thorough piece of work in Philadelphia. I labored morning, noon, and night. Few persons ever read that fat volume on "The Philadelphia Negro," but they treat it with respect, and that consoles me. The colored people of Philadelphia received me with no open arms. They had a natural dislike to being studied like a strange species. I met again and in different guise those curious cross-currents and inner social whirlings. They set me to groping. I concluded that I did not know so much as I might about my own people.

It was a hard job, but I completed it by the Spring of 1898 and published it a year later, under the auspices of the University, as The Philadelphia Negro; a formidable tome of nearly a thousand pages. But the greatest import to me was the fact, that after years, I had at last learned just what I wanted to do, in this life program of mine, and how to do it. First of all I became painfully aware that merely being born in a group, does not necessarily make one possessed

of complete knowledge concerning it. I had learned far more from Philadelphia Negroes than I had taught them concerning the Negro Problem.

It was as complete a scientific study and answer as could have then been given, with defective facts and statistics, one lone worker and little money. It revealed the Negro group as a symptom, not a cause; as a striving, palpitating group, and not an inert, sick body of crime; as a long historic development and not a transient occurrence.

41-148-45

In this appointment there was one fly which I have never mentioned; it would have been a fine thing if after this difficult, successful piece of work, the University of Pennsylvania had at least offered me a temporary instructorship in the college or in the Wharton School. Harvard had never dreamed of such a thing; a half century later one of Harvard's professors said of a gifted Negro student: "We'd give him a position if he were not a Negro!" White classmates of lower academic rank than I, became full professors at Pennsylvania and Chicago. Here in my case an academic accolade from a great American university would have given impetus to my life work which I was already determined to make in a Negro institution in the South. The thing that galled was that such an idea never even occurred to this institution whose head was a high official of the Sugar Trust. But I did not mention this rebuff. I did not let myself think of it. But then, as now, I know an insult when I see it.

Before the American Academy, affiliated with the University, I laid down in public session in 1899, a broad program of scientific attack on this problem, by systematic and continuous study; and I appealed to Harvard, Columbia and Pennsylvania, to take up the task. Needless to say, they paid not the slightest attention to this challenge and for twnety-five years thereafter not a single first-grade college in America undertook to give any considerable scientific attention to the American Negro. Of the methods of my research, I wrote:

"The best available methods of sociological research are at present so liable to inaccuracies that the careful student discloses the results of individual research with diffidence; he knows that they are liable to error from the seemingly

ineradicable faults of the statistical method; to even greater error from the methods of general observation; and, above all, he must ever tremble lest some personal bias, some moral conviction or some unconscious trend of thought due to previous training, has to a degree distorted the picture in his view. Convictions on all great matters of human interest one must have to a greater or less degree, and they will enter to some extent into the most cold-blooded scientific research as a disturbing factor.

41-48-46

"Nevertheless, here are some social problems before us demanding careful study, questions awaiting satisfactory answers. We must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve; and the utmost that the world can demand is, not lack of human interest and moral conviction, but rather the heart-quality of fairness and an earnest desire for the truth despite its possible unpleasantness."

At the end of that study, I announced with a certain pride my plan of studying the complete Negro problem in the United States. I spoke at the forty-second meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 19, 1897, and my subject was "The Study of the Negro Problems." I began by asserting that in the development of sociological study there was at least one positive answer which years of research and speculation had been able to return, and that was: "The phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing." I then defined and tried to follow the development of the Negro problem not as one problem, but "rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the fact that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land."

I insisted on the necessity of carefully studying these problems and said:

"The American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science in general. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity -- if they do the work in a slip-shod, unsystematic manner -- if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity."

L-H-8141-4

Finally I tried to lay down a plan for the study, postulating only: that the Negro "is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions as to the common weal."

Dividing the prospective scientific study of the Negro into two parts: the social group and his peculiar social environment, I proposed to study the social group by historical investigation, statistical measurement and sociological interpretation. Particularly with regard to anthropology, I said:

"That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world -- another subject which rests under a cloud of ignorance."

In concluding, I said:

"It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been

the first to recognize her duty in this respect and in so far as restricted means and opportunity allowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger system; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of higher Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist today in the center of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution, devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of 'college' at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems?

41-143-48

" What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the center of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a center of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and University of Pennsylvania.

"Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such times true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if

we would solve a problem we must study it, and there is but one coward on earth and that is the coward that dare not know."

While I was making this study, I tried to interest the Federal government in making some such studies in other areas. In 1897, I wrote Carrol D. Wright, head of the Federal Labor Bureau, and received an encouraging reply. I then wrote more in detail.

41-148-49

"In accordance with your suggestion I have been for the last month giving considerable thought as to method of studying certain aspects of the industrial development of the Negro. It seems to me that the difficulties of studying so vast and varied a subject are so large that the first work to be done should be rather of an experimental or preliminary nature calculated to locate and define the difficulties and to indicate lines upon which a larger investigation could be carried to success. At the same time the results of a series of preliminary studies could be published and would by allaying false notions and prejudices prepare the public mind for the larger work.

" Both the preliminary and the main work must of course be strictly limited in scope; great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to white or black, to raise no suspicions and at the same time to get definite accurate information. For the preliminary work I propose two plans -- the first to my mind preferable, the second feasable:

Plan A

The Industrial Development of the Negro

Preliminary Study: The economic situation of a typical town containing from 1,000-5,000 Negro inhabitants situated in Va., or the Carolinas, or Ga.

Study:		
	Occupations	Economic history
	Wages	Cost of living
	Ownership of homes	Organizations
	Hours of labor	Crops

Study to be conducted, visits, schedules, county records, etc.
To be carried out in the months of July and August 1897

Plan B

The Industrial Development of the Negro

Preliminary Study: Condition of Negroes in the (Barber / Public waiter / Caterer / Building / Mining / etc.) trade

In the city of Richmond
or
Raleigh
or
Charleston
or
Atlanta
etc.

Study:
Number
Wages
Hours of Labor
Cost of Living
Economic history
Organization
General condition

41-148-50

Other Plans

A study of domestic service in a certain city

A study of the Negro in the professions in several cities

A study of the Negro farm laborer in a typical agricultural region

A study of the Negro church as a social institution in certain cities

An "Enquete" of the graduates of Southern schools into their own economic life and the general industrial situation

A study of the attitude of organized labor toward Negroes

A study of Negro stevedores

A bibliography of the economic condition of the Negro since emancipation

" Plan A could be begun immediately. I could spend the summer in some typical village of the South and have the results ready to print in the fall. This plan could be repeated from time to time until from these preliminary studies conducted in various districts in various times of year and under various circumstances would

give a basis of fact and experience upon which a larger survey could be planned with a great saving of time and expense. Or, after one or two experiments the whole enterprise might take the form of a series of simultaneous investigations of this sort in selected typical districts of town and country upon lines indicated by the actual experience of the preliminary studies.

Plan B could also be carried out this summer within certain limitations. The other plans are suggested and if they strike you as preferable to the first two I could work them out more carefully.

Will you kindly look over these plans and let me know which, if any, meet your ideas. We can then discuss details further."

Eventually this resulted in a series of studies for the Labor Bureau and one major effort which I shall tell of in a later chapter. The successors of Carrol Wright deliberately destroyed this piece of my best sociological work.

41-148-51

39-8-136

CHAPTER XIII

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

From the fall of 1894 to the spring of 1910, for sixteen years, I was a teacher and a student of social science. For two years I remained at Wilberforce; for a year and a half at the University of Pennsylvania; and for thirteen years at Atlanta University in Georgia. I sought in these years to know my world and to teach youth the meaning and way of the world.

The main result of my schooling had been to emphasize science and the scientific attitude. I got some insight into the laws of the physical world at Fisk and in the chemical laboratory and class in geology at Harvard. I was interested in evolution, geology and the new pyschology. I began to conceive of the world as a continuing growth rather than a finished product. In Germany I turned still further from religious dogma and began to grasp the idea of a world of human beings whose actions, like those of the physical world, were subject to law. The triumphs of the scientific world thrilled me: the X-ray and radium came during my teaching term, the airplane and the wireless. The machine increased in technical efficiency and the North and South Poles were invaded.

On the other hand the difficulties of applying scientific law and discovering cause and effect in a world of living persons was still great. Social thinkers were engaged in vague statements and were seeking to lay down the methods by which, in some not too distant future, social law analogous to physical law would be discovered. Herbert Spencer finished his ten volumes of Synthetic Philosophy in 1896. The biological analogy, the vast generalizations, were striking, but actual scientific accomplishment lagged. For me an opportunity seemed to present itself. I could not lull my mind to hypnosis by regarding a phrase like "consciousness of kind" as a scientific law. But turning my gaze from fruitless word-twisting and facing the facts of my own social situation and racial world, I determined to put science into sociology through a study of the conditions and problems of my own group.

I was going to study the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalizations which I could. I entered this primarily with the utilitarian object of reform and uplift; but nevertheless, I wanted to do the work with scientific accuracy. Thus, in my own sociology, because of firm belief in a changing racial group, I easily grasped the idea of a changing developing society rather than a fixed social structure.

39-2-137

The decade and a half in which I taught, was riotous with happenings in the world of social development; with economic expansion, with political control, with racial difficulties. Above all, it was the era of empire and while I had some equipment to deal with a scientific approach to social studies, I did not have any clear conception or grasp of the meaning of that colonial imperialism which was beginning to grip the world. My only approach to meanings and helpful study there again was through my interest in race contact.

That interest began to clear my vision and interpret the whirl of events which swept the world. Japan was rising to national status and through the Chinese War and the Russian War, despite rivalry with Germany, Russia, and Great Britain, she achieved a new status in the world, which only the United States refused to recognize.

All this, I began to realize, was but a result of the expansion of Europe into Africa where a fierce fight was precipitated for the labor, gold, and diamonds of South Africa; for domination of the Nile Valley; for the gold, cocoa, raw materials, and labor of West Africa; and for the exploitation of the Belgian Congo. Europe was determined to dominate China and all but succeeded in dividing it between the chief white nations, when Japan stopped the process. After sixteen years, stirred by the triumph of the Abyssinians at Adowa, and the pushing forward of the French in North Africa, England returned to the Egyptian Sudan.

The Queen's Jubilee, I knew, was not merely a sentimental outburst; it was a triumph of English economic aggression around the world and it aroused the cupidity and fear of Germany who proceeded to double her navy, expand into Asia, and consolidate her European position. Germany challenged France and England at Algesciras, prelude to the World War. Imperialism, despite Cleveland's opposition, spread to America, and the Hawaiian sugar fields were annexed. The Spanish war brought Cuban sugar under control and annexed Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The Panama Canal brought the Pacific nearer the Atlantic and protected capital investment in San Domingo and South America.

39-3-132

All this might have been interpreted as history and politics. Mainly I did so interpret it, but continually I was forced to consider the economic aspects of world movements as they were developing at the time. Chiefly this was because the group in which I was interested were workers, earners of wages, owners of small bits of land, servants. The labor strikes interested and puzzled me. They were for the most part strikes of workers led by organizations to which Negroes were not admitted. There was the great steel strike; the railway strikes, actual and threatened; the teamsters' strike in Chicago; the long strike in Leadville, Colorado. Only in the coal strike were Negroes involved. But there was a difference. During my school days, strikes were regarded as futile and ill-advised struggles against economic laws; and when the government intervened, it was to cow the strikers as law-breakers. But during my teaching period, the plight of the worker began to sift through into the consciousness of the average citizen. Public opinion not only allowed but forced Theodore Roosevelt to intervention in the coal strike, and the steel strikers had widespread sympathy.

Then there were the tariff agitations, the continual raising and shifting and manipulation of tariff rates, always in the end for the purpose of subsidizing

39-2-139

the manufacturer and making the consumer pay. The political power of the great organizations of capital in coal, oil and sugar, the extraordinary immunities of the corporations, made the President openly attack the trusts as a kind of super-government and we began to see more and more clearly the outlines of economic battle. The Supreme Court stood staunchly behind capital. It outlawed the labor boycott, it denied the right of the states to make railway rates. It declared the income tax unconstitutional.

With all that, and the memory of the Panic of 1873 not forgotten, came the Panic of 1893 and the financial upheaval of 1907. Into this economic turmoil, politics had to intrude. The older role of free, individual enterprise, with little or no government interference, had to be surrendered and the whole political agitation during these days took on a distinct economic tinge and object. The impassioned plea of Bryan in 1896 that labor be not "crucified upon a cross of gold" could not be wholly ridiculed to silence. The Populist Movement which swept over the West and South, I began now to believe, was a third party movement of deep significance and it was kept from political power on the one hand by the established election frauds of the South, of which I knew, and by the fabulous election fund which made McKinley President of the United States. With this went the diversion of the Spanish war with its sordid scandals of rotten beef, cheating and stealing, fever and death from neglect. Politics and economics thus in those days of my teaching became but two aspects of a united body of action and effort.

I tried to isolate myself in the ivory tower of race. I wanted to explain the difficulties of race and the ways in which these difficulties caused political and economic troubles. It was this concentration of thought and action and effort that really, in the end, saved my scientific accuracy and search for truth. But first came a period of three years when I was casting about to find a way of applying

39-2-140

science to the race problem. In these years I was torn with excitement of quick-moving events. Lynching, for instance, was still a continuing horror in the United States at the time of my entrance upon a teaching career. It reached a climax in 1892, when 235 persons were publicly murdered, and in the sixteen years of my teaching nearly two thousand persons were publicly killed by mobs, and not a single one of the murderers punished. The partition, domination, and exploitation of Africa gradually entered my thought as part of my problem of race. I saw in Asia and the West Indies the results of race discrimination while right here in America came the wild foray of the exasperated Negro soldiers at Brownsville and the political-economic riot at Atlanta.

One happening in America linked in my mind the race problem with the general economic development and that was the speech of Booker T. Washington in Atlanta in 1895. When many colored papers condemned the proposition of compromise with the white South, which Washington proposed, I wrote to the New York Age suggesting that here might be the basis of a real settlement between whites and blacks in the South, if the South opened to the Negroes the doors of economic opportunity and the Negroes co-operated with the white South in political sympathy. But this offer was frustrated by the fact that between 1895 and 1909 the whole South disfranchised its Negro voters by unfair and illegal restrictions and passed a series of "Jim Crow" laws which made the Negro citizen a subordinate caste.

As a possible offset to this came the endowment of the General Education Board and the Sage Foundation; but they did not to my mind plan clearly to attack the Negro problem: the Sage Foundation ignored us, and the General Education Board in its first years gave its main attention to the education of whites and to black industrial schools.

I was approached by President Horace Bumstead of Atlanta University in 1896 and asked to come to Atlanta University and take charge of the work in sociology, and of the new conferences which they were inaugurating on the Negro problem. With

this program in mind, I eagerly accepted the invitation. Dr. Bumstead writes:

"Let me express the keen satisfaction I take in having been the one chiefly responsible, perhaps, for bringing Doctor Du Bois to Atlanta University. He has recently called his thirteen years of service there his 'real life work'; and I am proud to have helped open the way for him to begin it, and to have been closely associated with his labors for more than a decade, till I ceased to be president. I cannot but smile when I think of the objections and misgivings of some of our trustees and other friends when he came. We wanted a professor of sociology with special reference to investigating conditions concerning the Negro; and I said that Dr. Du Bois was the one man, white or black, far and away best fitted for the position. I knew of his long preparation at Fisk, Harvard, and in Germany, and I had read the unstinted praise which the New York Nation had given to his first publication, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade", and I knew of the confidence which Provost Harrison of the University of Pennsylvania had in him when he engaged him to spend a year or more in making a scientific study of the Philadelphia Negro. But, said some, if you are going to give the position to a Negro, why not to a graduate of Atlanta rather than of Fisk? Because, said I, we want the best man, regardless of where he was graduated. But how about his religion -- he's studied in Germany -- perhaps if you scratch him, you'll find an agnostic. Now it is true that Atlanta University has always had a pronounced religious, though undenominational, life -- a life inherited from the New England people represented by its founders; and it has always looked to its teachers, so far as possible, to help to maintain it -- so I must needs have some assurances on this point. But, as Doctor Du Bois will remember, they were not very easy to get. He seemed to be one of those persons who, when asked about their religion, reply that they 'have none to speak of'. But though reluctant to speak of his religion or to say what he would do at Atlanta, I observed that at the time of my interview with him he was

39-2-141

39-2-142

living with his newly wedded bride in the centre of the Negro slums of Philadelphia, doing the beneficent work to which Provost Harrison had called him, and I thought there were some indications of genuine religion in that fact. Nor was I disappointed, later, when some of the deepest and most vital expressions of the religious life came from his lips as he conducted evening devotions at the University.

"So, in spite of objections and misgivings, Doctor Du Bois came to Atlanta University, and we held him there for thirteen years notwithstanding several offers to go elsewhere and get double the salary that we could afford to pay him. His work became a memorable part of the history of the Institution. Let me specify two of its most prominent and valuable features.

"One was the inauguration, for the first time in any American college, of a thoroughly scientific study of the conditions of Negro life, covering all of its most important phases, and resulting in a score of annual "Atlanta University Publications", conceded to be of the highest authority, both in this country and in Europe.

"Even more important than this, was the stimulating personal influence of Doctor Du Bois upon our students. He had acquired his own education where the highest standards prevailed, and he would tolerate no lower ones in his own classrooms. Not only in study but also in conduct, he demanded of his pupils the best that was in them. He taught them the nobility and sacredness of their manhood -- endowed, as they were, with all the inherent rights and possibilities of development enjoyed by humanity anywhere. To his fellow teachers, too, he brought joy, for though often looked upon in the outside world as a pessimist, he was about the jolliest member of our Faculty. The inspiration of his stimulating personality has gone out through all the South and will be felt for generations to come."

The hundred hills of Atlanta are not all crowned with factories. On one, toward the west, the setting sun throws three buildings in bold relief against

the sky. The beauty of the group lies in its simple unity: -- a broad lawn of green rising from the red street with mingled roses and peaches; north and south, two plain and stately halls; and in the midst, half hidden in ivy, a larger building, boldly graceful, sparingly decorated, and with one low spire. It is a restful group -- one never looks for more; it is all here, all intelligible. There I live, and there I hear from day to day the low hum of restful life.

39-2-1413

In winter's twilight, when the red sun glows, I can see the dark figures pass between the halls to the music of the nightbell. In the morning, when the sun is golden, the clang of the day-bell brings the hurry and laughter of three hundred young hearts from hall and street, and from the busy city below -- children all dark and heavy-haired -- to join their clear young voices in the music of the morning sacrifice. In a half-dozen class-rooms they gather then -- here to follow the love-song of Dido, here to listen to the tale of Troy divine; there to wander among the stars, there to wander among men and nations -- and elsewhere other well worn ways of knowing this queer world. Nothing new, no time-saving devices, -- simply old time-glorified methods of delving for Truth, and searching out the hidden beauties of life, and learning the good of living.

The riddle of existence is the college curriculum that was laid before the Pharaohs, that was taught in the groves by Plato, that formed the trivium and quadrivium and is today laid before the freedmen's sons by Atlanta University. And this course of study will not change; its methods will grow more deft and effectual, its content richer by toil of scholar and sight of seer; but the true college will ever have one goal -- not to earn meat, but to know the end and aim of that life which meat nourishes.

The vision of life that rises before these dark eyes has in it nothing mean or selfish. Not at Berlin nor at Leipsic, not at Harvard nor Yale is there an air of higher resolve or more unfettered striving; the determination to realize for men, both black and white, the broadest possibilities of life, to seek the better and the best, to spread with their own hands the Gospel of Sacrifice -- all this

is the burden of their talk and dream. Here, amid a wide desert of caste and proscription, amid the heart-hurting slights and jars and vagaries of a deep race-dislike, lies this green oasis, where hot anger cools, and the bitterness of disappointment is sweetened by the springs and breezes of Parnassus; and here men may lie and listen and learn of a future fuller than the past, and hear the voice of Time:

39-2-144

"Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren."

They made their mistakes, those who planted Fisk and Howard and Atlanta before the smoke of battle had lifted; they made their mistakes, but those mistakes were not the things at which we lately laughed somewhat uproariously. They were right when they sought to found a new educational system upon the University: where, forsooth, shall we ground knowledge save on the broadest and deepest knowledge? The roots of the tree, rather than the leaves, are the sources of its life; and from the dawn of history, from Academus to Cambridge, the culture of the University has been the broad foundation-stone on which is built the kindergarten's A B C.

But these builders did make a mistake in minimizing the gravity of the problem before them; in thinking it a matter of years and decades; in therefore building quickly and laying their foundation carelessly, and lowering the standard of knowing, until they had scattered haphazard through the South some dozen poorly equipped high schools and miscalled them universities. They forgot, too, just as their successors are forgetting, the rule of inequality -- that of the million black youth, some were fitted to know and some to dig; that some had the talent and capacity of university men, and some had the talent and capacity of blacksmiths: and that true training meant neither that all should be college men nor all artisans, but that the one should be made a missionary of culture to an untaught people, and the other a free workman among serfs.

My real life work was begun at Atlanta for thirteen years, from my twenty-ninth to my forty-second birthday. They were years of great spiritual upturning,

of the making and unmaking of ideals, of hard work and hard play. Here I found myself. I lost most of my mannerisms. I grew more broadly human, made my closest and most holy friendships, and studied human beings. I became widely-acquainted with the real condition of my people. I felt the terrific odds which faced them. I saw the Atlanta riot.

39-2-145

The main significance of my work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910 was the development at an American institution of learning, of a program of study on the problems affecting the American Negroes, covering a progressively widening and deepening effort designed to stretch over the span of a century. This program was grafted on an attempt by George Bradford of Boston, one of the trustees, to open for Atlanta University a field of usefulness for city Negroes comparable to what Hampton and Tuskegee were doing for rural districts in agriculture and industry. At the Hampton and Tuskegee Conferences, there came together annually and in increasing numbers, workers, experts and observers to encourage by speeches and interchange of experience the Negro farmers and laborers of adjoining areas.. Visitors, white and colored, from North and South, joined to advise and learn. Mr. Bradford's idea was to establish at Atlanta a similar conference, devoted especially to problems of city Negroes. The first conference, emphasizing particularly Negro health problems, was held in 1896. Immediately the University looked about for a man to teach history and political science, and take charge of future conferences. I was chosen.

When I took charge of the Atlanta Conference, I did not pause to consider how far my developed plans agreed or disagreed with the ideas of the already launched project. It made little essential difference, since only one conference had been held and a second planned. These followed the Hampton and Tuskegee model of being primarily meetings of inspiration, directed toward specific efforts at social reform and aimed at propaganda for social uplift in certain preconceived lines. This program at Atlanta, I sought to swing as on a pivot to one of scientific

investigation into social conditions, primarily for scientific ends: I put no special emphasis on special reform effort, but increasing and widening emphasis on the collection of a basic body of fact concerning the social condition of American Negroes, endeavoring to reduce that condition to exact measurement whenever or wherever occasion permitted. As time passed, it happened that many uplift efforts were in fact based on our studies: the kindergarten system of the city of Atlanta, white as well as black; the Negro Business League, and various projects to better health and combat crime. We came to be however, as I had intended, increasingly, a source of general information and a basis for further study, rather than an organ of social reform.

39-2-146

The proverbial visitor from Mars would have assumed as elemental a study in America of American Negroes -- as physical specimens; as biological growths; as a field of investigation in economic development from slave to free labor; as a psychological laboratory in human reaction toward caste and discrimination; as an unique case of physical and cultural intermingling. These and a dozen other subjects of scientific interest, would have struck the man from Mars as eager lines of investigation for American social scientists. He would have been astounded to learn that the only institution in America in 1900 with any such program of study was Atlanta University, where on a budget of $5000 a year, including salaries, cost of publication, investigation and annual meetings, we were essaying this pioneer work.

My program for the succession of conference studies was modified by many considerations: cost, availability of suitable data, tested methods of investigation; moreover I could not plunge too soon into such controversial subjects as politics or miscegenation. Within these limitations, I finished a ten-year cycle study as follows:

39-2-147

1896, Mortality among Negroes in Cities

1897, Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities

1898, Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment

1899, The Negro in Business

1900, The College-Bred Negro

1901, The Negro Common School

1902, The Negro Artisan

1903, The Negro Church

1904, Notes on Negro Crime

1905, A Select Bibliography of the American Negro

I then essayed for the second decade a broader program, more logical, more inclusive, and designed to bring the whole subject matter into a better integrated whole. But continued lack of funds, and outside diversions (like the request of the Carnegie Institution of 1907 for a study of co-operation) kept even the second decade from the complete logic of arrangement which I desired; finally, my leaving Atlanta in 1910 and at last the severing of my connection with the conference in 1914, left the full form of my program still unfinished. I did, however, publish the following eight studies:

1906, Health and Physique of the Negro American

1907, Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans

1908, The Negro American Family

1909, Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans

1910, The College-Bred Negro American

1911, The Common School and the Negro American

1912, The Negro American Artisan

1914, Morals and Manners among Negro Americans

With the publication of 1914, my connection with Atlanta ceased for twenty years. Although studies and publications were prepared by others at the University in 1915 and 1918, the war finally stopped the enterprise.

What I was laboriously but steadily approaching in this effort was a recurring cycle of ten studies in succeeding decades; with repetition of each subject or some modification of it in each decade, upon a progressively broader and more exact basis and with better method; until gradually a foundation of carefully ascertained fact would build a basis of knowledge, broad and sound enough to be called scientific in the best sense of that term.

Just what form this dream would eventually have taken, I do not know. So far as actually forecast, it had assumed in 1914, some such form as this:

1. Population: Distribution and Growth
2. Biology: Health and Physique
3. Socialization: Family, Group and Class
4. Cultural Patterns: Morals and Manners
5. Education
6. Religion and the Church
7. Crime
8. Law and Government
9. Literature and Art
10. Summary and Bibliography

I proposed as I have said, to repeat each of these every ten years, basing the studies on ever broader and more carefully gathered data. Eventually I hoped to keep all the inquiries going simultaneously, only emphasizing and reporting on one particular subject each year. This would have allowed some necessary shifting or combination of subjects as time and developments might suggest; and adjustments to new scientific advance in fields like anthropology and psychology. The plan would have called in time for a large and well-paid staff of experts and a study of method and testing of results such as no group of Americans were engaged in at the time; beginning with a definite, circumscribed group, but ending with the human race.

39-2-149

The program however was weak on its economic side. It did not stress enough the philosophy of Marx and Engels and was of course far too soon for Lenin. The program ought to have been -- and as I think would have been if I had kept on this work -- the Economic development of the American Negro slave; on this central thread all the other subjects would have been strung. But this I had no chance to essay.

Social scientists at the time were thinking in terms of theory and vast and eternal laws, but I had a concrete group of living beings artificially set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down an ambitious program for a hundred years of study. I proposed to take up annually in each decade the main aspects of the group life of Negroes with as thorough study and measurement as possible, and repeat the same program in the succeeding decade with additions, changes and better methods. In this way, I proposed gradually to broaden and intensify the study, sharpen the tools of investigation and perfect our methods of work, so that we would have an increasing body of scientifically ascertained fact, instead of the vague mass of the so-called Negro problems. And through this laboratory experiment I hoped to make the laws of social living clearer, surer, and more definite.

Some of this was accomplished, but of course only an approximation of the idea. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies; limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt of the sort in the nation that they gained attention throughout the world. In all we published a total of 2,172 pages which formed a current encyclopaedia on the American Negro problems.

These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars. It may be said without undue boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations made at Atlanta

University; often they were widely quoted and commended.

I had heartening letters from persons of eminence and character. William James wrote in 1907: "I have just looked through the last installment of your studies on the American Negro. I wish the portraits might have been better printed. But it is splendid scientific work." Frank Taussig of Harvard wrote the same year: "In my judgement no better work is being done in the country, and no better opportunity is afforded for financial support on the part of those who wish to further the understanding of the Negro problem." Booker Washington, who spoke at our conference on the Negro artisan in 1911, said: "The whole country should be grateful to this institution for the painstaking and systematic manner in which it has developed from year to year a series of facts which are proving most vital and helpful to the interests of our nation." Professor E.R.A. Seligman wrote: "I take great pleasure in testifying to my very high appreciation of the studies on the Negro problem which you have been editing for the past few years. They are essentially scholarly and that means sober and temperate, and they are covering a field which is almost untilled and which is not apt to be cultivated by others." Jane Addams attended our conference in 1908 and commended our work.

Many periodicals mentioned our work:

London Spectator, 1900:

This work is being done with much intelligence, discrimination and assiduity at the instance and under the inspiration of the Atlanta University.

School Review, 1902:

The work of this conference is constructive and merits hearty support.

Outlook, 1903:

No student of the race problem, no person who would either think or speak upon it intelligently, can afford to be ignorant of the facts brought out in the Atlanta series of sociological studies of the conditions and the progress of the Negro.

Publications of the Southern History Association, 1904:

The work done under the direction of the Atlanta Conference is entitled to the respectful and thoughtful consideration of every man interested in any aspect of the life of the American Negro.

39-2-151

South Atlantic Quarterly, 1904:

They constitute, so far as the reviewer can learn, the most important body of direct evidence ever published as to moral and religious conditions of our colored people.

N.Y. Evening Post, 1905:

The only scientific studies of the Negro question being made today are those carried on by Atlanta University.

It must be remembered that the significance of these studies lay not so much in what they were actually able to accomplish, as in the fact that at the time of their publication Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the Negro and his development, and putting the result in a form available for the scholars of the world.

In addition to the publications, we did something toward bringing together annually at Atlanta University persons and authorities interested in the problem of the South. Among these were Charles William Eliot, Booker T. Washington, Frank Sanborn, Franz Boas, and Walter Wilcox. We were asked from time to time to co-operate in current studies. I co-operated in the taking of the Twelfth Census and wrote one of the monographs. I wrote magazine articles in the World's Work and in the Atlantic Monthly where I joined in a symposium and one of my fellow contributors was Woodrow Wilson.

Also I joined with the Negro leaders of Georgia in efforts to better local conditions; to stop discrimination in the distribution of school funds; to keep the legislature from making further discriminations in railway travel. I became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1900 and was made a fellow in 1904. I went to Europe and while abroad I sat in London

with the wife of Coleridge-Taylor and heard the first rendition of Hiawatha's Wedding Feast.

39-2-152

In 1909 I tried to start an "Encyclopedia Africana" and secured as members of the board of advisers the following distinguished scholars:

Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B., England
Prof. W.M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., England
William Archer, Esq., England
Miss Alice Werner, England
Dr. Francis Hoggan, England
Prof. Giuseppi Sergi, Italy
Dr. Karl Weule, Germany
Dr. J. Deniker, France
Major R.M. Daniel, Bechuanaland, Africa
Prof. A.B. Hart, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. William James, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. Hugo Munsterberg, L.L.D., Harvard
President G. Stanley Hall, L.L.D., Clark
Prof. A.F. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Clark
Prof. Franz Boaz, Ph.D., Columbia

Sixty-two Negro scholars were on the Editorial Board, including:

Kelley Miller, A.M., (Howard)
H.O. Tanner, France
Richard T. Greener, A.B. (Harvard)
Charles W. Chesnutt
John R. Lynch, U.S. Army
W.S. Scarborough, L.L.D. (Oberlin)

and many others. I never was able to raise funds to carry this enterprise further forward.

I testified before Congressional Commissions in Washington and appeared on the lecture platform with Walter Page, afterwards ambassador to England; I did a considerable amount of lecturing throughout the United States. I had wide correspondence with men of prominence in America and Europe: Lyman Abbott of the Outlook; E.D. Morel, the English expert on Africa; Max Weber of Heidelberg; Professor Wilcox of Cornell; Bliss Perry of the Atlantic Monthly; Horace Traubel, the great protagonist of Walt Whitman; Charles Eliot Norton and Talcott Williams. I began to be regarded by many groups and audiences as having definite information on the Negro to which they might listen with profit.

In 1900, came a significant occurence which not until lately have I set in its proper place in my life. I had been for over nine years studying the American Negro Problem. The result had been significant because of its unusual nature and not for its positive accomplishment. I wanted to set down its aim and method in some outstanding way which would bring my work to the notice of the thinking world. The great World Fair at Paris was being planned and I thought I might put my findings into plans, charts and figures, so one might see what we were trying to accomplish. I got a couple of my best students and put a series of facts into charts: the size and growth of the Negro American group; its division by age and sex; its distribution, education and occupations; its books and periodicals. We made a most interesting set of drawings, limned on pasteboard cards about a yard square and mounted on a number of movable standards. The details of finishing these fifty or more charts, in colors, with accuracy, was terribly difficult with little money, limited time and not too much encouragement. I was threatened with nervous prostration before I was done and had little money left to buy passage to Paris, nor was there a cabin left for sale, but the exhibit would fail unless I was there. So at the last moment I bought passage in the steerage and went over and installed the work. It was an immediate success. It occupied a small room, perhaps 20 feet square but the room was always full. The American press, white and colored was full of commendation and in the end, the exhibit received a Grand Prize, and I, as its author, a Gold Medal.

I was pleased and satisfied. I sat back quietly to hear the commendation and it came not only for this particular exhibit but for the work of the Atlanta conferences in general. I was sure that the work I had planned was certain of support and growth. But it was not. Within less than ten years it had to be abandoned because five thousand dollars a year could not be found in this rich land for its support. Where had I failed? There were many answers, but one was

typically American, as the event proved, I did the deed but I did not advertise it. Either I myself or someone for me should have called public attention to what had been done or otherwise it would quickly be forgotten. Indeed the philosophy then current and afterward triumphant was that the Deed without Advertising was worthless and in the long run Advertising without the Deed was the only lasting value. Perhaps Americans do not realize how completely they have adopted this philosophy. But Madison Avenue does.

At the very time when my studies were most successful, there cut across this plan which I had as a scientist, a red ray which could not be ignored. I remember when it first, as it were, startled me to my feet: a poor Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord's wife. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Atlanta Constitution office, carrying in my pocket a letter of introduction to Joel Chandler Harris. I did not get there. On the way news met me: Sam Hose had been lynched, and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store farther down on Mitchell Street, along which I was walking. I turned back to the University. I began to turn aside from my work. I did not meet Joel Chandler Harris nor the editor of the Constitution.

Two considerations thereafter broke in upon my work and eventually disrupted it: first, one could not be a calm, cool, and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered and starved; and secondly, there was no such definite demand for scientific work of the sort that I was doing, as I had confidently assumed would be easily forthcoming. I regarded it as axiomatic that the world wanted to learn the truth and if the truth was sought with even approximate accuracy and painstaking devotion, the world would gladly support the effort. This was, of course, but a young man's idealism, not by any means false, but also never universally true. The work of the conference for thirteen years inclu-

39-2-155

ding my own salary and small office force did not average five thousand dollars a year. Probably with some effort and sacrifice Atlanta University might have continued to raise this amount if it had not been for the controversy with Booker T. Washington that arose in 1903 and increased in intensity until 1908.

There were, of course, other considerations which made Atlanta University vulnerable to attack at this time. The University from the beginning had taken a strong and unbending attitude toward Negro prejudice and discrimination; white teachers and black students ate together in the same dining room and lived in the same dormitories. The charter of the institution opened the doors of Atlanta University to any student who applied, of any race or color; and when the state in 1887 objected to the presence of a few white students who were all children of teachers and professors, the institution gave up the small appropriation from the State rather than repudiate its principles. In fact, this appropriation represented not State funds, but the Negroes' share of the sum received from the Federal government for education.

When later there came an attempt on the part of the Southern Education Board and afterwards of the General Education Board to form a working program between educated Negroes and forward-looking whites in the South, it gradually became an understood principle of action that colored teachers should be encouraged in colored schools; that the races in the schools should be separated socially; that colored schools should be chiefly industrial; and that every effort should be made to conciliate Southern white public opinion. Schools which were successfully carrying out this program could look for further help from organized philanthropy. Other schools, and this included Atlanta University, could not.

Even this would not necessarily have excluded Atlanta University from consideration at the hands of the philanthropists. The University had done and was doing excellent and thorough work. Even industrial training in the South was often in the hands of Atlanta graduates. Tuskegee had always been largely manned by graduates

B-2-1559

of Atlanta and some of the best school systems of the South were directed by persons trained at Atlanta University. The college department was recognized as perhaps the largest and best in the South at the time among Negroes. But unfortunately, at this time, there came a controversy between myself and Booker Washington, which became more personal and bitter than I had ever dreamed and which necessarily dragged in the University.

Meantime, the task of raising money for Atlanta University and my work became increasingly difficult. In the fall of 1904 the printing of our conference report was postponed by the trustees until special funds could be secured. I did not at the time see the handwriting on the wall. I did not realize how strong the forces were back of Tuskegee and how they might interfere with my scientific study of the Negro. My continuing thought was that we must have a vehicle for both opinion and fact which would help me carry on my scientific work and at the same time be a forum less radical than the Guardian, and yet more rational than the rank and file of Negro papers now so largely arrayed with Tuskegee. With this in mind, as early as 1904, I helped one of the Atlanta University graduates, who was a good printer, to set up a job office in Memphis.

In 1905 I wrote to Jacob Schiff, reminding him of having met him in Bar Harbor in 1903:

"I want to lay before you a plan which I have and ask you if it is of sufficient interest to you for you to be willing to hear more of it and possibly to assist in its realization. The Negro race in America is today in a critical condition. Only united concerted effort will save us from being crushed. This union must come as a matter of education and long continued effort. To this end there is needed a high class of journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes, tell them of the deeds of themselves and their neighbors, interpret the news of the world to them, and inspire them toward definite ideals. Now we have many

small weekly papers and one or two monthlies, and none of them fill the great need I have outlined. I want to establish, therefore, for the nine million American Negroes and eventually for the whole Negro world, a monthly journal. To this end I have already in Memphis a printing establishment which has been running successfully at job work a year under a competent printer -- self-sacrificing educated young man. Together we shall have about $2,000 invested in this plant by April 15."

39-2-157

Mr. Schiff wrote back courteously, saying: "Your plans to establish a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes is in itself interesting, and on its face has my sympathy. But before I could decide whether I can become of advantage in carrying your plans into effect, I would wish to advise with men whose opinion in such a matter I consider of much value." Nothing ever came of this, because, as I might have known, most of Mr. Schiff's friends were strong and sincere advocates of Tuskegee.

It was with difficulty that I came fully to realize the situation that was thus developing: first of all, I could not persuade myself that my program of solving the Negro problem by scientific investigation was wrong, or that it could possibly fail of eventual support when once it was undertaken; that it was understood in widening circles of readers and thinkers, I was convinced, because of the reception accorded the Atlanta University Studies. When, however, in spite of that, the revenue of the University continued to fall off, and no special support came for my particular part of its work, I tried several times by personal effort to see if funds could not be raised.

In 1906 I made two appeals: first and boldly, I outlined the work of the Atlanta Conference to Andrew Carnegie, reminding him that I had been presented to him and Carl Schurz some years before. I hoped that despite his deep friendship for Mr. Washington and the Tuskegee idea, he would see the use and value of my efforts at Atlanta. The response was indirect. At the time a white Mississippi

planter, Alfred W. Stone, was popular in the North. He had grave doubts about the future of the Negro race, widely criticised black labor, and once tried to substitute Italians on his own plantations, until they became too handy with the knife. To his direction, Mr. Carnegie and others entrusted a fund for certain studies among Negroes. This is standard American procedure; if there is a job to be done and a Negro fit to do it, do not give the job or the responsibility to the Negro; give it to some white man and let the Negro work under him. Why they selected Stone and neglected an established center like Atlanta University, I cannot imagine; but at any rate, Stone turned to me and offered to give the University a thousand dollars to help finance a special study of the history of economic co-operation among Negroes. I had planned that year, 1907, to study the Negro in politics, but here support was needed and I turned aside and made the study asked for.

About the same time, I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor. For several years I had been able to do now and then certain small studies for the Bureau of Labor, which had been accepted and paid for. It began with a proposal to Carroll D. Wright in 1897 for a study of the Negro in a Virginia town in 1898, which Mr. Wright authorized me to make on my own responsibility, promising only to print it if he liked it. He did like it. This was followed by a major study of the Negro in the Black Belt in 1899 and among Negroes in Georgia in 1901, and I then approached the Bureau with a new proposal.

I asked United States Commissioner of Labor, Neill, in 1906, to authorize a study of a Black Belt community. I wanted to take Lowndes County, Alabama, in a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes, and make a social and economic study from the earliest times when documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a present house-to-house canvass of Negroes. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorized the study. Helped by Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, and R.R. Wright, now a bishop of the A.M.E. Church, and a dozen or more

local employees, I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study.

It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties, including financing which was finally arranged by loans from the University, and with the greeting of some of my agents with shotguns in certain parts of the county; but it was eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I made chronological maps of the division of the land; I considered the distribution of labor; the relation of landlord and tenant; the political organization and the family life and the distribution of the population. The report was finished by hand with no copy, and rushed to Washington. It was criticized and I spent some weeks there in person, revising and perfecting it. It was finally accepted by the government, and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to the University in repayment of funds which they had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I knew the symptoms of this sort of treatment: in 1898, S.S. McClure had sent me to south Georgia to make a study of social situations there. He paid for the report but never published the manuscript and he afterward did the same thing in the case of Sir Harry Johnston.

I finally approached the bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript, since it "touched on political matters." I was astonished and disappointed, but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed! While I was down in Lowndes County finishing this study, there came the news of the Atlanta riot. I took the next train for Atlanta and my family. On the way, I wrote the "Litany of Atlanta".

Professor Seligman of Columbia wrote me:

"Like so many other of your well-wishers I was amazed and disgusted at the happenings in Atlanta. But perhaps I did not realize the horror of it all, until I read your beautiful poem in the Independent. It must indeed be a tragedy for men like you -- a tragedy all the greater because of the seeming impasse. But

perhaps you will learn -- as I have learned after going thro' the fire of affliction -- that there are really only two things worth living for in this world -- the one is the love of those most nearly related to you, or thrown into close contact with you -- and the other is work, the chance to express oneself in some form of activity however humble. Those things are open to every human being, and at bottom there is nothing else which is comparable with them -- wealth, reputation, ambition or what not. Let us hold to the things that are eternally true, and let us seek within ourselves the compensation for the things that are withheld by an unthinking and uncivilized world."

39-2-160

It was of course crazy for me to dream that America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century with Colonial Imperialism, based on the suppression of colored folk, at its zenith, would encourage, much less adequately finance, such a program at a Negro college under Negro scholars. My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long-term remedy was Truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history.

I was therefore astonished and infinitely disappointed, gradually to realize that our work in the Atlanta conferences was not getting support; that, far from being able to command increased revenue for better methods of investigation and wider fields, it was with increasing difficulty that the aging and overworked President, with his deep earnestness and untiring devotion to principle, could collect enough to maintain even our normal activities. The conference had not been without a measure of success. Our reports were widely read and commented upon. On the other hand, so far as the American world of science and letters was concerned, we never "belonged"; we remained unrecognized in learned societies and academic groups. We rated merely as Negroes studying Negroes, and after all, what had Negroes to do with America or Science? Gradually and with deep disappointment I

began to realize, as early as 1906, that my program for studying the Negro problems must soon end, unless it received unforeseen support.

With all this came the strengthening and hardening of my own character. The billows of birth, love, and death swept over me. I saw life through all its paradox and contradiction of streaming eyes and mad merriment. I emerged into full manhood, with the ruins of some ideals about me, but with others planted above the stars; I was scarred and a bit grim, but hugging to my soul the divine gift of laughter and withal determined, even unto stubbornness, to fight the good fight.

At last, forebear and waver as I would, I faced the great Decision. My life's last and greatest door stood ajar. What with all my dreaming, studying, and teaching was I going to do in this fierce fight? Despite all my youthful conceit and bumptiousness, I found developed beneath it all a reticence and new fear of forwardness, which sprang from searching criticisms of motive and high ideals of efficiency; but contrary to my dream of racial solidarity and notwithstanding my deep desire to serve and follow and think, rather than to lead and inspire and decide, I found myself suddenly the leader of a great wing of people fighting against another and greater wing.

Nor could any effort of mine keep this fight from sinking to the personal plane. Heaven knows I tried. I finally wrote in March, 1910:

"I insist on my right to think and speak; but if that freedom is made an excuse for abuse of and denial of aid to Atlanta University, then with regret I shall withdraw from Atlanta University."

For the American Negro, the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th centuries were more critical than the Reconstruction years of 1868 to 1876. Yet they have received but slight attention from historians and social students. They were usually interpreted in terms of personalities, and without regard to the great social forces that were developing. This was the age of

39-2-162

triumph for Big Business, for Industry, consolidated and organized on a world-wide scale, and run by white capital with colored labor. The southern United States was one of the most promising fields for this development, with a fine climate, invaluable staple crops, with a mass of cheap and potentially efficient labor, with unlimited natural power and use of unequalled technique, and with a transportation system reaching all the markets of the world.

The profit promised by the exploitation of this quasi-colonial empire was facing labor difficulties, threatening to flare into race war. The relations of the poor-white and Negro working classes were becoming increasingly embittered. In the year when I undertook the study of the Philadelphia Negro, lynching of Negroes by mobs reached a crimson climax in the United States, at the astounding figure of nearly five a week. Government throughout the former slave states was conducted by fraud and intimidation, with open violation of state and federal law. Reason seemed to have reached an impasse; white demagogues, like Tillman and Vardaman, attacked Negroes with every insulting epithet and accusation that the English language could afford, and got wide hearing. On the other hand Negro colleges and others were graduating colored men and women, few in the aggregate, but of increasing influence, who demanded the full rights of American citizens; and even if their threatening surroundings compelled silence or whispers, they were none the less convinced that this attitude was their only way of salvation. Supporting Negro education were the descendants of those Northerners who founded the first Negro institutions and had since contributed to their upkeep. But these same Northerners were also investors and workers in the new industrial organization of the world. Toward them now turned the leaders of the white South, who were at once apprehensive of race war and desirous of a new, orderly industrial South.

Conferences began between whites of the North and the South, including industrialists as well as teachers, business men rather than preachers. At Capon Springs, on the Robert Ogden trips to Hampton and Tuskegee, in the organization of the

39-2-163.

Southern Education Board, and finally in the founding of the General Education Board, a new racial philosophy for the South was evolved. This philosophy seemed to say that the attempt to over-educate a "child race" by furnishing chiefly college training to its promising young people, must be discouraged; the Negro must be taught to accept what the whites were willing to offer him; in a world ruled by white people and destined so to be ruled, the place of Negroes must be that of an humble, patient, hard-working group of laborers, whose ultimate destiny would be determined by their white employers. Meantime, the South must have education on a broad and increasing basis, but primarily for whites; for Negroes, education, for the present, should be confined increasingly to elementary instruction, and more especially to training in farming and industry, calculated to make the mass of Negroes laborers contented with their lot and cheap.

White and Negro labor must, so far as possible, be taken out of active competition, by segregation in work: to the whites the bulk of well-paid skilled labor and management; to the Negro, farm labor, unskilled labor in industry and domestic service. Exceptions to this general pattern would occur especially in some sorts of skills like building and repairs; but in general the "white" and "Negro" job would be kept separate and superimposed.

Finally, Northern philanthropy, especially in education, must be organized and incorporated, and its dole distributed according to this program; thus a number of inefficient and even dishonest attempts to conduct private Negro schools and low-grade colleges would be eliminated; smaller and competing institutions would be combined; above all, less and less total support would be given higher training for Negroes. This program was rigorously carried out until after the First World War.

To the support of this program, came Booker T. Washington in 1895. The white South was jubilant; public opinion was studiously organized to make Booker Washington the one nationally recognized leader of his race, and the South went quickly to

work to translate the program into law. Disfranchisement laws were passed between 1890 and 1910, by all the former slave states, and quickly declared constitutional by the courts, before contests could be effectively organized: "Jim-Crow" legislation, for travel on railroads and street-cars, and race separation in many other walks of life, were rapidly put on the statute books.

By the second decade of the Twentieth Century, a legal caste system based on race and color, had been openly grafted on the democratic constitution of the United States. This explains why, in 1910, I gave up my position at Atlanta University and became Director of Publications and Research for the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I was one of the incorporators in 1911.

Very early in my work in Atlanta, I began to feel, on the one hand, pressure being put upon me to modify my work; and the other hand an inner emotional reaction at the things taking place about me. To note the latter first: as a scientist, I sought the traditional detachment and calm of the seeker for truth. I had deliberately chosen to work in the South, although I knew that there I must face discrimination and insult. But on the other hand I was a normal human being with strong feelings and pronounced likes and dislikes, and a flair for expression; these I could not wholly suppress, nor did I try. I was on the other hand willing to endure and as my dear friend, Henry Hunt, said to me in after years, "I could keep still in seven different languages." But, if I did speak I did not intend to lie.

In one aspect of the Negro problem in America, my program had limited success; that was its relation to the white working class. The Negroes were working folk -- farmers, laborers, porters and servants. They belonged in the main to the "Have-nots" as over against the "Haves". Yet they were not regarded as an integral part of the American workers and I as student of their plight and their efforts was continually treating them as a separate class instead of grouping them with the mass of workers. This was not because of any failure on my part to conceive

39-2-165

of the Negroes as primarily workers whose chief interest lay in the working class. The fault lay at the door of the powerful forces in the state which had separated the working class into antagonistic groups hating and fearing each other more than they feared their exploiters. In slavery days the poor whites hated and feared the black slaves. These slaves deprived the free white workers of land and livlihood; drove them to the hills and barrens or to the slums of cities; they were largely disfranchised and managed to make a living by fawning on slaveowners, becoming slave over-seers or bearing arms to keep black slaves from revolt. They protested bitterly against this condition.

To these poor whites, emancipation seemed not an opportunity for Negroes to rise to the status of free white workers, but rather the chance of white labor to climb on the backs of Negroes. The freedmen therefore was not only exploited by former slaveowners but even more by the up-struggling whites; and when white workers got the vote -- blacks were disfranchised. A caste legislation put the Negro legally under the feet of the white workers, limiting his work, his wages, his dwelling place and his personal freedom. In the eyes of the Negro the white worker became his chief enemy; he led the lynch mobs, insulted him on the streets and took the food out of his mouth.

The mass of the Northern working class opposed slavery and wanted slaves emancipated. But they were largely foreign emigrants and many like the Irish met the competition of free Negro workers on arrival and fought for work in pitched battles. The newer emigrants were warned against Negro cheap competing labor and did not regard these dark strangers as fellow workmen. Employers threw white and black into competing groups. So that the National Labor Union representing the best of American labor, despite its brave repudiation of color discrimination was unable in 1869 to secure admission of Negro workers into unions. Negroes, rebuffed, tried to form their own unions but had to start with the demand for political power. For this they depended on the Republican party and that party reduced them

39-2-166

to serfdom in 1876. The Northern Unions in tight craft organizations so segregated the Negro worker that in 1902, the older trades like miners, longshoremen and cigarmakers admitted Negroes; but the newer and better paid trades, like blacksmiths, smelters, engineers, metal workers, boilermakers, electric workers, glassmakers, oil workers, textile workers and a host of similar unions admitted in the new century few or no Negroes. When, therefore, I essayed to study the Negro worker, I had no meeting ground with the white laboring class. I invited the secretary of the Georgia Federation of labor to our conference and he spoke, but his hearers knew that his federation discriminated against Negroes. We studied Negro employees in Southern factories. We corresponded with all the unions in the nation but with small result. The American working class remained split by the color line. My study therefore became a study not of a working class but of a small part of one and the relations of these groups became more important than relations between worker and employer.

Of the general life in Atlanta, a word must be said. I stayed upon the campus as much as possible. My contact with the surrounding white city was limited to some necessary shopping. I did not vote since the "white primary" which was the real election was closed to me. I did not enter parks nor museums. I assumed that when the public was invited to any place or function, either the white people were meant, or, if not, attendance of Negroes meant segregated parts or times. Once I remonstrated with a colored teacher of literature for attending the "jim-crow" section of a theater in the top balcony. She answered: "Where else can I see Shakespeare? I cannot afford to go to New York."

One of the most annoying sorts of race discrimination was on the railroads. Did you ever see a "jim-crow" waiting room? There are some exceptions but usually no heat in winter and no air in summer; undisturbed loafers and white train hands and broken disreputable settees; to buy a ticket is torture: you stand and stand and wait and wait until every white person at the "Other Window" is waited on. Then

39-2-167

210

the tired agent yells across, (because all the tickets and change are over there;) "What d'y' want? WHAT! WHERE?" He brow-beats and contradicts you, hurries and confuses the ignorant; gives many the wrong change; for lack of time compels a number to purchase tickets on the train at a higher price and sends all out on the platform burning with indignation and hatred.

The "jim-crow" car is up next the baggage car and engine. The train stops out beyond the covering in the rain or sun or dust. Usually there is no step to help one climb on, and often the car is a smoker cut in two and you must pass through the white smokers and then they pass through your part with swagger and noise and stares. Your apartment is a half or a quarter or an eighth of the oldest car in service on the road. Unless it happens to be a through express, the old plush is caked with dirt, the floor is gummy and the windows dirty.

An impertinent white newsboy occupies two seats at the end and importunes you to buy cheap candy, "Coca-Cola" and worthless if not vulgar books. He yells and swaggers and a continued stream of white men saunters back and forth from the smoker to buy and listen. The white train crew from the baggage car uses the "jim-crow" to lounge in and perform their toilet. The conductor appropriates two seats for himself and his papers and yells gruffly for your tickets before the train has scarcely started. It is best not to ask him for information even in the gentlest tones. His information is for whites chiefly. It is difficult to get lunch or drinking water. Lunch rooms either "don't serve niggers" or serve them at some dirty and ill-attended hole in the wall. Toilet rooms are often filthy. If you have to change cars be wary of junctions which are usually without accomodation and filled with quarrelsome whites who hate a "darky dressed up". You are apt to have the company of a sheriff and a couple of meek or sullen black prisoners on part of your way and the dirty colored section hands will pour in toward night and drive you to the smallest corner. "No" -- said the little lady in the corner (she looked like an ivory cameo and her dress flowed on her like a caress) -- "We don't travel much."

39-2-168

CHAPTER XIV

THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

In 1905 I was still a teacher at Atlanta University and was in my imagination a scientist, and neither a leader nor an agitator; I had [redacted] much admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee, and I had in 1894 applied at both Tuskegee and Hampton for work. If Mr. Washington's telegram had reached me before the Wilberforce bid, I should have doubtless gone to Tuskegee. Certainly I knew no less about mathematics than I did about Latin and Greek.

Since the controversy between myself and Washington has become historic, it deserves more careful statement than it has had hitherto, both as to the matters and the motives involved. There was first of all the ideological controversy. I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. I knew that without this the Negro would have to accept white leadership, and that such leadership could not always be trusted to guide this group into self-realization and to its highest cultural possibilities. Mr. Washington, on the other hand, believed that the Negro as an efficient worker could gain wealth and that eventually through his ownership of capital he would be able to achieve a recognized place in American culture and could then educate his children as he might wish and develop their possibilities. For this reason he proposed to put the emphasis at present upon training in the skilled trades and encouragement in industry and common labor.

These two theories of Negro progress were not absolutely contradictory. Neither I nor Booker Washington, understood the nature of capitalistic exploitation of labor, and the necessity of a direct attack on the principle of exploitation as the beginning of labor uplift. I recognized the importance of the Negro gaining a foothold in trades and his encouragement in industry and common labor. Mr. Washington was not absolutely opposed to college training and sent his own children to college.

39-2-169

But he did minimize its importance, and discouraged the philanthropic support of higher education. He thought employers "gave" laborers work, thus opening the door to acquiring wealth. I openly and repeatedly criticized what seemed to me the poor work and small accomplishment of the Negro industrial school, but did not attack the fundamental wrong of giving the laborer less than he earned. It was characteristic of the Washington statesmanship that whatever he or anybody believed or wanted must be subordinated to dominant public opinion and that opinion deferred to and cajoled until it allowed a deviation toward better ways. It was my theory to guide and force public opinion by leadership. While my leadership was a matter of writing and teaching, the Washington leadership became a matter of organization and money. It was what I may call the Tuskegee Machine.

The years from 1899 to 1905 marked the culmination of the career of Booker T. Washington. In 1899 Mr. Washington, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and myself spoke on the same platform at the Hollis Street Theater, Boston, before a distinguished audience. Mr. Washington was not at his best and friends immediately raised a fund which sent him to Europe for a three months' rest. He was received with extraordinary honors: he had tea with the aged Queen Victoria, but two years before her death; he was entertained by two dukes and members of the aristocracy; he met James Bryce and Henry M. Stanley; he was received at the Peace Conference at The Hague and was greeted by many distinguished Americans, like ex-President Harrison, Archbishop Ireland and two justices of the Supreme Court. Only a few years before he had received an honorary A.M. from Harvard; in 1901, he received a LL.D. from Dartmouth; and that same year he dined with President Roosevelt to the consternation of the white South.

Returning to America he became during the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft, from 1901 to 1912, the political referee in all Federal appointments or action taken with reference to the Negro and in many regarding the white South. In 1903 Andrew Carnegie made the future of Tuskegee

certain by a gift of $600,000. There was no question of Booker T. Washington's undisputed leadership of the ten million Negroes in America, a leadership recognized gladly by the whites and conceded by most of the Negroes.

39-2-170

But there were discrepancies and paradoxes in this leadership. It did not seem fair, for instance, that on the one hand Mr. Washington should decry political activities among Negroes, and the other hand dictate Negro political objectives from Tuskegee. At a time when Negro civil rights called for organized and aggressive defense, he broke down that defense by advising acquiescence or at least no open agitation. During the period when laws disfranchising the Negro were being passed in all the Southern states, between 1890 and 1909, and when these were being supplemented by "Jim Crow" travel laws and other enactments making color caste legal, his public speeches, while they did not entirely ignore this development, tended continually to excuse it, to emphasize the shortcomings of the Negro, and were interpreted widely as putting the chief onus for his condition upon the Negro himself.

All this naturally aroused increasing opposition among Negroes and especially among the younger class of educated Negroes, who were beginning to emerge here and there, especially from Northern institutions. This opposition began to become vocal in 1901 when two men, Monroe Trotter, Harvard 1895, and George Forbes, Amherst 1895, began the publication of the Boston Guardian. The Guardian, a weekly periodical, was bitter, satirical, and personal; but it was well-edited, it was earnest, and it published facts. It attracted wide attention among colored people; it circulated among them all over the country; it was quoted and discussed. I did not wholly agree with the Guardian, and indeed only a few Negroes did, but nearly all read it and were influenced by it.

This beginning of organized opposition, together with other events, led to the growth at Tuskegee of what I have called the Tuskegee Machine. It arose first quite naturally. Not only did presidents of the United States consult Booker T. Washington, but governors and congressmen; philanthropists conferred with him,

39-2-171

scholars wrote to him. Tuskegee became a vast information bureau and center of advice. It was not merely passive in these matters but, guided by Emmett Scott a young secretary who was intelligent, suave and far-seeing, active efforts were made to concentrate influence at Tuskegee. After a time almost no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation or acquiescence of Mr. Washington. Few political appointments of Negroes were made anywhere in the United States without his consent. Even the careers of rising young colored men were very often determined by his advice and certainly his opposition was fatal. How much Mr. Washington knew of this work of the Tuskegee Machine and was directly responsible, one cannot say, but of its general activity and scope he must have been aware.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that this Tuskegee Machine was not solely the idea and activity of black folk at Tuskegee. It was largely encouraged and given financial aid through certain white groups and individuals in the North. This Northern group had clear objectives. They were capitalists and employers of labor and yet in most cases sons, relatives, or friends of the abolitionists who had sent teachers into the new Negro South after the war. These younger men believed that the Negro problem could not remain a matter of philanthropy. It must be a matter of business. These Negroes were not to be encouraged as voters in the new democracy, nor were they to be left at the mercy of the reactionary South. They were good laborers and they could be made of tremendous profit to the North. They could become a strong labor force and properly guided they would restrain the unbridled demands of white labor, born of the Northern labor unions and now spreading to the South and encouraged by European Socialism.

One danger must be avoided and that was to allow the silly idealism of Negroes, half-trained in missionary "colleges," to mislead the mass of laborers and keep them stirred-up by ambitions incapable of realization. To this school of thought, the philosophy of Booker T. Washington came as a godsend and it proposed by

39-2-172

building up his prestige and power, to control the Negro group. The control was to be drastic. The Negro intelligentsia was to be suppressed and hammered into conformity. The process involved some cruelty and disappointment, but that was inevitable. This was the real force back of the Tuskegee Machine. It had money and it had opportunity, and it found in Tuskegee tools to do its bidding.

There were some rather pitiful results in thwarted ambition and curtailed opportunity. I remember one case which always stands in my memory as typical. There was a young colored man, one of the most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, with smooth brown skin, velvet eyes of intelligence, and raven hair. He was educated and well-to-do. He proposed to use his father's Alabama farm and fortune to build a Negro town and independent economic unit in the South. He furnished a part of the capital but soon needed more and he came North to get it. He struggled for more than a decade; philanthropists and capitalists were fascinated by his personality and story; and when, according to current custom, they appealed to Tuskegee for confirmation, there was silence. Mr. Washington would not say a word in favor of the project. He simply kept still. Will Benson struggled on with ups and downs, but always balked by a whispering galley of suspicion, because his plan was never endorsed by Tuskegee. In the midst of what seemed to us who looked on the beginnings of certain success, Benson died of overwork, worry, and a broken heart.

From facts like this, one may gauge the bitterness of the fight of young Negroes against Mr. Washington and Tuskegee. The controversy as it developed was not entirely against Mr. Washington's ideas, but became the insistence upon the right of other Negroes to have and express their ideas. Things came to such a pass that when any Negro complained or advocated a course of action, he was silenced with the remark that Mr. Washington did not agree with this. Naturally the bumptious, irritated, young black intelligentsia of the day declared: "I don't care a damn what Booker Washington thinks! This is what I think, and I

have a right to think."

It was this point, and not merely disagreement with Mr. Washington's plans, that brought eventually violent outbreak. It was more than opposition to a program of education. It was opposition to a system and that system was part of the economic development of the United States at that time. The fight cut deep: it went into social relations; it divided friends; it made bitter enemies. I can remember that years later, when I went to live in New York and was once invited to a social gathering among Brooklyn colored people, one of the most prominent Negroes of the city refused to be present because of my attitude toward Mr. Washington.

39-2-173

When the Guardian began to increase in influence, determined effort was made to build up a Negro press for Tuskegee. Already Tuskegee filled the horizon so far as national magazines and the great newspapers were concerned. In 1901 the Outlook, then the leading weekly, chose two distinguished Americans for autobiographies. Mr. Washington's "Up From Slavery" was so popular that it was soon published and circulated all over the earth. Thereafter, every magazine editor sought articles with Washington's signature and publishing houses continued to ask for books. A number of talented "ghost writers," black and white, took service under Tuskegee, and books and articles poured out of the institution. An annual letter "To My People" went out from Tuskegee to the press. Tuskegee became the capital of the Negro nation. Negro newspapers were influenced and finally the oldest and largest was bought by white friends of Tuskegee. Most of the other papers found it to their advantage certainly not to oppose Mr. Washington, even if they did not wholly agree with him.

I was greatly disturbed at this time, not because I was in absolute opposition to the things that Mr. Washington was advocating, but because I was strongly in favor of more open agitation against wrongs and above all I resented the practical buying up of the Negro press and choking off of even mild and reasonable opposition to Mr. Washington in both the Negro press and the white.

39-2-174

Then, too, during these years there came a series of influences that were brought to bear upon me personally, which increased my discomfort and resentment. I had tried to keep in touch with Hampton and Tuskegee, for I regarded them as great institutions. I attended the conferences which for a long time were held at Hampton, and at one of them I was approached by a committee. It consisted of Walter Hines Page, editor of the Atlantic Monthly; William McVickar, Episcopal bishop of Rhode Island; and Dr. Frissel, principal of Hampton and brother of a leading New York banker. They asked me about the possibilities of my editing a periodical to be published at Hampton. I told them of my dreams and plans, and afterwards wrote them in detail. But one query came by mail: that was concerning the editorial direction. I replied firmly that editorial decisions were to be in my hands, if I edited the magazine. This was undiplomatic and too dogmatic; and yet, it brought to head the one real matter in controversy: would such a magazine be dominated by and subservient to the Tuskegee philosophy, or would it have freedom of thought and discussion? Perhaps if I had been more experienced, the question could have been discussed and some reasonable outcome obtained; but I doubt it. I think any such magazine launched at the time would have been seriously curtailed in its freedom of speech. At any rate, the project was dropped.

Beginning in 1902 pressure was put upon me to give up my work at Atlanta University and go to Tuskegee. There again I was not at first adverse in principle to Tuskegee, except that I wanted to continue the studies which I had begun and if my work was worth support, it was worth support at Atlanta University. I was unable to obtain assurance that my studies would be continued at Tuskegee, and that I would not sink to the level of a "ghost writer." I remember a letter came from Wallace Buttrick late in 1902, asking that I attend a private conference in New York with Felix Adler, William H. Baldwin, Jr., George Foster Peabody, and Robert Ogden. The object of the conference was ostensibly the condition of the Negro in New York City. I went to the conference and did not like it. Most of

39-2-175

the more distinguished persons named were not present. The conference itself amounted to little, but after adjournment I was whisked over to William H. Baldwin's beautiful Long Island home and there what seemed to me to be the real object of my coming was disclosed. Mr. Baldwin was at that time president of the Long Island Railroad and slated to be president of the Pennsylvania. He was the rising industrial leader of America; also he was a prime mover on the Tuskegee board of trustees. Both he and his wife insisted that my place was at Tuskegee; that Tuskegee was not yet a good school, and needed the kind of development that I had been trained to promote.

This was followed by two interviews with Mr. Washington himself. I was elated at the opportunity and we met twice in New York City. The results to me were disappointing. Booker T. Washington was not an easy person to know. He was wary and silent. He never expressed himself frankly or clearly until he knew exactly to whom he was talking and just what their wishes and desires were. He did not know me, and I think he was suspicious. On the other hand, I was quick, fast-speaking and voluble. I had nothing to conceal. I found at the end of the first interview that I had done practically all the talking and that no clear and definite offer or explanation of my proposed work at Tuskegee had been made. In fact, Mr. Washington had said about as near nothing as was possible.

The next interview did not go so well because I myself said little. Finally, we resorted to correspondence. Even then I could get no clear understanding of just what I was going to do at Tuskegee if I went. I was given to understand that the salary and accomodations would be satisfactory. In fact, I was invited to name my price. Later in the year I went to Bar Harbor for a series of speeches in behalf of Atlanta University, and while there met Jacob Schiff, the Schieffelins and Merriam of Webster's dictionary. I had dinner with the Schieffelins and their mother-in-law, whose father was once Chief Justice of the United States. Again I was urged to go to Tuskegee.

39-2-176

Early in the next year I received an invitation to join Mr. Washington and certain prominent white and colored friends in a conference to be held in New York. The conference was designed to talk over a common program for the American Negro and evidently it was hoped that the growing division of opinion and opposition to Mr. Washington within the ranks of Negroes would thus be overcome. I was enthusiastic over the idea. It seemed to me just what was needed to clear the air.

There was difficulty, however, in deciding what persons ought to be invited to the conference; how far it should include Mr. Washington's extreme opponents, or how far it should be composed principally of his friends. There ensued a long delay and during this time it seemed to me that I ought to make my own position clearer than I had hitherto. I was increasingly uncomfortable under the statements of Mr. Washington's position: his depreciation of the value of the vote; his evident dislike of Negro colleges; and his general attitude which seemed to place the onus of blame for the status of Negroes upon the Negroes themselves rather than upon the whites. And above all I resented the Tuskegee Machine.

I had been asked sometime before by A.C. McClurg and Company of Chicago if I did not have some material for a book; I planned a social study which should be perhaps a summing up of the work of the Atlanta Conferences, or at any rate, a scientific investigation. They asked, however, if I did not have some essays that they might put together and issue immediately, mentioning my articles in the Atlantic Monthly and other places. I demurred because books of essays almost always fall so flat. Nevertheless, I got together a number of my fugitive pieces. I then added a chapter, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," in which I sought to make a frank evaluation of Booker T. Washington. I left out the more controversial matter: the bitter resentment which young Negroes felt at the continued and increasing activity of the Tuskegee Machine. I concentrated my thought and argument on Mr. Washington's general philosophy. As I read that

39-2-177

statement now, a generation later, I am satisfied with it. I see no word that I would change. I said:

"The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate -- a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds -- so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this -- we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"

Pressure came from white Northern friends, who I believed appreciated my work and on the whole wished me and my race well. But they were apprehensive; fearful because as perhaps the most conspicuously trained young Negro of my day, and, quite apart from any question of ability, my reaction toward the new understanding between North and South, and especially my attitude toward Mr. Washington, were bound to influence Negroes. As a matter of fact, at that time I was not over-critical of Booker Washington. I regarded his Atlanta speech as a statesman-like effort to reach understanding with the white South; I hoped the South would respond with equal generosity and thus the nation could come to understanding for both races. When, however, the South responded with "Jim-Crow" legislation, I became uneasy. Still I believed that my program of investigation and study was

39-2-178

just what was needed to bring understanding in the long run, based on truth. I tried to make this clear. I attended the conferences at Hampton for several years, and became increasingly critical of those Hampton opinions. In all the deliberations to which I listened, and resolutions, which were passed at Hampton, never once was the work of Atlanta University nor college work anywhere for Negroes, commended or approved. I ceased regular attendance at the conferences; but when later I was invited back I delivered a defense of higher training for Negroes and a scathing criticism of the "Hampton Idea." I was not asked to return to Hampton for twenty-five years.

My book settled pretty definitely any further question of my going to Tuskegee as an employee. But it also drew pretty hard and fast lines about my future career. Meantime, the matter of the conference in New York dragged on until finally in October, 1903, a circular letter was sent out setting January, 1904, as the date of meeting. The conference took place accordingly in Carnegie Hall, New York. About fifty persons were present, most of them colored and including many well-known persons. There was considerable plain speaking but the whole purpose of the conference seemed revealed by the invited white guests and the tone of their message. Several persons of high distinction came to speak to us, including Andrew Carnegie and Lyman Abbott. Their words were lyric, almost fulsome in praise of Mr. Washington and his work, and in support of his ideas. Even if all they said had been true, it was a wrong note to strike in a conference of conciliation. The conferences ended with two speeches by Mr. Washington and myself, and the appointment of a Committee of Twelve in which we were also included.

The Committee of Twelve which was thus instituted was unable to do any effective work as a steering committee for the Negro race in America. First of all, it was financed, through Mr. Washington, probably by Mr. Carnegie. This put effective control of the committee in Mr. Washington's hands. It was organized during my absence and laid down a plan of work which seemed to me of some value

34-2-179

but of no lasting importance and having little to do with the larger questions and issues. I therefore soon resigned so as not to be responsible for work and pronouncements over which I would have little influence. My friends and others accused me of refusing to play the game after I had assented to a program of cooperation. I still think, however, that my action was wise.

By this time I was pretty thoroughly disillusioned. It did not seem possible for me to occupy middle ground and try to appease the Guardian on the one hand and the Hampton-Tuskegee idea on the other. I began to feel the strength and implacability of the Tuskegee Machine; the Negro newspapers were definitely showing their reaction and publishing jibes and innuendoes at my expense. Filled with increasing indignation, I published in the Guardian a statement concerning the venality of certain Negro papers which I charged had sold out to Mr. Washington. It was a charge difficult of factual proof without an expenditure of time and funds not at my disposal. I was really at last openly tilting against the Tuskegee Machine and its methods. These methods have become common enough in our day for all sorts of purposes: the distribution of advertising and favors, the sending out of special correspondence, veiled and open attacks upon recalcitrants, the narrowing of opportunities for employment and promotion. All this is a common method of procedure today, but in 1904 it seemed to me monstrous and dishonest, and I resented it. On the other hand, the public expressism of this resentment greatly exercised and annoyed Mr. Washington's friends. Some knew little about these activities at Tuskegee; others knew and approved. The New York Evening Post challenged me to present proof of my statements and refused to regard my answer as sufficient, which was of course true.

Then came a new and surprising turn to the whole situation which in the end quite changed my life. In the early summer of 1905, Mr. Washington went to Boston and arranged to speak in a colored church to colored people -- a thing which he did not often do in the North. Trotter and Forbes, editors of the

39-2-180

Guardian, determined to heckle him and make him answer publicly certain questions with regard to his attitude toward voting and education. William H. Lewis, a colored lawyer whom I myself had introduced to Mr. Washington, had charge of the meeting, and the result was a disturbance magnified by the newspapers into a "riot," which resulted in the arrest of Mr. Trotter. Finally he served a term in jail.

With this incident I had no direct connection whatsoever. I did not know beforehand of the meeting in Boston, nor of the projected plan to heckle Mr. Washington. But when Trotter went to jail, my indignation overflowed. I did not always agree with Trotter then or later. But he was an honest, brilliant, unselfish man, and to treat as a crime that which was at worst mistaken judgement was an outrage. I sent out from Atlanta in June, 1905, a call to a few selected persons "for organized determination and aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth." I proposed a conference during the summer "to oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticism; to organize intelligent and honest Negroes; and to support organs of news and public opinion."

Fifty-nine colored men from seventeen different states eventually signed a call for a meeting near Buffalo, New York, during the week of July 9, 1905. I went to Buffalo and hired a little hotel on the Canada side of the river at Fort Erie, and waited for the men to attend the meeting. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the hotel, I should certainly have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail; but as a matter of fact, twenty-nine men, representing fourteen states, came. The "Niagara Movement" was incorporated January 31, 1906, in the District of Columbia.

Its particular business and objects were to advocate and promote the following principles:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.

2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press.

3. Manhood suffrage.

4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.

5. The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.

6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.

7. A belief in the dignity of labor.

8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

The Niagara Movement raised a furor of the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader and being ashamed of the fact that I was a member of the Negro race. The leading weekly of the land, the New York Outlook, pilloried me with scathing articles. But the movement went on. The next year, 1906, instead of meeting in secret, we met openly at Harper's Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid, and had in significance if not in numbers one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes ever held. We made pilgrimage at dawn bare-footed to the scene of Brown's martyrdom and we talked some of the plainest English that had been given voice to by black men in America. The resolutions which I wrote expressed with tumult of emotion my creed of 1905:

"The men of the Niagara Movement, coming from the toil of the year's hard work, and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accomodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually

39-2-181

afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.

"Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the Thief and the home of the Slave -- a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment.

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens, born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness, the new American creed says: fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the white. And this in the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

"In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of our wives, the chastity of our daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to those who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accomodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

"Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk and be with them who wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

"Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of the Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no State allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

39-2-183

"The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions in the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

"Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance, or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education, we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

"These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote; by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob;

but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

39-2-184

Here at last I approached in my thinking the fundamental matter of the exploitation of the worker, regardless of race and color. The thought was not yet clear and the philosophy of Socialism was not yet applied. But the philosophy hovered in the background.

Meantime, I refused to give up the idea that a critical periodical for the American Negro might be founded. I had started in Memphis with the help of two graduates of Atlanta University the little printing shop that I have already mentioned, and from this was published weekly a paper called The Moon beginning in 1906. The Moon was in some sort precursor of The Crisis. It was published for a year in Memphis and then the printing office given up and in 1907 in conjunction with two friends in Washington there was issued a minature monthly called the Horizon. The Horizon was published from 1907 to 1910, and in the fall of 1910 The Crisis was born.

Gradually I began to realize that the difficulty about support for my work in Atlanta University was largely personal; that on account of my attitude toward Mr. Washington I had become persona non grata to powerful interests, and that Atlanta University would not be able to get support for its general work or for its study of the Negro problem so long as I remained at the institution. No one ever said this to me openly, but I sensed it in the worries which encompassed the new young President Ware who had succeeded Dr. Bumstead. I began to realize that I would better look out for work elsewhere.

About this time an offer came from the city of Washington. The merging of the white and colored school systems into one, had thrown colored folk into uproar lest their control of their own schools be eliminated and colored children

not admitted to white schools. The new and rather eccentric W.C. Chancellor, superintendent of schools, wanted an assistant superintendent to put in charge of the Negro schools. To my great surprise he offered the position to me, while I was on a chance visit to the city. I asked for time to consider it. My reaction was to refuse even though the salary was twice what I was getting; for I doubted my fitness for such a job; but when I thought the matter over further and my position at Atlanta University, I began to wonder if I should not accept.

39-2-185

I was not called upon to decide, for forces started moving in Washington. The Tuskegee Machine backed by white capital was definitely against me and they involved the local interests of the Negro group. A prominent colored member of the School Board took the matter straight to President Theodore Roosevelt and emphasized the "danger" of my appointment. He never forgot the "danger" of my personality as later events proved. The offer was never actually withdrawn, but it was not pressed, and I finally realized that it probably would not have gone through even if I had indicated my acceptance.

Still my eventual withdrawal from Atlanta University seemed wise. Young President Ware had received almost categorial promises that under certain circumstances increased contributions from the General Education Board and other sources might be expected, which would make the University secure, and perhaps even permit the continuance of the conference. I was sure that I was at least one of these "circumstances," and so my work in Atlanta and my dream of the settlement of the Negro problem by science faded. I began to be acutely conscious of the difficulty which my attitudes and beliefs were making for Atlanta University.

My career as a scientist was to be swallowed up in my role as master of propaganda. This was not wholly to my liking. I was no natural leader of men. I could not slap people on the back and make friends of strangers. I could not easily break down an inherited reserve; or at all times curb a biting, critical

tongue. Nevertheless, having put my hand to the plow, I had to go on. The Niagara Movement with less momentum met in Boston in 1907 and in Oberlin in 1908. It began to suffer internal strain from the dynamic personality of Trotter and my own inexperience with organizations. Finally it practically became merged with a new and enveloping organization of which I became a leading official -- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

39-2-186

CHAPTER XV

THE NAACP

The NAACP started with a lynching 100 years after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, (SP) and in the city, Springfield, Ohio, which was his long-time residence. William English Walling a white Southerner dramatized the gruesome happening and a group of liberals formed a committee in New York, which I was invited to join. A conference was held in 1909.

37-3-1

This conference contained four groups: scientists who knew the race problem; philanthropists willing to help worthy causes; social workers ready to take up a new task of Abolition; and Negroes ready to join a new crusade for their emancipation. An impressive number of scientists and social workers attended; friends of wealthy philanthropists were present and many Negroes but few followers of Booker Washington. In the end Trotter the most radical Negro leader and Ida Wells Barnet who was leading an anti-lynching crusade refused to join the new organization, being distrustful of white leadership. I myself and most of the Niagara Movement group were willing to join. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was formed, which without formal merger absorbed practically the whole membership of the Niagara Movement. With some hesitation I was asked to join the organization as Director of Publications and Research. My research work was to go on but my activities would be so held in check that the Association would not develop as a center of attack upon Tuskegee.

Here was an opportunity to enter the lists in a desperate fight aimed straight at the real difficulty: the question as to how far educated Negro opinion in the United States was going to have the right and opportunity to guide the Negro group. Back of this lay an unasked question as to the relation of the American Negro group to the whole labor movement. This was not yet raised but several of the group were socialists, including myself.

One may consider the personal equations and clash of ideologies possible here as a matter of the actions and thoughts of certain men, or as a development of larger social forces beyond personal control. I suppose the latter aspect is the truer. My thoughts, the thoughts of Washington, Trotter and Villard were the expression of social forces more than of our own minds. These forces or ideologies embraced more than reasoned acts. They included physical, biological and psychological habits, conventions and enactments. Opposed to these came natural reaction: the physical recoil of the victims, the unconscious and irrational urges, as well as reasoned complaints and acts. The total result was the history of our day. That history may be epitomized in one word -- Empire; the domination of white Europe over black Africa and yellow Asia, through political power built on the economic control of labor, income and ideas. The echo of this Industrial imperialism in America was the expulsion of black men from American democracy, their subjection to caste control and wage slavery. This ideology was triumphant in 1910.

39-3-2

I

I accepted the offer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910 to join their new organization in New York as Director of Publications and Research.

My new title showed that I had modified my program of research, but by no means abandoned it. First, I directed and edited my Atlanta study of 1912, in absentia with the help of my colleague, Augustus Dill, my student and successor as teacher in Atlanta. Then in our study of 1913, I secured the promise of Dr. Dillard, of the Slater Board, to join Atlanta University in keeping up the work of the conferences. The work of research was to be carried on in New York, with a conference and annual publication at Atlanta. I was jubilant at the projected survival of my work. But on advice of President Ware himself, this arrangement was not accepted by the trustees of Atlanta University. Ware was probably warned that his tie with a radical movement would hamper the University.

In August, 1910, I reported at my new office and new work at 20 Vesey Street, New York. As I have said elsewhere, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "proved between 1910 and the first World War, one of the most effective organizations of the liberal spirit and the fight for social progress which America has known." It fought frankly to make Negroes "politically free from disfranchisement; legally free from caste and socially free from insult."

39-3-3

This new field of endeavor represented a distinct break from my previous purely scientific program. While "research" was still among my duties, there were in fact no funds for such work. My chief efforts were devoted to editing and publishing the Crisis, which I founded on my own responsibility, and over the protest of many of my associates. With the Crisis, I essayed a new role of interpreting to the world the hindrances and aspirations of American Negroes. My older program appeared only as I supported my contentions with facts from current reports and observation or historic reference. My writing was reinforced by lecturing, and my knowledge increased by travel; my thought was broadened by study of Socialism.

We had on our board of directors many incongruous elements as was to be expected: philanthropists like Oswald Villard; social workers like Florence Kelly; liberal Christians like John Haynes Holmes and liberal Jews like the Spingarns; spiritual descendants of the Abolitionists like Mary Ovington and radical Negroes. Clashes now and then were inevitable.

To a white philanthropist like Villard, a Negro was quite naturally expected to be humble and thankful or certainly not assertive and aggressive; this Villard resented. I knew Villard's mother, who was Garrison's favorite child, and I liked her very much. His uncles were cordial and sympathetic. There was much that I liked in Villard himself, but one thing despite all my effort kept us far apart. He had married a wife from Georgia, a former slave state and consequently I could

never step foot in his house as a guest, nor could any other of his colored associates. Indeed I doubt if any of his Jewish co-workers were ever invited. I respected the reasons for this discrimination, but I could hardly be expected to be happy over them or to be his close friend.

My first rather bitter falling out with Villard was at a meeting of the Board of Directors. Villard presumed to tell me how to edit the Crisis, and suggested that with my monthly record of lynchings, I also publish a list of Negro crimes. I resented this, not only because it was logically silly, but because it was interfering with my business. It was for this reason and from similar clashes that he finally resigned the chairmanship of the board and was replaced by Joel Spingarn. Villard, however, kept his membership on the board and his interest in our work. Social workers like Florence Kelly criticized my status: I held the rather anamalous position of being both a member of the board and, as executive officer, the board's employee. This was not from any demand which I made, but was due to the inescapable fact that I knew the Negro problem better than any of the white members of the board, and at the same time I was the one colored man whom they could put their hands on to carry out the objects of the organization. My double capacity was repeatedly a matter of discussion, and sometimes dispute; but no answer was however forthcoming for 24 years.

Few of us realized what an organization of this sort had to be and what changes of form it had to go through. In early years it was a conference of men seeking agreement for common action, and finally carrying out the work decided upon by means of a committee of one or more. It was this form that the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People had in mind when it was organized in 1909. It needed money, and that Villard and some of the other members of the committee proposed to raise from their wealthy friends, or from well-known philanthropists. It became increasingly necessary for the organization to have a paid executive whose chief business was to raise money.

When I was called to join the group it was expected that I would become that executive, but that was just what I refused to do, because I knew that raising money was not a job for which I was fitted. It called for a friendliness of approach and knowledge of human nature, and an adaptability which I did not have. What I had was knowledge of the Negro problem, and an ability to express my thoughts clearly, and a logical method of thought. I wanted then to write and lecture; and this became my job. We needed however an executive secretary, and after relying a few years on untrained services, we hired a white trained social worker at five thousand dollars a year. It seemed to many of us a huge sum and an impossible effort, but it worked out under three secretaries; the first white, the other two colored.

37-3-5

It was carried on in accordance with growing experiences among philanthropic organizations. The secretaries trained to raise money used approved and tried methods and expected and received cooperation from a Board of Directors whom they helped to select because of their money and their advertising value. This meant that the secretary had to have power put in its hands and the more money he raised for the objects of the organization, the more power he got. If he knew his job and had a broad conception of the purposes of his organization, things would go well. If he became more interested in money and power, and less clear as to ideal, the organization might not go as well. Changes due to these facts have occurred in the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People during its long and successful career.

The span of my life from 1910 to 1934 is chiefly the story of Crisis magazine under my editorship but it had also an astonishing variety of subsidiary interests and activities.

Beginning a little before this period I continued my visits to Europe. I went in 1900 to the Paris Exposition and again by the grace of an English friend

in 1906. I helped organize and took part in the great Races Congress in 1911 and went to France in December, 1918, just after the Armistice. This close touch with Europe and European developments had much to do with my understanding of social problems and trends of the world. I followed the development of English imperialism and the forces in England, France, Italy and Germany which resulted in the Balkan War, the World War and eventually the Russian Revolution. In the United States I studied the political development from the free silver controversy led by Bryan, through the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Taft, and especially the "Bull Moose" campaign and the election of Wilson.

I kept on writing and publishing not with as much concentration of effort as I ought to have, but with some effectiveness. In 1907 appeared "The Negro in the South" -- from lectures, two by myself and two by Mr. Washington. In 1909 I published "John Brown," one of the best written of my books, but one which aroused the unfortunate jealousy of Villard who had also written a biography of Brown. In 1915 I published my volume on "The Negro". To this must be added part of a bulletin in the Twelfth Census of the United States and several magazine articles.

I still clung to my idea of investigation in lines which would temper and guide my exposition of a racial philosophy; and for that reason I determined from the beginning to make my work with the Association not that of executive secretary but editor of its official organ. There was opposition to this organ from the first. First of all, organs of this sort were known to be usually costly and this organization had no money. Secondly, organs were of doubtful efficiency. My good friend, Albert E. Pillsbury, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, wrote feelingly: "If you have not decided upon a periodical, for heaven's sake don't. They are as numerous as flies" -- and he meant to conclude about as useful. I came to New York to occupy a bare office; associated with a treasurer, Villard

who said frankly, "I don't know who is going to pay your salary. I have no money;" and with a generally critical if not hostile public which expected the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to launch upon a bitter attack upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee.

39-3-7

My first job was to get the Crisis going; and arriving in August I got the first copy off the press in November, 1910. It came at the psychological moment and its success was phenomenal. From the one thousand which I ventured to publish first, it went up a thousand a month until by 1918 (due, of course, to special circumstances) we published and sold over a hundred thousand copies.

With this organ of propaganda and defense we were able to organize one of the most effective assaults of liberalism upon reaction that the modern world has seen. The N.A.A.C.P. secured extraordinary helpers; great lawyers like Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall; earnest liberals like Villard, Milholland, John Haynes Holmes, Jane Addams, and the Spingarns; socialists like Mary W. Ovington, Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling.

We gained a series of court victories before the highest courts of the land which perhaps never have been equalled, beginning with the recognition of the validity of the 15th amendment and the overthrow of the vicious Grandfather Clauses in 1915; and the breaking of the backbone of housing segregation in 1917. Above all, we could, through the Crisis and our officers, our secretaries and friends, place consistently and continuously before the country a clear-cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. We tried to organize his political power and make it felt and we started a campaign against lynching and mob law which was the most effective ever organized and at long last seemed to bring the end of the evil in sight.

With these efforts came other activities. I lectured widely in nearly every state in the Union. I furnished information to people everywhere on all sorts of subjects closely and remotely connected with race problems, and carried on from

time to time studies and investigations. I was held more responsible for the success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than I cared to confess to myself; than most other people wanted to admit. I had to spread myself over a whole field of activities when I would have done great deal better work if I could have confined myself to writing and study.

39-3-8

The development of the Crisis where most of my writing was done was interesting and difficult. It was impaired first and last by lack of trained business management. For the most part I was my own business manager which meant the loss of much time in details. Then there was the delicate matter of policy; of how far I should express my own ideas and reactions in the Crisis or the studied judgement of the organization. From first to last I thought strongly, and as I still think rightly, to make the opinion expressed in the Crisis a personal opinion; because as I argued, no organization can express definite and clear-cut opinions; so far as this organization comes to conclusions it states them in its annual resolutions; but the Crisis states openly the opinion of its editor so long as that opinion is in general agreement with that of the organization.

This of course was a dangerous and delicate matter bound eventually to break down in case there was any considerable divergence of opinion between the organization and the editor. It was perhaps rather unusual that for two decades the two lines of thinking ran so largely together. If on the other hand the Crisis had not been in a sense a personal organ and the expression of myself, it could not possibly have attained its popularity and effectiveness. It would have been the dry kind of organ that so many societies support for purposes of reference and not for reading. It took on the part of the organization, a great deal of patience and faith to allow me the latitude that they did for so many years; and on the other hand I was enabled to lay down for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a clear, strong and distinct body of doctrine that could not have been started by majority vote. It was probably inevitable that in the end a

distinct and clear-cut difference of opinion on majority policies should lead to the dissolution of this interesting partnership.

One of the first difficulties that the National Association met was the case of its attitude toward Mr. Washington. I carefully tried to avoid any exaggeration of our differences of thought; but to discuss the Negro question in 1910 was to discuss Booker T. Washington and almost before we were conscious of the inevitable trends we were challenged from Europe. Mr. Washington was in Europe in 1910 and made some speeches in England in his usual conciliatory lines. John Milholland who had been so influential in the organization of the National Association with paid employees and an office wrote me and said that American Negroes must combat the idea that they were satisfied with conditions. I therefore wrote an appeal to England and Europe.

39-3-9

"If Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true. We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilites have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. In flat contradiction, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the concensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems. We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony."

39-3-10

In furtherance of this statement and in anticipation of the meeting of the Races Congress in 1911 Mr. Milholland arranged that I should go early to the conference and make some addresses. The plan simmered down to a proposed address before the Lyceum Club, the leading woman's group of London,. There it ran against the opposition of an American woman who wrote: "I think there is serious objection to entertaining Dr. Du Bois at the Lyceum." The result was a rather acrimonious controversy, from which I tried gently to withdraw but was unable to; and finally led by Her Highness the Ranée of Sarawak and Dr. Etta Sayre, a luncheon was held at the Lyceum Club with a bishop and two countesses, several knights and ladies and with Maurice Hewlett and Sir Harry Johnston.

The Races Congress in 1911 would have marked an epoch in the racial history of the world if it had not been for the World War. Felix Adler and I were made secretaries of the American section of the Congress in London. It was a great and inspiring occasion bringing together representatives of numerous ethnic and cultural groups and bringing new and frank conceptions of scientific bases of racial and social relations of people. I had a chance twice to address the Congress in the great hall of the University of London and to write one of the two poems which greeted the assembly.

Returning to the United States I was plunged into the "Bull Moose" campaign. I thought I saw a splendid chance for a third party movement on a broad platform of votes for Negroes and industrial democracy. Sitting in the office of the Crisis I wrote out a proposed plank for the Progressives to adopt at their Chicago meeting: "The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 percent, deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voicein their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent

the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

This was taken to Chicago by Joel E. Spingarn and advocated by two other directors of the Association, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams. They worked in vain for its adoption. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He told Mr. Spingarn frankly that he should be "careful of that man Du Bois" who was in Roosevelt's opinion a "dangerous" person. The "Bull Moose" convention not only refused to seat most of the colored delegates; elected a Southern "lily white" to run on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt and finally succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson president of the United States.

Bishop Walters and myself conceived the idea that Mr. Wilson might be approachable. I proposed to throw the weight of the Crisis against Roosevelt and Taft and for Wilson, and Bishop Walters went to see him. He secured from Woodrow Wilson a categorical expression over his signature "of his earnest wish to see justice done the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. I want to assure them that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States."

In this effort to divide the Negro vote which was successful to an unusual degree, we were cruelly disappointed when the Democratic party won and the next Congress met. There was the greatest flood of discriminatory bills both in Congress and among the states that has probably ever been introduced since the Civil War. Only united and determined effort defeated bills against intermarriage and for other discriminations in eight states; and while most of the proposed legislation in Congress was kept from the statute books, the administration carried out a segregation by color in the various departments which we had to fight for years and vestiges of which remain even today.

In other respects our lines were cast in difficult places. The Socialists began to consider the color line and to discriminate against the membership of colored people in the South, lest whites should not be attracted. Mr. Villard tried to get the President to appoint a National Race Commission to be privately financed to the extent of $50,000, but nothing was done. Suddenly war and revolution struck the world; the Chinese Revolution in 1912; the Balkan War in 1912-18; and finally, in 1914, the World War.

39-3-12

In that very year the National Council of Social Agencies met in Memphis without daring to discuss the color question but Spingarn and I went down and held open meetings advertising "for all who dared hear the truth." We had an interesting time. This success and the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 led to the first Amenia conference and tried to unite the American Negro in one program of advance.

Finally the World War touched America; with it and in anticipation of it, came a sudden increasing of lynching including the horrible burning alive of a Negro at Dyersburg; there came renewed efforts at segregation; the whole extraordinary difficulties of the draft and the question of Negro officers. We offered our service to fight. What happened? Most Americans have forgotten the extraordinary series of events which worked the feelings of black America to fever heat.

First was the refusal to accept Negro volunteers for the army except in the four black regiments already established. While the nation was combing the country for volunteers for the regualr army it would not let the American Negro furnish even his proportionate quota of regular soldiers. This led to some grim bantering among Negroes:

"Why do you want to volunteer?" asked many. "Why should you fight for this country?"

Before we had chance to reply to this there came the army draft bill and the proposal by Vardaman and his ilk to exempt Negroes. We protested to Washington in various ways and while we were insisting that colored men should be drafted

just as other citizens, the bill went through with two little "jokers."

First, it provided that Negroes should be drafted but trained in "separate" units and, secondly, it somewhat ambiguously permitted men to be drafted for "labor."

A wave of fear and unrest spread among Negroes; and while we were looking at both these provisions askance suddenly we received the draft registration blank. It directed persons "of African descent" to "tear off the corner!" Probably never before in the history of the United States has a portion of the citizens been so openly and crassly discriminated against by action of the general government. It was disheartening and on top of it came the celebrated "German plots". It was alleged in various parts of the country with singular unanimity that Germans were working among the Negroes and it was further intimated that this would make the Negroes too dangerous an element to trust with guns. To us, of course, it looked as though the discovery and the proposition came from the same thinly-veiled sources.

39-3-13

Considering carefully these series of happenings the American Negro sensed an approaching crisis and faced a puzzling dilemma. Here was evidently preparing fertile ground for the spread of disloyalty and resentment among the black masses as they were forced to choose apparently between forced labor or a "Jim Crow" draft. Manifestly when a minority group is thus segregated and forced out of the nation they can in reason do but one thing -- take advantage of the disadvantage. In this case we asked for colored officers for the colored troops.

General Wood was early approached and asked to admit suitable candidates to the Plattsburg Officers Camp. He refused. We thereupon pressed the government for a "separate" camp for the training of Negro officers. Not only did the War Department hesitate at this request but strong opposition arose among the colored people themselves. They said this really was going too far. "We will obey the law but

to ask for voluntary segregation is to insult ourselves." But strong, sober second thought came to rescue. We said to our protesting brothers: "We face a condition, not a theory. There is not the slightest chance of our being admitted to white camps, therefore, it is either a case of a "Jim Crow" officers training camp or no colored officers. Of the two things no colored officers would be the greatest calamity.

39-3-14

Thus we gradually made up our minds. But the War Department still hesitated. It was besieged and when it presented its final argument, "We have no place for such a camp," the trustees of Howard University said: "Take our campus." Eventually twelve hundred colored cadets were assembled at Fort Des Moines for training.

The city Des Moines promptly protested but it finally changed its mind. The city never before had seen such a class of colored men. They rapidly became popular with many classes and encomiums were passed upon their conduct. Especially was the money they spent popular with merchants. Their commanding colonel pronounced their work first class and declared that they presented excellent material for officers.

Meantime, with one accord, the thought of the colored people turned toward Colonel Young, their highest officer in the regular army. Charles Young was an heroic figure. He was the typical soldier -- silent, uncomplaining, brave and efficient. From his days at West Point throughout his twenty-eight years of service he has taken whatever task was assigned him and performed it efficiently and there is no doubt but that the army had been almost merciless in the requirements which it has put upon this splendid officer. He had been segregated, discriminated against and insulted. He came through everything with flying colors. In Haiti, Liberia, in Western camps, in the Sequoia Forests of California, and finally with Pershing in Mexico -- in every case he triumphed. Just at the time we were looking to the Government to call him to head the colored officers training at Des Moines, he was retired from the Army because of "high blood pressure!"

There is no disputing army surgeons and their judgement in this case may have been justified, but coming at the time it did, every Negro in the United States believed that the "high blood pressure" that retired Colonel Young was in the prejudiced heads of the southern army oligarchy who were determined that no Negro should ever wear the star of a General.

37-3-15

To say that Negroes of the United States were disheartened at the retirement of Colonel Young is to put it mildly; but there was more trouble. The provision that Negro troops must be trained separately looked simple and was simple in places where there were large Negro contingents; but in the North with solitary Negroes drafted here and there we had some extraordinary developments. Regiments appeared with one Negro and he had to be separated like a pest and put in a house or even a village by himself, while the Commander frantically telegraphed to Washington. Small wonder that one poor black fellow in Ohio solved the problem by cutting his throat. The whole process of drafting Negroes had to be held up until the Government could find methods and places for assembling them.

On the top of this came Houston. In a moment the nation forgot the whole record of one of the most celebrated regiments in the U.S. Army and their splendid service in the Indian Wars and in the Philippines. It was the first regiment mobilized in the Spanish American War and it was the regiment that volunteered to a man to clean up the yellow fever camps when others hesitated. It was one of the regiments to which Pershing said:

"Men, I am authorized by Congress to tell you all that our people back in the States are mighty glad and proud at the way the soldiers have conducted themselves while in Mexico, and I, General Pershing, can say with pride that a finer body of men never stood under the flag of our nation than we find here tonight."

The nation also forgot the deep resentment mixed with the pale ghost of fear which Negro soldiers call up in the breasts of the white South. It is not so much that they fear that the Negro will strike if he gets a chance, but rather that they assume with curious unanimity that he has REASON to strike; that any

245

other persons in his circumstances or treated as he is would rebel. Instead of seeking to relieve the cause of such a possible feeling, most of them strain every effort to bottle up the black man's resentment. Is it inconceivable that now and then it bursts all bounds?

39-3-16

So, in the midst of this mental turmoil came Houston and East St. Louis, in 1917. At Houston, black soldiers goaded and insulted suddenly went wild and "shot up" the town. At East St. Louis, white strikers on war work killed and mobbed Negro workingmen. And this is the result:

HOUSTON	EAST ST. LOUIS
Offense	Offense
17 white persons killed	125 Negroes killed
Punishment	Punishment
19 colored soldiers hanged	9 white men imprisoned 5 - 15 years
51 colored soldiers imprisoned for life	11 white men imprisoned 1 year
40 colored soldiers imprisoned	18 white men fined
	10 colored men imprisoned 14 years

My career had at this time a certain sense of drama. I had never before seen Theodore Roosevelt but in November, 1918, I presided at a meeting in Carnegie Hall where he made his last public speech, appearing together with Irwin Cobb and a representative of the French High Commission. I remember my introduction: "I have the honor to present Theodore Roosevelt." Then on my fiftieth birthday there was a public celebration and many kindly messages. The Crisis had reached a monthly circulation of 68,000 and during the year I had a little dinner with Glendowen Evans, Margaret DeLand and William James; and Albert Bushnell Hart wrote the words: "Out of his fifty years of life I have followed a good thirty -- and have counted him always among the ablest and keenest of our teacher-scholars, an American who viewed his country broadly."

The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three trips to Europe; but now between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the

close of the War and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia, and Constantinople in 1926. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in those stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breadth of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

39-3-17

But this was only part of my work: In the United States I was still fighting the battle of liberalism against race prejudice; trying to adjust war and post-war problems to the questions of racial justice; trying to show from the injustices of war time what the new vision must encompass; fighting mobs and lynchings; encouraging Negro migration; helping woman suffrage; encouraging the new rush of young Blacks to college; watching and explaining the political situation and travelling and lecturing over thousands of miles and in hundreds of centers.

In addition to this I was encouraging the writing of others and trying to help develop Negro art and literature. Besides editing the Crisis continuously, I published "Darkwater" in 1920; "The Gift of Black Folk" in 1924; the article on Georgia "In These United States" in 1924. This Georgia fought bitterly to keep from appearing. Ernest Gruening, now senator from Alaska, who edited the series, accepted it. The concluding chapter in "The New Negro" in 1925, besides a number of magazine articles I also wrote. Most of the young writers who began what was called the renaissance of Negro literature in the twenties saw their first publication in the Crisis magazine.

Above all in these days I made two efforts toward which I look back with infinite satisfaction: the two-year attempt in the Brownie's book to furnish a little magazine for Negro children in which my efforts were ably seconded by Augustus Dill and Jessie Fauset; and most especially my single-handed production

of the pageant "The Star of Ethiopia". The pageant was an attempt to put into dramatic form for the benefit of large masses of people, a history of the Negro race. It was first attempted in the New York celebration of Emancipation in 1913; it was repeated with magnificent and breath-taking success in Washington with 1200 participants; it was given again in Philadelphia in 1916; and in Los Angeles in 1924. Finally in New York I attempted a little theatre movement which went far enough to secure for our little group second prize in an international competition in New York.

34-3-18

When President Wilson was planning to attend the Congress of Versailles, I wrote him a letter saying:

"The International Peace Congress that is to decide whether or not peoples shall have the right to dispose of themselves will find in its midst delegates from a nation which champions the principle of the 'consent of the governed' and 'government by representation'. That nation is our own, and includes in itself more than twelve million souls whose consent to be governed is never asked. They have no members in the legislatures of states where they are in the majority, and not a single representative in the national Congress."

In 1918 I was asked rather suddenly by the N.A.A.C.P. to go to Europe right after the Armistice, to investigate the treatment of Negro soldiers and keep the record straight; and then at the behest of a group of American Negroes I considered that the interests of Africa ought to be represented during the peace efforts following the War. With infinite difficulty and through the cooperation of Blaise Diagne, the French Deputy from Senegal, I succeeded in gathering in February, 1919, at the Grand Hotel in Paris a Pan-African congress of fifty-seven delegates including sixteen American Negroes, twenty West Indians and twelve Africans. France, Belgium, and Portugal were represented by officials. This was to my mind but a beginning and in 1921 I returned and held a Second Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris from August 28 to September 6.

There were 113 accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups including thirty-five from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe. Among the speakers were Sir Sidney afterward Lord Olivier, Florence Kelly, Bishop Hurst, Paul Otlet, often called the father of the League of Nations, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, Dr. Vitellian, former physician to Menelik of Abyssinia, General Sorelas, Blaise Diagne, Norman Leys, and others.

The attention which the congress evoked all over Europe was astonishing. It was discussed in the London Times, Observer and Daily Graphic; in the Paris Petit Parisian, Matin and Temps; in the Manchester Guardian and in practically all the daily papers of Belgium. It led to heated debate in Brussels touching the rights of these delegates to discuss the relation of colonies and it emphasized in the minds of all of us the consequent importance of such discussions.

Two of us visited the League of Nations and the International Labor Office with petitions and suggestions. In 1923 a third Pan-African Congress, less broadly representative than the second, but nevertheless of some importance was held in London, Paris and Lisbon; and thence I went to Africa and for the first time saw the homeland of the black race.

It was the time when the U.S. had disappointed Liberia by not granting her a promised loan and a gesture of good will was in order. At the suggestion of William H. Lewis, Assistant Attorney-General in Washington, I was therefore designated by cable as special minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to represent President Coolidge at the inauguration of President King. In the presence of the diplomatic and consular representatives of England, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Panama of whom I was Dean I had the honor to tell the President of Liberia: "Your Excellency: ..... I am sure that in this special mark of the President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the

edge of this mighty continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in America the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

At the London meeting of the third Pan-African Congress, Harold Laski, H.G. Wells, and Sir Sidney Olivier spoke. Ramsay McDonald had promised to speak to us but was hindered by the sudden opening of the campaign which eventually made him prime minister of England. Among other efforts, at this time we held conferences with members of the Labor Party of England at which Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mr. Clynes and others were present. We emphasized the importance of labor solidarity between white and black labor in England, America and elsewhere. They were not particularly impressed. In Portugal our meeting was attended by cabinet ministers and deputies and though small was of great interest.

39-3-20

To return again to the fight in the United States, there arose early in this decade the case of Marcus Garvey. I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica in 1915 when he sent a letter "presenting his compliments" and giving me "a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association." Later he came to the United States. In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealousy, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience.

In 1920 when his movement was beginning to grow in America I said in the Crisis that he was "an extraordinary leader of men" and declared that he had "with singular success capitalised and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." On the other hand, I noted his difficulties of temperament and training, inability to get on with his fellow workers, and denied categorically that I had ever interfered in any way with his work. Later when he began to collect money for his steamship

I characterized him as a sincere and hard working idealist but called his methods bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal and begged his friends not to allow him foolishly to overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern world.

But he went ahead, wasted his money, got into trouble with the authorities and was deported. As I said at the time: "When Garvey was sent to Atlanta, no word or action of ours accomplished the result. His release and deportation was a matter of law which no deed or wish of ours influenced in the slightest degree. We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideas. Let him do it. We will be the first to applaud any success that he may have."

39-3-21

I felt for a moment as the war progressed that I could be without reservation a patriotic American. The government was making sincere efforts to meet our demands. It had commissioned over seven hundred Negro officers; I had had a personal interview with Newton Baker, Secretary of War, and he had made categorical promises; Wilson had spoken out against lynching; and I myself had been offered a captaincy in the Intelligence Service, afterwards to be sure rather incontinently withdrawn as the higher command realized just who I was. Nevertheless, I tried to stand by the country and wrote the widely discussed editorial "Close Ranks" in which I said to the Negroes: "Forget your grievances for the moment and stand by your country."

I am not sure that I was right but certainly my intentions were. I did not believe in war, but I thought that in a fight with America against militarism and for democracy we would be fighting for the emancipation of the Negro race. With the Armistice came disillusion. I saw the mud and dirt of the trenches; I

heard from the mouths of soldiers the kind of treatment that black men got in the American army; I was convinced and said that American white officers fought more valiantly against Negroes within our ranks than they did against the Germans. I still believe this was largely true. I collected some astonishing documents of systematic slander and attack upon Negroes and demands upon the French for insulting attitudes toward them, and when I published these documents in America the government started to interfere by refusing the Crisis mailing facilities; then, realizing that this was an admission of guilt, they quickly withdrew their prohibition.

39-3-22

I was especially upset by the mobs and lynchings during this time: by that extraordinary upheaval wherein for several hours black men fighting against a mob practically held the city of Washington in their hands; then the riot and murder in Chicago. We fought back through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the columns of the Crisis, through lectures and articles, with every force at hand. Mary Talbert started the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and with her help and that of our secretary, James Weldon Johnson, we raised a defense fund of $70,000 and put the Dyer Lynch Bill through the House of Representatives and on to the floor of the Senate. It was not until years after that I knew what killed that anti-lynching bill. It was a bargain between the South and the West by which lynching was permitted on condition that the Japanese were excluded.

Court cases kept pressing upon us: there were the Elaine riots and the Arkansas cases; there was the Sweet case in Detroit; and equally significant to my mind but to few other Negroes the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts. We continued winning court victories and yet somehow, despite them, we did not seem to be getting very far. We added to the Grandfather Case of 1915 and the Segregation Case of 1917, the victories in the Arkansas cases, the white primary case and another segregation case in the high courts, in addition to the eventual freeing of Dr. Sweet and his family. Still injustice prevailed. In the case of the Mississippi flood, the Red Cross allowed the Negroes to be treated as slaves

and peons, and in Oklohoma, the Episcopal church refused to prosecute a white murderer on its own school grounds. Above all there came disquieting situations among Negro students: a strike at Hampton, disturbed conditions at Wilberforce, turmoil at Howard, and an uprising at Fisk.

It was thus a decade of infinite effort and discouraging turmoil. I suppose it had to be. I suppose that with the best will, it would have been impossible for me to concentrate on a few great lines of creative effort. I had to be a part of the revolution through which the world was going and to feel in my own soul the scars of its battle. Two things made a sort of finale to the decade: the fourth Pan-African Congress held in New York in 1927 with Dantes Bellegarde, George Sylvain and other speakers; and news of the Congress of British West Africa which began its meetings in 1920 and forced the British government to the greatest step toward democratic method ever taken up to that time in black colonies.

39-3-23

Finally, to my surprise and quite against my best judgement, there was given for me upon my return from Africa at the Cafe Savarin in New York, a dinner. Among the speakers were Heywood Broun, Walter Hampden and Mrs. Bethune, and tributes were sent by Witter Bynner, Zona Gale and Eugene O'Neil. It was a very beautiful and touching tribute.

CHAPTER XVI

MY CHARACTER

When I was a young man, we talked much of Character. At Fisk University character was discussed and emphasized more than scholarship. I knew what was meant and agreed that the sort of person a man was would in the long run prove more important for the world than what he knew or how logically he could think. It is typical of our time that insistance on character today in the country has almost ceased. Freud and others have stressed the unknown factors of our personality so that today we do not advise youth about their development of character; we watch and count their actions with almost helpless disassociation from thought of advice.

39-3-24

Nevertheless from that older generation which formed my youth I still retain an interest in what men are rather than what they do; and at the age of fifty, I began to take stock of myself and ask what I really was as a person. Of course I knew that self-examination is not a true unbiassed picture; but on the other hand without it no picture is quite complete.

From childhood I tried to be honest; I did not mean to take anything which did not belong to me. I told the truth even when there was no call for the telling and when silence would have been golden. I did not usually speak in malice but often blurted out the truth when the story was incomplete and was therefore as seemed to me wrong. I had strict ideas about money and its earning. I worked and worked hard for the first 25 cents a week which I earned. I could never induce myself to gamble or take silly chances because I figured the loss vividly in fatigue and pain. Once on a French train I played the pea in a shell game and lost two dollars. Forty years later in Mexico I won two dollars on a horse race. These were my first and last games of chance.

I was careful about debt. My folk were poor but seldom in debt. I have before me a statement of my indebtedness, September 1, 1894 when I started on my first life job. My salary was $800 a year and my living expense I calculated at: Board $100; Room $35; Clothes $65; Books $100; Debts $350; Sundries $25 -- Total $675; Savings $125. This proved too optimistic but still I kept out of debt. When I taught at Atlanta at a salary of $1200 a year for twelve years, I owed nobody. I had a wife and child and each year I took them somewhere north so as to give them fresh air and civilization. It took every cent of my salary, together with small fees from lectures and writing to pay our way and yet only once was I compelled to overdraw my salary for a month ahead.

34-3-25

Saving I neglected. I had had no experience in saving. My mother's family with whom I lived as a child never had a bank account nor insurance; and seldom a spare dollar. I took out a small life insurance of $1,000 when I was 27. I was cheated unmercifully by the white Pennsylvania company in the fee charged because I was colored. Later after marriage I took out $10,000 of insurance in a Negro Company, the Standard Life. Eventually the company went bankrupt and I lost every cent. I was then too old to obtain more insurance on terms which I could afford.

My income has always been low. During my 23 years with the NAACP, I received for the first 5 years $2500 a year. For the next 18 years, $5,000. With savings from this I bought a home and then sold it later for an apartment building in Harlem. There were five apartments, one of which my family was to occupy and the others I calculated would pay me a permanent income. But the house was overpriced; neglected orders for expensive sewer repairs were overdue. The down payment which I could afford was low and the property was overloaded with three mortgages on which I had to pay bonuses for renewal. Downtown banks began to squeeze black Harlem property holders and taxes increased. With the depression,

tenants could not pay or moved.

There was one recourse: to turn the property into a rooming house for prostitution and gambling. I gave it to the owners of the mortgage and shouldered the loss of all my savings at 60 years of age. In all this I had followed the advice of a friend skilled in the handling of real estate but who assumed that I was trying to make money and not dreaming of model housing conditions. As many of my friends have since informed me, I was a fool; but I was not a thief which I count to my credit.

I returned to Atlanta University in 1933 at a salary of $4,500 a year but still out of debt. When ten years later I was retired without notice, I had no insurance and but small savings. A white classmate, grandson of a railway magnate, berated me for not wishing to give up work. He could not conceive of a man working for fifty years without saving enough to live on the rest of his days. In money matters I was surely negligent and ignorant; but that was not because I was gambling, drinking or carousing; it was because I spent my income in making myself and my family comfortable instead of "saving for a rainy day". I may have been wrong, but I am not sure of that.

On one aspect of my life, I look back upon with mixed feelings; and that is on matters of friendship and sex. I couple them designedly because I think they belong together. I have always had more friends among women than among men. This began with the close companionship I had with my Mother. Friends used to praise me for my attention to my mother; we always went out together arm in arm and had our few indoor amusements together. This seemed quite normal to me; my Mother was lame, why should I not guide her steps? And who knew better about my thoughts and ambitions? Later in my life among my own colored people the women began to have more education, while the men imitated an American culture which I did not share: I drank no alcoholic beverages until I went to Germany and there I drank light beer and Rhine wine. Most of the American men I knew drank

39-3-27

whiskey and frequented saloons which from my boyhood were out of bounds.

Indeed the chief blame which I lay on my New England schooling was the inexcusable ignorance of sex which I had when I went south to Fisk at seventeen. I was precipitated into a region, with loose sex morals among black and white, while I actually did not know the physical difference between men and women. At first my fellows jeered in disbelief and then became sorry and made many offers to guide my abysmal ignorance. This built for me inexcusable and startling temptations. It began to turn one of the most beautiful of earth's experiences into a thing of temptation and horror. I fought and feared amid what should have been a climax of true living. I avoided women about whom anybody gossipped and as I tried to solve the contradiction of virginity and motherhood, I was inevitably faced with the other contradiction of prostitution and adultery. In my home town sex was deliberately excluded from talk and if possible from thought. In public school there were no sexual indulgences of which I ever heard. We talked of girls, looked at their legs, and there was rare kissing of a most unsatisfactory sort. We teased about sweethearts, but quite innocently. When I went South, my fellow students being much older and reared in a region of loose sexual customs regarded me as liar or freak when I asserted my innocence. I liked girls and sought their company, but my wildest exploits were kissing them.

Then, as teacher in the rural districts of East Tennessee, I was literally raped by the unhappy wife who was my landlady. From that time through my college course at Harvard and my study in Europe, I went through a desperately recurring fight to keep the sex instinct in control. A brief trial with prostitution in Paris affronted my sense of decency. I lived more or less regularly with a shop girl in Berlin, but was ashamed. Then when I returned home to teach, I was faced with the connivance of certain fellow teachers at adultery with their wives. I was literally frightened into marriage before I was able to support a family. I married a girl whose rare beauty and excellent household training from her dead mother attracted and held me.

I married at twenty-nine and we lived together for fifty-three years. It was not an absolutely ideal union, but it was happier than most, so far as I could perceive. It suffered from the fundamental drawback of modern American marriage: a difference in aim and function between its partners; my wife and children were incidents of my main life work. I was not neglectful of my family: I furnished a good home. I educated the child and planned vacations and recreation. But my main work was out in the world and not at home. That work out there my wife appreciated but was too busy to share because of cooking, marketting sweeping and cleaning and the endless demands of children. This she did naturally without complaint until our firstborn died, -- died not out of neglect but because of a city's careless sewage. His death tore our lives in two. I threw myself more completely into my work, while most reason for living left the soul of my wife. Another child, a girl, came later, but my wife never forgave God for the unhealable wound.

As I wandered across the world to wider and higher goals, I sensed two complaints against the pairing of the sexes in modern life: one, that ties between human beings are usually assumed to be sexual if a man and woman are concerned; and two, that normal friendships between men and women could not exist without sex being assumed to be the main ingredient. Also, if a man and woman are friends, they must be married and their friendship may become a cloying intimacy, often lasting 24 hours a day, with few outside friends of the opposite sex on pain of gossip, scandal and even crime engulfing the family. My travel and work away from home saved us from this. One difficulty of married life we faced as many others must have. My wife's life-long training as a virgin, made it almost impossible for her ever to regard sexual intercourse as not fundamentally indecent. It took careful restraint on my part not to make her unhappy at this most beautiful of human experiences. This was no easy task for a normal and lusty young man.

Most of my friends and helpers have been women; from my mother, aunts and cousins, to my fellow teachers, students, secretaries, and dreamers toward a better world. Sex indulgence was never the cause or aim of these friendships. I do not think my women friends ever gave my wife harm or unease. I was thoughtful of her comfort and support and of her treatment in public and private. My absence from home so much helped in the household drudgery. I still make my own bed of mornings; for many years I prepared my own breakfast, especially my coffee; I always leave a bathroom cleaner than when I enter; but sewing and sweeping I neglect. But I have often wondered if her limitation to a few women friends and they chiefly housekeepers; and if her lack of contact with men, because of her conventional upbringing and her surroundings -- if this did not make her life unnecessarily narrow and confined. My life on the other hand threw me widely with women of brains and great effort to work on the widest scale. I am endlessly grateful for these contacts.

37-3-29

My first married life lasted over half a century, and its ending was normal and sad, with the loneliness which is always the price of death. To fill this great gap, and let my work go on, I married again near the end of my days. She was a woman forty years my junior but her work and aim in life had been close to mine because her father had long believed in what I was trying to do. The faith of Shirley Graham in me was therefore inherited and received as a joy and not merely as a duty. She has made these days rich and rewarding.

In the midst of my career there burst on me a new and undreamed of aspect of sex. A young man, long my disciple and student, then my co-helper and successor to part of my work, was suddenly arrested for molesting men in public places. I had before that time no conception of homo-sexuality. I had never understood the tragedy of an Oscar Wilde. I dismissed my co-worker forthwith, and spent heavy days regretting my act.

I knew far too few of my contemporaries. I was on occassion incomprehensibly shy, and almost invariably loath to interrupt others in seeking to explain myself. This in the case of my fellow Negroes was balanced by our common experiences, and shared knowledge of what each other had lived through; but in the case of white companions, and especially those newly met, we could not talk together, we lived in different worlds. We belonged to no social clubs, and did not visit the same people or even stand at the same liquor bars. We did not lunch together. I did not play cards, and could never get wildly enthusiastic even over baseball. Naturally we could not share stories of sex.

39-3-30

Thus I did not seek white acquaintances, I let them make the advances, and they therefore thought me arrogant. In a sense I was, but after all I was in fact rather desparately hanging on to my self respect. I was not fighting to dominate others; I was fighting against my own degradation. I wanted to meet my fellows as an equal; they offered or seemed to offer only a status of inferiority and submission.

I did not for the most part meet my great contemporaries. Doubtless this was largely my own fault. I did not seek them. I deliberately refused invitations to spend week-ends with Henry James and H.G. Wells. I did not follow up an offer of the wife of Havelock Ellis to meet him and Bernard Shaw. Later, when I tried to call on Shaw he was coy. Several times I could have met Presidents of the United States and did not. Great statesmen, writers and artists of America, I might have met, and in some cases, might have known intimately. I did not try to accomplish this. This was partly because of my fear that color caste would interfere with our meeting and understanding; if not with the persons themselves, certainly with their friends. But even beyond this, I was not what Americans called a "good fellow".

This too illustrates a certain lack of sympathy and understanding which I had for my students. I was for instance a good teacher. I stimulated inquiry and accuracy. I met every question honestly and never dodged an earnest doubt.

I read my examination papers carefully and marked them with sedulous care. But I did not know my students as human beings; they were to me apt to be intellects and not souls. To the world in general I was nearly always the isolated outsider looking in and seldom part of that inner life. Partly that role was thrust upon me because of the color of my skin. But I was not a prig. I was a lusty man with all normal appetites. I loved "Wine, Women and Song". I worked hard and slept soundly; and if, as many said, I was hard to know, it was that with all my belligerency I was in reality unreasonably shy.

39-3-31

One thing I avoided: and that was envy. I tried to give the other fellow his due even when I disliked him personally and disagreed with him logically. It became to me a point of honor never to refuse appreciation to one who had earned it, no matter who he was. I loved living, physically as well as spiritually. I could not waste my time on baseball but I could appreciate a home run. My own exercise was walking, but there again I walked alone. I knew life and death. The passing of my first born boy was an experience from which I never quite recovered. I wrote:

"The world loved him; the women kissed his curls, the men looked gravely into his wonderful eyes, and the children hovered and fluttered about him. I can see him now, changing like the sky from sparkling laughter to darkening frowns, and then to wondering thoughtfulness as he watched the world. He knew no color-line, poor dear -- and the veil, though it shadowed him, had not yet darkened half his sun. He loved the white matron, he loved his black nurse; and in his little world walked souls alone, uncolored and unclothed. I -- yea, all men -- are larger and purer by the infinite breadth of that one little life. She who in simple clearness of vision sees beyond the stars said when he had flown -- 'He will be happy There; he ever loved beautiful things.' And I, far more ignorant, and blind by the web of my own weaving, sit alone winding words

and muttering, 'If still he be, and he be There, and there be a There, let him be happy, O Fate!'

"Blithe was the morning of his burial, with bird and song and sweet-smelling flowers. The trees whispered to the grass, but the children sat with hushed faces. And yet it seemed a ghostly unreal day -- the wraith of Life. We seemed to rumble down an unknown street behind a little white bundle of posies, with the shadow of a song in our ears. The busy city dinned about us; they did not say much, those pale-faced hurrying men and women; they did not say much -- they only glanced and said 'Niggers'."

My religious development has been slow and uncertain. I grew up in a liberal Congregational Sunday School and listened once a week to a sermon on doing good as a reasonable duty. Theology played a minor part and our teachers had to face some searching questions. At seventeen I was in a missionary college where religious orthodoxy was stressed; but I was more developed to meet it with argument, which I did. My "morals" were sound, even a bit puritanic, but when a hidebound old deacon inveighed against dancing I rebelled. By the time of graduation I was still a "believer" in orthodox religion, but had strong questions which were encouraged at Harvard. In Germany I became a freethinker and when I came to teach at an orthodox Methodist Negro school I was soon regarded with suspicion, especially when I refused to lead the students in public prayer. When I became head of a Department at Atlanta, the engagement was held up because again I balked at leading in prayer, but the liberal president let me substitute the Episcopal prayer book on most occasions. Later I improvised prayers on my own. Finally I faced a crisis: I was using Crapsey's "Religion and Politics" as a Sunday School text. When Crapsey was hauled up for heresy, I refused further to teach Sunday School. When Archdeacon Henry Phillips, my last rector, died, I flatly refused again to join any church or sign any church creed. From

my thirtieth year on I have increasingly regarded the Church as an institution which defended such evils as slavery, color caste, exploitation of labor and War. I think the greatest gift of the Soviet Union to modern civilization was the dethronement of the clergy and the refusal to let religion be taught in the public schools.

39-3-33

Religion helped and hindered my artistic sense. I know the old English and German hymns by heart. I loved their music but ignored their silly words with studied inattention. Great music came at last in the religious oratorios which we learned at Fisk University but it burst on me in Berlin with the Ninth Symphony and its Hymn of Joy. I worshipped Cathedral and ceremony which I saw in Europe but I knew what I was looking at when in New York a Cardinal became a strike-breaker and the Church of Christ fought the Communism of Christianity.

I revered life. I have never killed a bird nor shot a rabbit. I never liked fishing and always let others kill even the chickens which I ate. Nearly all my schoolmates in the South carried pistols. I never owned one. I could never conceive myself killing a human being. But in 1906 I rushed back from Alabama to Atlanta where my wife and six year old child were living. A mob had raged for days killing Negroes. I bought a Winchester double-barrelled shot-gun and two dozen rounds of shells filled with buckshot. If a white mob had stepped on the campus where I lived I would without hesitation have sprayed their guts over the grass. They did not come. They went to south Atlanta where the police let them steal and kill. My gun was fired but once and then by error into a row of Congressional Records, which lined the lower shelf of my library.

My attitude toward current problems arose from my long habit of keeping in touch with world affairs by repeated trips to Europe and other parts of the world. I became internationally-minded during my four years at Harvard, two in college and two in the graduate school. Since that first trip in 1892, I have

made fifteen trips to Europe, one of which circled the globe. I have been in most European countries and travelled in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies. Travel became a habit and knowledge of current thought in modern countries was always a part of my study, since before the First World War when the best of American newspapers took but small account of what Europe was thinking.

39-3-34

I can remember meeting in London in 1911 a colored man who explained to me his plan of leading a black army out of Africa and across the Pyrenees. I was thrilled at his earnestness! But gradually all that disappeared, and I began building a new picture of human progress.

This picture was made more real in 1926 when it became possible for me to take a trip to Russia. I saw on this trip not only Russia, but prostrate Germany, which I had not seen for thirty years. It was a terrible contrast.

By 1945 all these contacts with foreign peoples and foreign problems and the combination of these problems with the race problem here was forced into one line of thought by the Second World War. This strengthened my growing conviction that the first step toward settling the world's problems was Peace on Earth.

Many men have judged me, favorably and harshly. But the verdict of two I cherish. One knew me in mid-life for fifty years and was without doubt my closest friend. John Hope wrote me in 1918:

"Until the last minute I have been hoping that I would have an opportunity to be with you next Monday when you celebrate the rounding out of fifty years in this turbulent but attractive world. But now I am absolutely certain that I cannot come, so I am writing Mr. Shillady expressing my regret and shall have to content myself with telling you in this letter how glad I am that your fiftieth birthday is going to be such a happy one because you can look back on so much good work done. But not the good work alone. What you may look back upon with greatest comfort is

good intention. The fact that every step of the way you have purposed to be a man and to serve other people rather than yourself must be a tremendous comfort to you. Sometime soon if I chance to be back in New York I am going to have you take your deferred birthday dinner with me. You do not realize how much that hour or two which we usually spend together when I am in New York means to me."

Joel Spingarn said:

39-3-35

"I should like to have given public expression by my presence and by my words, not merely to the sense of personal friendship which has bound us together for fifteen years, but to the gratitude which in common with all other Americans I feel we owe you for your public service. It so happens that by an accident of fate, you have been in the forefront of the great American battle, not merely for justice to a single race, but against the universal prejudice which is in danger of clouding the whole American tradition of toleration and human equality.

"I congratulate you on your public service, and I congratulate you also on the power of language by which you have made it effective. I know that some people think that an artist is a man who has nothing to say and who writes in order to prove it. The great writers of the world have not so conceived their task, and neither have you. Though your service has been for the most part the noble one of teacher and prophet (not merely to one race or nation but to the world), I challenge the artists of America to show more beautiful passages than some of those in "Dark Water" and "The Souls of Black Folk."

Let one incident illustrate the paradox of my life.

Robert Morse Lovett was perhaps the closest white student friend I made at Harvard, when not long before his last visit to New York about 1950 he wanted to see and talk with me, he proposed the Harvard Club of which he was a member. I was not. No Negro graduate of Harvard was ever elected to membership in a Harvard club. For a while Jews were excluded, but no longer. I swallowed my pride and met Lovett at the Club. A few months later he died.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEPRESSION

From 1910 to 1920, I had followed sociology as the path to social reform, and social uplift as a result of scientific investigation; then, in practice, I had conceived an interracial culture as superseding our goal of a purely American culture. Before I had conceived a program for this path, and after throes of bitter racial strife, I had emerged with a program of Pan-Africanism, as organized protection of the Negro world led by American Negroes. But American Negroes were not interested.

39-3-36

Abruptly, I had a beam of new light. Karl Marx was scarcely mentioned at Harvard and entirely unknown at Fisk. At Berlin he was a living influence, but chiefly in the modification of his theories then dominant in the Social Democratic Party. I was attracted by the rise of this party and attended its meetings. I began to consider myself a socialist. After my work in Atlanta and my advent in New York, I followed some of my white colleagues -- Charles Edward Russell, Mary Ovington, and William English Walling, into the Socialist Party. I resigned when I regarded a vote for Wilson better for Negroes than a vote for Theodore Roosevelt, Taft or an unknown Socialist. Then came war, the Russian Revolution and the fight of England, France and the United States against the Bolsheviks. I began to read Karl Marx. I was astounded and wondered what other areas of learning had been roped off from my mind in the days of my "broad" education. I did not however jump to the conclusion that the new Russia had achieved the ideal of Marx. And when I was offered a chance to visit Russia in 1926, with expenses paid, I carefully stipulated in writing that the visit would not bind me in any way to set conclusions.

My visit to Germany and the Soviet Union in 1926 and then to Turkey and Italy on return, brought change in my thought and action. The marks of war were all over Russia -- of the war of France and England to turn back the clock of revolution. Wild children were in the sewers of Moscow; food was scarce, clothes were in rags, and the

fear of renewed Western aggression hung like a pall. Yet Russia was and still is to my mind, the most hopeful land in the modern world. Never before had I seen so many among a suppressed mass of poor, working people -- people as ignorant, poor, superstitious and cowed as my own American Negroes -- so lifted in hope and starry-eyed with new determination, as the peasants and workers of Russia, from Leningrad and Moscow to Gorki and from Kiev to Odessa. The art galleries were jammed, the theatres crowded, the schools opening in new places and with new programs each day; and work was beginning to be a joy. Their whole life was being renewed and filled with vigor and ideal, as Youth Day in the Red Square proclaimed.

39-3-37

I saw of course but little of Russia in one short month. I came to no conclusions as to whether the particular form of the Russian state was permanent or a passing phase. I met but few of their greater leaders; only Radek did I know fairly well, and he was imprisoned during the subsequent purge. I do not judge Russia in the matter of war and murder, no more than I judge France and England. But of one thing I am certain: I believe in the dictum of Karl Marx, that the economic foundation of a nation is widely decisive for its politics, its art and its culture. I saw clearly, when I left Russia, that our American Negro belief that the right to vote would give us work and decent wage; would abolish our illiteracy and decrease our sickness and crime; and that poverty was not our fault but our misfortune, the result and aim of our segregation and color caste; that the solution of letting a few of our capitalists share with whites in the exploitation of our masses, would never be a solution of our problem, but the forging of eternal chains, as India may learn to its sorrow.

I did not believe that the Communism of the Russians was the program for America; least of all for a minority group like the Negroes; I saw that the program of the American Communist party was inadequate for our plight. But I did believe that a people where the differentiation in classes because of wealth had only begun, could be so guided by intelligent leaders that they would develop into a consumer-conscious

people, producing for use and not primarily for profit and working into the surrounding industrial organization so as to reinforce the economic revolution bound to develop in the United States and all over Europe and Asia sooner or later. I believed that revolution in the production and distribution of wealth could be a slow, reasoned development and not necessarily a blood bath. I believed that 13 millions of people, increasing albeit slowly in intelligence, could so concentrate their thought and action on the abolition of their poverty, as to work in conjunction with the most intelligent body of American thought; and that in the future as in the past, out of the mass of American Negroes would arise a far-seeing leadership in lines of economic reform.

61-3-22

The Pan African congresses which I called in 1919, 1921, and 1923, were chiefly memorable for the excitement and opposition which they caused among the colonial imperialists. Scarcely a prominent newspaper in Europe but used them as a text of warning, and persisted in coupling them with the demagogic "Garvey Movement," then in its prime as a warning for colonial governments to clamp down on colonial unrest. My only important action in this time, was a first trip to Africa, almost by accident, and a vaster conception of the role of black men in the future of civilization.

But here I was going too fast for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The board was not interested in Africa. Following post-war reaction it shrank back to its narrowest program: to make Negroes American citizens, forgetting that if the white European world persisted in upholding and strengthening the color bar, America would follow in its wake.

If it had not been for the depression, I think that through the Crisis, the little monthly which I had founded in 1910, and carried on with almost no financial assistance for twenty years, I could have started this program on the way to adoption by American Negroes. But the depression made the survival of the Crisis dependent on help from the main office of the N.A.A.C.P. This changed my whole conception of The Crisis as an independent organ leading a liberal organization toward radical reform.

It was this sting in The Crisis which for twenty-three years had made it what it was. But the Board was still mainly conservative; it represented largely Capital and Investment, and only to a small degree Labor and Socialism. If the Association had to pay for The Crisis it would have a right to determine its policy, not only in broad outline but in every detail. The financial relations of the Crisis and the NAACP were unusual. I was responsible for the cost of publishing of the magazine. The NAACP at first paid all my $2500 salary. After two years the Crisis paid half and after four years all the salary; but the NAACP always determined its amount. I was responsible for all the other expenses -- manufacture, distribution, salaries of all the clerks and employees, and finally our share of the rent. We could incur no debts nor accumulate a backlog.

39-3-39

At first we had no bank account but when Walter Sachs became treasurer he let me set up a "Crisis Fund" and we drew our own checks. But we could solicit no gifts nor organize any group of "Crisis Associates" to help support us in need. The NAACP originally promised to meet any deficit we might incur up to $50 a month, but we never called on it for a cent. At times, as for instance when I went abroad for the Second Pan-African Congress, the NAACP ordered my business manager to pay $700 from the Crisis Fund toward my expenses.

I made no complaint on this situation. After all, the NAACP was the object of the Crisis. It was never a profit-making institution. We could get few advertisements because we were classed as a propaganda organ. I was helped enormously in business matters by Robert Wood, the first Negro Tammany politician, who was also a printer contractor and gave me unselfish advice in buying paper and securing printers. For 23 years we paid our way. We left no debts and made the NAACP a universally known organization. But when the Depression came we had nothing to fall back on and had to hand over control to the NAACP who legally owned the Crisis. It was suggested to me that I claim at least part ownership and try to run it as a personal organ. This I

refused to consider although I do not doubt but that a good lawyer might have made a case. But my attitude was that the Crisis belonged to the NAACP and that its future value depended on how the NAACP upheld its high ideals. However there was one circumstance which worried me and that was the change of secretaries which took place in 1931. James Weldon Johnson had resigned and Walter White had succeeded him, and was destined to head the organization for twenty-five years. I knew Walter White. I knew his father and mother; I taught in college his brother and sisters. When in 1917, James Weldon Johnson, our field secretary met White in Atlanta, he suggested to me that White would make a good assistant secretary. I readily concurred and urged his appointment.

White could be one of the most charming of men. He was small in stature, appealing in approach, with a ready smile and a sense of humor. Also he was an indefatigable worker, who seemed never to tire. On the other hand he was one of the most selfish men I ever knew. He was absolutely self-centered and egotistical to the point that he was almost unconscious of it. He seemed really to believe that his personal interests and the interest of his race and organization were identical. This led to curious complications, because to attain his objects he was often absolutely unscrupulous.

As assistant to James Weldon Johnson who became Secretary in 1920, White was an outstanding success. He investigated lynchings at great personal risk; and especially, he carried out the plans which Johnson laid down. It was Johnson's strong point to consult widely and decide carefully. White then took over and put the plans to work. For twelve years this team worked harmoniously and well. Then Johnson was invited to the Pacific to study race relations and given a fellowship by the Rosenwald fund. White ran the Association during his absence. After Johnson's return he came to me and said that White was not cooperating as usual. At the conference in Cleveland, White had simply done almost no work; Johnson intimated that he would have to resign if he lost

the cooperatio of his executive helper. I think that White had already concluded that he should be secretary instead of working under Johnson. Nothing more was said but in 1931, Johnson resigned and went to Fisk University. Walter White was elected to succeed him.

39-3-41

White's asumption of office soon set off an explosion within a year. His attitude and actions were unbearable. The whole staff appealed to me as the senior executive office to lead a protest to the Board of Directors. As editor of The Crisis, this was not in my line of duty; but on the other hand as one of the incorporators of the Association, and a member of the Board of Directors I could not shirk this appeal. I wrote a protest and all the staff signed it including the new assistant, Roy Wilkins; and all the older members, Pickens, Bagnall, and others. It was a strong and biting arraignment but all accepted it and signed it.

The Board was deeply moved and while it did not attempt to deny the charges, thought it was too strong and not quite fair. They asked us to withdraw our signatures and promised to investigate the situation. White abased himself before the Board and made every promise of reform. Nearly all the signers, at the urgent request of Joel Spingarn, President of the Board, withdrew their names. But I refused. I did not trust Walter White The matter dropped and was not heard of afterwards. But White radically changed his attitude toward the staff. He became pleasant and approachable. Above all he went to work. He worked hard and went under-ground to accomplish many of his aims. Any employee who opposed him soon lost his job; but White never appeared as the cause. Everyone who signed the protest except Wilkins, lost his position and Wilkins yielded to White in every request.

White increased his prestige, and under his administration the Association grew in membership and influence.

It was evident by 1932 that The Crisis could survive only if the Association helped support it. As such, The Crisis would become the traditional "organ" of an organization. Moreover, White was increasingly raising the funds which helped keep the

NAACP alive. This would soon impose an impossible position for me and a difficult one for White.

I think I may say without boasting that in the period from 1910 to 1930 I was a main factor in revolutionizing the attitude of the American Negro toward caste. My stinging hammer blows made Negroes aware of themselves, confident of their possibilities and determined in self-assertion. So much so that today common slogans among the Negro people are taken bodily from the words of my mouth.

39-3-1/2

But, of course, no idea is perfect and forever valid. Always to be living and apposite and timely, it must be modified and adapted to changing facts. I began to realize that the heights and fastnesses which we black folk were assailing, could not in America be gained by sheer force of assault, because of our relatively small numbers. They could only be gained as the majority of Americans were persuaded of the rightness of our cause and joined with us in demanding our recognition as full citizens. This process must deal not only with conscious rational action, but with irrational and unconscious habit, long buried in folkways and custom. Intelligent propaganda, legal enactment, and reasoned action must attack the conditioned reflexes of race hate and change them.

Slowly but surely I came to see that for many years, perhaps many generations, we could not count on any such majority; that the whole set of the white world in America, in Europe, and in the world was too determinedly against racial equality, to give power and persuasiveness to our agitation.

Therefore, I began to emphasize and restate certain implicit aspects of my former ideas. I tried to say to the American Negro: during the time of this frontal attack which you are making upon American and European prejudice, and with your unwavering statement and restatement of what is right and just, not only for us, but in the long run, for all men; during this time, there are certain things you must do for your own survival and self-preservation. You must work together and in unison; you must evolve and support your own social institutions; you must transform your attack from the foray of self-assertive individuals to the massed might of an organized body. You must put

behind your demads, not simply American Negroes, but West Indians and Africans, and all the coloredraces of the world.

These thins I began to say with no lessening, or thought of lessening, of my emphasis upon te essential rightness of what we had been asking for a generation in political and civic and social equality. It was clear to me that agitation against race prejudiceand a planned economy for bettering the economic condition of the American Negro were notantagonistic ideals but part of one ideal; that it did not increase segregation; te segregation was there and would remain for many years. But now I proposed thatin economic lines, just as in lines of literature and religion, unified racial actionshould be planned and organized and carefully thought through. This plan would nc establish a new segregation; it did not advocate segregation as the final solution of he race problem; exactly the contrary; but it did face the facts and faced them with thughtfully mapped effort.

The NAACP from the beginning faced this bogey. It was not, never had been, and never couldbe an organization that took an absolute stand against race segregation of any sort uner all circumstances. This would be a stupid stand in the face of clear and incontrovetible facts. When the NAACP was formed, the great mass of Negro children were beingtrained in Negro schools; the great mass of Negro church-goers were members of Negro aurches; the great mass of Negro citizens lived in Negro neighborhoods; the great mas of Negro voters voted with the same political party; and the mass of Negroes joined wih Negroes and cooperated with Negroes in order to fight the extension of this segregaton and to move toward better conditions.

Whst was true in 1910 was still true in 1940 and will be true in 1970. But with this vast difference: that the segregated Negro institutions are better organized, more intelligently planned and more efficiently conducted, and today form in themselves the best and most compelling argument for the ultimate abolition of the color line.

It was a curious dilemma still unsolved for most American Negroes: the NAACP said "No discrimination based on race and color". But it did not say nor even contemplate what path Negroes would follow when they once became Americans who suffered no discrimination. I tried to face the problem of what to do, assuming that discrimination would last through our life time.

39-3-14

The legal department of the NAACP sought to attack discrimination head on. They were beginning to win and in 1954, they won. But this posed another dilemma: the court decision was not enforced and will not be for many years. Meantime what should be our program? We must accept and fight for integrated schools which we do not have in the overwhelming portion of the South where most Negroes live. That leaves the battle to our children and lets them learn nothing in school of Negro history; do nothing for Negro culture, have no program for themselves as Americans. I wavered for years, advocating Socialism first as a racial program; then as a national effort and after this trip of 1958 as a definite and direct step to join the world movement toward a Socialism leading toward Communism, and embracing the colored world and that part of the white world willing to give up colonialism and private capitalism. But as I say, this decisionwas slow in making. Meantime, I was fighting segregation but simultaneously advocating such segregation as would prepare my people for the struggle they were making.

No sooner had I come to this concluion than I saw that I was out of touch with my organization and that the questio of leaving it was only a matter of time, especially as the Crisis was no longer self-supporting. This was not an easy decision; to give up The Crisis was like giving up a child; to leave the National Association was leaving the friends of a quarter of a century. But on the other hand, staying meant silence, a repudiation of what I was thinking and planning. Under such circumstances, what could I do? I had seen the modern world as few of my

fellow workers had: West African villages, Jamaican homes, Russian communism, German disaster, Italian fascism, Portuguese and Spanish life, France and England repeatedly, and every state in the United States. I knew something of the seething world. I could seek through my editorship of The Crisis slowly but certainly to change the ideology of the NAACP and of the Negro race into a racial program for economic salvation along the paths of peace and Socialism.

39-3-15

When now I came advocating new, deliberate, and purposeful segregation for economic defense in precisely the lines of business and industry whither the NAACP was not prepared to follow, it was not an absolute difference of principle, but it was a grave difference as to further procedure. When I criticized the Secretary for his unsound explanation of the historic stand of the NAACP on segregation, the Board of Directors voted May 21, 1934, "that The Crisis is the organ of the Association and no salaried officer of the Association shall criticize the policy, work, or officers of the Association in the pages of The Crisis."

Thereupon I forthwith gave up my connection with the Association saying:

"In thirty-five years of public service my contribution to the settlement of the Negro problems has been mainly candid criticism based on a careful effort to know the facts. I have not always been right, but I have been sincere, and I am unwilling at this late day to be limited in the expression of my honest opinions in the way in which the Board proposes... I am, therefore, resigning, ... this resignation to take effect immediately."

The Board refused to accept this resignation and asked me to reconsider. I did so, but finally wrote, June 26, "I appreciate the good will and genuine desire to bridge an awkward break which your action indicated, and yet it is clear to me, and I think to the majority of the Board, that under the circumstances my resignation must stand." Negotiations followed but there was but one possible decision.

In finally accepting my resignation the Board was kind enough to say in part:

"He founded The Crisis without a cent of capital, and for many years made it completely self-supporting, reaching a maximum monthly circulation at the end of the World War of 100,000. This is an unprecedented achievement in American journalism, and in itself worthy of a distinguished tribute. But the ideas which he propounded in it and in his books and essays transformed the Negro world as well as a large portion of the liberal white world, so that the whole problem of the relation of black and white races has ever since had a completely new orientation. He created, what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia, and many who have never read a word of his writings are his spiritual disciples and descendants. Without him the Association could never have been what it was and is.

"The Board has not always seen eye to eye with him in regard to various matters, and cannot subscribe to some of his criticism of the Association and its officials. But such differences in the past have in no way interfered with his usefulness, but rather on the contrary. For he had been selected because of his independence of judgment, his fearlessness in expressing his convictions, and his acute and wide-reaching intelligence. A mere yes-man could not have attracted the attention of the world, could not even have stimulated the Board itself to further study of various important problems. We shall be the poorer for his loss, in intellectual stimulus, and in searching analysis of the vital problems of the American Negro; no one in the Association can fill his place with the same intellectual grasp. We therefore offer him our sincere thanks for the services he has rendered, and we wish him all happiness in all that he may now undertake."

I had already for some years begun to canvass the possibility of a change of work. This, of course, is not easy when a person is over sixty years of age. If he has not had the grace to die before this, he ought, in accordance with prevalent public opinion, at least be willing to stop acting and thinking. I did not agree

with that. I thought of many possibilities, but at last determined to accept an offer that had been made to me quietly in 1929, and periodically repeated from time to time when John Hope of Atlanta came to town. Every American should read the story of John Hope as told by Ridgely Torrence. He was "colored" -- a white man with Negro blood and American Negro culture. We had been close friends since 1897. We taught together until 1910. Hope had joined the Niagara movement and the NAACP. We met in France in 1918 while he was a Y.M.C.A. secretary, and I promoting Pan-Africa. Always when he came to New York, we did a theatre and a dinner, and discussed the reformation of the world. When he became President of the newly organized Atlanta University, he invited me to join him.

39-3-47

About 1925, the General Education Board adopted a new program. It had become clear that the studied neglect of the Negro college was going too far; and that the Hampton-Tuskegee program was inadequate even for its own objects. A plan was adopted which envisaged, by consolidation and endowment, the establishment in the South of five centers of University education for Negroes. Atlanta had to be one of these centers, and in 1929 Atlanta University became the graduate school of an affiliated system of colleges which promised a new era in higher education for Negroes. My life-long friend, John Hope, became president, and immediately began to sound me out on returning to Atlanta to help him in his great enterprise. He promised me leisure for thought and writing, and freedom of expression, so far, of course, as Georgia would permit it.

It seemed to me that a return to Atlanta would not only have a certain poetic justification, but would relieve the NAACP from financial burden during the depression, as well as free it for greater efforts of re-considering its essential program. I went to Atlanta in 1933 for a series of lectures and the next year became head of the Department of Sociology.

The untimely death of John Hope in 1936 marred the full fruition of our plans.

These plans in my mind fell into three categories; first, with leisure to write, I wanted to fill in the background of certain historical studies concerning the Negro race; secondly, I wanted to establish at Atlanta University a scholarly journal of comment and research on world race problems; finally, I wanted to restore in some form at Atlanta, the systematic study of the Negro problem.

The first thing which hindered this program was the set opposition of Florence Reed, President of Spelman College, the institution for women in the newly integrated Atlanta University. Laura Spelman was a Rockefeller and the Rockefellers had endowed this school. Miss Reed was a white woman. She was not a scholar but she was a capable executive who had worked for the Rockefellers and represented the Rockefeller interests in the new organization. She believed completely in American business methods and was put in her position by those who wanted to placate the white South in every reasonable way and keep the new institution from radical influences. She was very fond personally of John Hope at a time when he needed friendship. She respected me but feared my radical thought in many directions. She was set to act as a balance wheel to Hope's plans for accommodation and my plans for social reform.

She delayed the invitation for me to join the University and when I came, delayed some of my proposals. I proposed a quarterly magazine to record the situation of the colored world and guide its course of development. Her opposition delayed the starting of Phylon from 1934 until 1940. She made the reopening of the Atlanta University studies of the Negro Problems much slower than I had hoped and she made my opportunity to confer and plan with Hope very difficult. Indeed I fear that the very pressure exerted on him from two of his closest friends depressed Hope very much and contributed to his untimely death. Hope was sensitive and over careful to do no injustice. He was the perfect target for overwork at Atlanta University.

Between 1935 and 1941, I wrote and published three volumes: a study of the Negro in Reconstruction; a study of the black race in history and an autobiographical sketch of my concept of the American race problem. To these I was anxious to add an Encyclopaedia of the Negro. I had planned an "Encyclopedia Africana" in 1909 but my leaving Atlanta for New York postponed this project and the World War prevented its renewal. In 1934 I was chosen to act as editor-in-chief of a new project of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to prepare and publish an Encyclopaedia of the Negro. I spent nearly ten years of intermittent effort on this project and secured co-operation from many scholars, white and black, in America, Europe and Africa. But the necessary funds could not be secured. Perhaps again it was too soon to expect large aid for so ambitious a project directed by Negroes and built mainly on Negro scholarship. Nevertheless, a preliminary volume summarizing this effort was published in 1944.

39-3-49

John Hope died in 1936 and after a year Rufus Clement became his successor. Clement was head of a colored municipal college in Louisville and while not experienced, came of a good family and had done some work in research for his doctorate. I greatly preferred him over Miss Reed who was an active candidate. On his advent I immediately began pushing for my delayed program.

At Atlanta University I celebrated quite elaborately my 70th anniversary. There was a bronze bust by Alexander Portnoff; J.E. Spingarn and James Weldon Johnson spoke; Braithwaite read a poem written for the occasion. I succeeded in getting Phylon published in 1940. I kept it going for the four years that I remained at the University with a subvention of only one thousand dollars a year from the University. We sold it for only a dollar a year. I then began to push the re-establishment of my plan of study of the Negro problem.

In this we faced the fact that in the twenty-three years which had passed since their discontinuance, the scientific study of the American Negro had spread widely and efficiently. Especially in the white institutions of the South had intelligent interest been aroused. There was, however, still need of systematic, comprehensive study and measurement, bringing to bear the indispensable point of view and inner knowledge of Negroes themselves. Something of this was being done at Fisk University, but for the widest efficiency, large funds were required for a South-wide study. I made a beginning in 1941.

39-3-50

The story of the depression as it affected American Negroes, has not yet been adequately attempted. In many great centers of population more than a third of the Negroes went on public charity and more ought to have gone but suffered deliberate discrimination in the South. In addition to this, the greater tragedy was the loss of thousands of farms and homes, the disappearance of savings among the rising Negro middle class, the collapse of Negro business -- banks, insurance, and retail businesses. The economic change deserves to be called revolutionary, because this "middle" class was the upper class in the Negro world in knowledge, training and wealth. Organizations demanded the displacement of the Negro in industry, and the Ku Klux Klan rose and flourished with new life, largely on this issue. The new organizations of "White Shirts," "Blue Shirts," and the like, spread in the South; and beyond such organized demand, was the widespread feeling in America that in the matter of re-employment and re-adjustment after the depression, the first duty of white Americans was toward white folk and that consideration of long service and desert and need ought not to be taken into account across the Color Line.

Under the New Deal the Negro came in for some attention, but the pressing question was chiefly as to how far discrimination against him should be recognized either in wage, hours of work, or employment under any circumstances. Also starting with the New Deal came a rationalization of the displacement of the Negro worker due

to efforts toward raising wages. When minimum wages and standards of work have been enforced by law or made advisable by public opinion, in numberless cases poorly paid Negro workers were replaced by white workers with better wages and better hours of work. The resultant natural increase in efficiency has often been attributed to racial replacement alone. In the labor movement, the organization of the CIO gave Negroes far better recognition than the American Federation of Labor ever had. Despite all this, unemployment among Negroes reached a dangerous height.

39-3-51

This worked for social dislocation among Negroes. It is difficult to get figures, but certainly spread of disease must have greatly retarded the Negro population; and stealing and homicide must have been largely augmented. A general philosophy arose tinged with irritation and despair. Pressure groups demanding employment and even threatening violence appeared in Chicago, New York, and Washington. Their success both encouraged and appalled.

A rough calculation of Negro incomes which I essayed in 1939 had to be largely guesswork because of lack of data; and yet it seemed to indicate that of over 2,800,000 Negro families in the United States, 1,200,000 were receiving less than $500 a year and 1,000,000 between $500 and $1,000; leaving 600,000 families with $1,000 or more a year, of whom only one-tenth received more than $2,500. This estimate is not accurate, but I believe that it is not an unfair indication of the truth. Housing and youth projects have helped Negroes greatly, but only indirectly have they faced the basic problem of employment and income.

The years of the depression and of the New Deal illustrated the complicated currents which influenced me. I was for example born in a world which was not simply fundamentally capitalistic, but had no conception of any system except one in which capital was privately owned. Whatever was mentioned in school, or in books did not fundamentally contradict that what a man made or received as gift or inheritance was his to do with as he wished. A wages contract might be entered into in which the laborer's work was balanced against the savings of the man who hired him.

I remember hearing my grandmother in sharp and angry argument with a white land owner, for whose father she had worked. She was insisting that the wages paid had not been fair, and he was retorting that the fact that they had been received without complaint at the time, settled the matter. The truth concerning the wages contract remained largely hidden from me, because I had so little actual contact with artisans and workers. I never saw the inside of the cotton mills in our town. I knew little of the actual work of carpenters and plumbers. My relatives had moved from farming to house service, or to work in hotels, and not in factories.

37-3-52

In High School and college, socialism meant to me some amelioration of the wages contract, more human relations between employer and employee, but it involved no fundamental study of Marxism. What I wanted was the same economic opportunities that white Americans had. Beyond this I was not thinking, and did not realize what wretched exploitation white Americans and white workers of all sorts faced and had faced in the past, and would face in years to come. Although a student of social progress, I did not know the labor development in the United States. I was bitter at lynching, but not moved by the treatment of white miners in Colorado or Montana. I never sang the song of Joe Hill, and the terrible strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts did not stir me, because I knew that factory strikers like these would not let a Negro work beside them or live in the same town. It was hard for me to outgrow this mental isolation, and to see that the plight of the white workers was fundamentally the same as that of the black, even if the white worker helped enslave the black.

When now the depression came and thousands of workers, black and white, were starving in the thirties, I began to awake and to see in the socialism of the New Deal, emancipation for all workers, and the labor problem, which included the Negro problem. I knew that Hitler and Mussolini were fighting Communism, and using race prejudice to make some white people rich and all colored peoples poor. But it was

not until later that I realized that the colonialism of Great Britain and France had exactly the same object and methods as the Fascists and the Nazis were trying clearly to use.

While going through this transformation, I found myself fighting for such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority, and also opposing Roosevelt because in his industrial organization he deliberately provided lower wages for southern Negro workers. I even brought myself to sympathize with Roosevelt when he strove to use American wealth to save the British empire, not realizing that the British empire had been built on the same exploitation of land and labor and race hate which Hitler and Mussolini were planning to establish, so that they could rule the world. I blamed the Communists when their agitation made the ignorant Scottsboro boys suffer for the sins of others, and failed to give those same Communists credit for making the Scottsboro case known to the civilized world. It was not until I saw the miracle of modern China that I realized how splendidly and surely the world could be led by the working class; even if at times they wavered and made vast mistakes.

The advent of the Second World War found the Negro fighting desperately for a place in the new defense industry and accomplishing something; but in the long run that is a passing and minor matter as compared with the general economic future when the world is again sane and at peace, and when the world's whole pattern of income, work, and wage will be found radically altered.

There loomed, then, before colored men of education and vision the question as to what can be done by thought and planning for the future of Negro economy, for solving the question as to how the Negro is going to earn a decent living and be in position to take a normal part in the future world. If economic planning for nations presents great difficulties, similar planning for national minorities is unusually hazardous. It faces all the difficulties of racial segregation, of artificial

loyalties and increased animosities; so that among Negroes today there is serious difference of opinion, first as to whether any such economic planning is possible; and secondly, whether it is in any way advisable. Can a group within a group plan for its work and wage except as a part of a larger group and in accordance with the will of the majority? And even if it can, is not this a direct and dangerous way of increasing racial friction?

39-3-54

Whatever the answer to this question was, manifestly it was a time for careful conference and thought. Several such conferences had been held, notably at Hampton Institute, Fisk University, and elsewhere. But they have been primarily concerned with the integration of the Negro in the defense program. It seemed to me at Atlanta University that a further movement was necessary -- that is, a series of conferences looking toward a long-time program of Negro economic stabilization after the war.

Enough?

more on intellectual & political thinking

CHAPTER XVIII

NEW DEAL FOR NEGROES

John Hope and I set out to build in the Lower South, a university equal to if not superior to anything which this former seat of Negro slavery ever saw. As in my previous service at Atlanta University, half my time was to be devoted to teaching graduate students. I laid out two or three courses, one of which was on Communism. My text was the "Communist Manifesto" and I gathered a good classroom library on Socialism and Communism, probably at the time the best in the South. I had no thought of propaganda. I was not and never had been a member of the Communist Party. But I saw the growth of socialism and believed in the possibility of Communism. I was convinced that no course of education could ignore this great world movement. I was reading and learning with the class. I had a dozen or more excellent students, and with lectures, conferences and reports we had a fine course of study. Many of my students in this course received masters degrees and afterward in several cases became teachers in colored and white universities, here and abroad; others became successful social workers. I never heard of any criticism of this course, but it is quite possible that the course eventually stirred up opposition against me.

39-3-55

In 1934 Hope and I set out to revive the old Atlanta University conferences and studies of the Negro Problems. Hope sought unsuccessfuly to obtain funds for this enterprise. After his death I tried to see if some co-operative plan might supply funds. Frederick Keppell of the Carnegie Foundation gave us money for preliminary work in 1940 and 1941. I called the "First Phylon Conference" in April 1941. A good cross section of Negro leaders in education attended. Reports were made from each state on the economic conditions of Negroes. I tried to sum up the current conditions in this statement:

I. a. If thirteen million people starve to death, it is because they are stupid.

b. Many American Negroes today are virtually starving.

II.

a. There is no such thing as lack of useful, needed work.

b. There is wide and dangerous lack of adequate wage and income for certain individuals.

III.

a. Facing these paradoxes the world is changing its economic organization today to meet them and is planning further change.

b. We as a minority group must plan also, not in opposition but in intelligent accord with this general world planning.

IV.

a. We must especially beware of propaganda and distortion as to the present economic conditions and changes in the world.

1. We must not assume that business enterprise and economic welfare are synonymous terms and assume that because a business is profitable it is for that reason beneficial to the race or nation.

2. We must not assume that because racial organization cannot hire thirteen million Negroes, it cannot and should not hire thirteen thousand or more.

3. Because, as a minority group, we must in the main conform to the national economic patterns, is no proof that we cannot by intelligent action influence these patterns to our advantage.

V.

a. Finally, we must get at the facts by the latest scientific technique.

b. We must gather, study, test, and interpret these facts.

c. Within limits of law and order we must experiment with and test remedies.

d. We must remember that the starvation of Negroes in the United States benefits nobody; that full employment at a living wage for all Negroes as well as all whites is at once the greatest patriotism and the greatest defense against war and evil.

39-3-56

Atlanta University did not have funds to undertake any movement for investigation and publication, so I visited Negro Institutions from Virginia to Texas in order to see what co-operation I could start.

I became convinced of several things: first, the role of the government-supported land grant colleges in the development of Negro education was going to be large and progressively increasing. Second, these land-Grant Colleges needed a program for social science studies which is at present undeveloped. Third, rapid changes are now

taking place in the Negro ethnic group and even more momentous ones impend. The war has upset conventional economy, exacerbated racial consciousness and already led to bitter clashes. The developments after the war are bound to add to these difficulties. There is one and only one fundamental and definitive way to meet this situation and that is to begin a systematic study of the essential facts of the present condition of the Negro race and to establish a way of continuing and making more complete and effective such a study. Then in the event the nation can turn its attention and energies to remedial measures, it will not be necessary to waste time in belated efforts to get at the essential truth.

39-3-57

Careful and exact knowledge of conditions and changes then are imperative and ought to be in process of gathering now in order to be available during and after the war. Fourth, this should not be the conventional type of "social study" - an instantaneous photograph of a sample group; but should be planned so as eventually to approach the stature of a total study of a complete situation, continuously photographed, and re-photographed, measured and re-measured; so that our knowledge of the vast and momentous social experiment in race relations now making in the United States, would attain a completeness and authority that would be unquestioned and unquestionable and available in the post war world which will surely need this sort of information. I believe that here is a chance not only to serve the Negro race and America, but also to serve the world and social science in an unique way. Fifth, the Negro Land-Grant Colleges, distributed usually one to a state and manned by presidents chosen by boards of Southern whites, would in many respects be ideal centers of social studies in each state, on matters touching the condition in each state of the people for whom the school exists and for whose advancement the school was established. Each of these schools has proclaimed its aim to be the promotion of industry and lifting the social status of Negroes. Any such program needs exact knowledge of facts for its foundation.

Sixth, such studies to be effective must be well done and in accord with the latest scientific technique. They must not sink to mere propaganda nor white-washing. Most of the land-grant colleges are not at present equipped with personnel or funds for this work; a few are. All need expert advice and guidance, to integrate, synchronize

and direct this work and help in the proper interpretation of its results. Seventh, here is where the Negro private institution of higher learning could well cooperate with the states and call to aid the advice of other universities, north and south.

Three Negro universities seem best fitted for this work of guidance and integration: Howard, which holds to the federal government a position analogous to that of the land grant colleges to the states; Fisk, which has among Negroes the best equipped department of social sciences in the South; Atlanta, where the first attempt was made in America to carry on a scientific study of the Negro problems.

39-3-58

My first step toward realizing this project was to seek to sell the idea to the Negro Land-Grant Colleges. I talked the plan over with President Banks of Prairie View, who was a former student of mine; who, as I knew, had long had some such collaboration in mind, and who has the best social science department among Negro land grant colleges. He was enthusiastically in favor. I then secured permission to present the scheme to the annual Conference of the Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges at Chicago, November, 1941.

In 1935, the Federal Government was giving ~~gave~~, ~~$18,000,000~~ million annually to Land-Grant Colleges in Southern states which had colleges separated by race. Negroes forming over a fifth of the population of these states received only about five percent of this money. For some time the Negro Colleges had been pressing for a larger share, but the reply had been that such work as research in agriculture or chemistry was being carried on in the white colleges and that it was not necessary to duplicate this work in Negro institutions. It occurred to me that a careful program of race studies planned for the Negro colleges might be the basis for a demand for a much larger Negro share of Federal funds. I therefor addressed the organization of Negro Land-Grant College presidents in October 1941. I said:

"With a comparatively small group like that of the American Negro, in a country of great economic efficiency like America, and spurred by every high incentive, there is no real reason why cultivated brains among us may not guide the great mass of our folk to desired economic and cultural ends. This, of course, depends on the extent to which these potential leaders have the will to sacrifice their talent to this end; and also on the actual knowledge which they possess to guide the mass toward real

progress and not back to out-worn reaction.

" The problem before us [redacted] is this: to put fourteen million people to work so that they may receive an income which will insure a civilized standard of living; to make it possible for them to preserve their health; to keep crime down to a minimum and to educate their children; with the eventual object of giving this group sufficient leisure to advance by means of talented persons among them in science and art and cultural patterns. And with the further idea that in so far as these objects are successful, the group will become nearer to actual equality with their fellow Americans and to civilized people the world over, and will thus remove from color prejudice a very real reason for its perpetuation.

"How can the college help the community earn a living? First, it can train students for existent needs, for which the community now pays. Sometimes educational philosophers talk as though this were the one end of the college; and a situation could be easily imagined where that might be pretty nearly true; where you have settled normal culture and an arrangement of work which is suitable for that culture; and relatively stable economic organization. Under these circumstances if a college trained men efficiently for these jobs and at the same time supplied a broad cultural outlook toward the future it would come near doing its main work.

" The college today, however, must do more - far more - than prepare men for jobs at present in demand and socially needful. The college must anticipate the future needs of the community and prepare education to meet them.

" Unless the college goes further than training for current jobs and goes out to meet and cooperate with the community in such a way that the man awaiting and prepared to do a necessary future work for the community can be employed now according to his capacity; unless this is done, the college program is fatally handicapped and the community expansion is crippled. The same thing applies to work which although needed is not now available for Negroes and may not be during the present generation. In that case a careful survey of the possibilities among fourteen million people might give an opportunity to create such jobs within our own group or by cooperation with others. This even more than the other case, involves a broad study of the

economic conditions among Negroes and possibilities of their organizations. It would call not simply for the efforts of one college with its immediate community or its state, but the cooperative efforts of the Negro educational institutions of the South.

"This leads us to the fact that if the college is to make real and advantageous approach to its community, either its local or its general community, it must be helped by a careful, broad and continuous study of the social and economic set-up of that community; that is, we must know as we do not know today, the existing occupations of Negroes; not in the vague and general and necessarily inaccurate report of the decennial census, but by minute and complete survey and study of counties, towns and cities where the Negro population is resident. We must take such a beginning as Charles Johnson's regional study of Southern counties, extend the data to 1940 and then complete it and carry it on continuously from year to year. We must have a group to group and person to person knowledge of the condition of the laboring masses, of their opportunities and hindrances. And this kind of study ought to be made in accordance with the latest scientific techniques and on a national basis. There is no reason why a study like that of Allison Davis, "The Deep South", should not be made over the whole South so that we could paint with descriptions, facts and figures, the real social condition of the American Negro. The interpretation of this knowledge and its interaction with past history and current trends must be the continuously and critically examined conclusions of the best trained students of the social sciences. We must not depend on the narrow experience and conventional standards of business men; we must not resort to untried panaceas or emotional utopias. This study must be increasingly a matter of science, carried out to its inexorable and tested conclusions.

"We need in sociology, a race regionalism which will narrow and concentrate on our Negroes the general regional studies of the South. Instead of the occasional snapshot of social conditions which was the social study of yesterday, we must aim at a continuous moving picture of ever increasing range and accuracy.

"A national planning institute must annually gather up and compare and interpret

39-3-60

this great body of facts. There must be provided for this work, sufficient research funds and sufficient time for research. And finally through a central office, there must be wide and carefully edited publication of results.

" It is not only illogical but it is an indictment of the Negro college that the chief studies of the Negro's condition today are not being done by Negroes and Negro colleges. The center of gravity as well as the truth of investigation should be brought back to the control of an association of Negro colleges; and this not for the purpose of creating a Negro science or purely racial facts; but in order to make sure that the whole undistorted picture is there and that the complete interpretation is made by those most competent to do it, through their own lives and training.

" Under the leadership of these same colleges, the communities must proceed to act, explore, experiment and build. They must organize their spending power to the last dollar, realizing that a carefully and intelligently spent dollar is a more powerful ballot than a vote for a coroner. Advantage must be taken of decentralized cheap power like the TVA to push a new era of home manufactures and producers' cooperation. The churches can branch into real social work; they might organize free legal defense for every accused Negro; the secret orders can further transform their regalias, rituals and parades into orphanages and student aid. We can have cooperative medicine and dentistry and field hospitals to replace private practice. We have an enormously fertile field for economic experiment, here on the threshold of a new industrial era. All it needs is scientific study, personal character and coordinated intelligence guided by the colleges. It is for the inception and carrying out of this program that I am appealing to you today."

~~Dr. Du Bois~~ I proposed that this body agree to the following general plan:

1. A continuous and intensive study of the Negroes of each Southern state by each of the Negro Land-Grant Colleges.

2. Preparation for ability to do this scientifically by strengthening the division of Social Sciences in each institution (History, Political Science, Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics) and provision of time and funds for study and research.

3. Inauguration of a general program of subjects and methods of research, with annual conferences, at which experts and representatives of other colleges should be present. Periodical integration, interpretation and publication of results.

I suggested the following detailed program for each Land-Grant College:

1. A division of the "Social Sciences," teaching History, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Political Sciences.

2. The integration of this teaching into one closely articulated study of

A. History

History of Europe
History of Asia
History of Africa
History of America
History of the United States
History of the Negro people in;
Africa
South and Central America
United States
In each state.

B. Social Sciences

Social Institutions	) (	Modern world
Anthropology	) (	United States
Economic Organization	) (	among Americans
Government	) (	among Negroes
Psychological reactions	) (	among Negroes in this State

3. A study of the facts concerning the Negroes of the state by counties, subdivisions of counties, villages, towns, cities, wards, blocks and households. The study to be carried on by professors, instructors, fellows, social workers, volunteers and affiliated organizations.

The study to include: numbers of individuals, family groups, character of homes, location of homes; occupation of persons, incomes, expenditures, age, marital relations, education, property and recreation.

4. The scope of this study will include the observation and measurement of all facts and situations which have to do with the status of the Negro population in the state; becoming as funds and facilities increase, more and more intensive and comprehensive, until at last it virtually means a checking of every Negro family in the state including their activities, institutions and organizations.

5. The study will use all available data as the basis of its work, including the federal census of 1940, all state censuses, all reports of the state, the county and its subdivisions, concerning education, occupation, dependency and delinquency.

Caps

SPECIAL STUDIES OF [illegible]

6. All organizations of Negroes or working with or for Negroes: details of work; including churches, lodges, cemeteries, clubs, etc.; their property and budgets.

7. All business conducted by Negroes and among Negroes; character, amount, approximate money value.

39-3-63

8. Commercialized recreations, movies, billiard rooms, gambling, prostitution, etc.

9. Public recreation; parks, playgrounds, etc., number, upkeep.

10. The participation of Negroes in government as voters and officials; tax payers, property-holders; officials and administrative methods.

METHODS, INTERPRETATION AND PUBLICATION

11. The methods and scope of these studies to be outlined by an annual conference, with each college represented and outside experts.

12. The resulting studies to be collected, interpreted and made public for an annual state meeting and for a public museum and laboratory of the social sciences with maps, charts, models.

13. All the college reports to be brought together, studied, tabulated, analyzed and interpreted and integrated into an annual joint report.

THE NORTHERN NEGRO

14. Arrangements to be entered into with private Negro institutions to join with departments of the social sciences in Northern colleges to make similar studies of northern Negroes.

RESULTANT BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

15. This body of knowledge, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted, and integrated, to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law, and social action.

RESULTANT WORK FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT

16. For every social problem, institutional failure, or individual maladjustment made evident, located and measured, organizations will then attempt to discover or promote in the locality and state, remedies in

EDUCATION: special kinds and specific methods; private, industrial, group, state and national efforts.

SOCIAL UPLIFT WORK: by hiring thoroughly trained social workers; by group effort; by voluntary effort.

HEALTH: by physicians and dentists; by group medical care; by hospitalization; by special campaigns against tuberculosis, cancer, heart diseases, syphilis; by childbirth and child welfare efforts.

RECREATION: Music, a folk theatre, playgrounds, library facilities, sports.

17. But of all these efforts, the college and community should concentrate their first and chief attention upon the problems of earning a living among Negroes, since these are fundamental to practically all other efforts. Attention should be paid especially to work now available, to openings for earning a living which may be made available, and for general economic re-organization, such as is involved in consumers' and producers' cooperation; whereby not only intelligent saving can be made in the expenditure of income, but that new occupations, especially in home industries and small manufacturers, can be established among Negroes.

18. Every attempt should be made to use existing institutions and organizations among Negroes, for undertaking efforts at social reform as outlined above: churches, fraternal lodges, women's clubs, schools, and in many cases, private businesses, can be used for increasing employment, finding new employment, furnishing legal defense, furnishing direct relief, improving health, organizing recreation, furnishing student aid and promoting consumers' and producers' cooperation.

39-3-64

E

FIRST STEPS

19. An immediate attempt on the part of the college in each state to reorganize their budgets so as to provide a gradually increasing minimum of funds for this program:

A. For teaching the Social Sciences.

B. For giving trained teachers, time and funds for investigation.

C. For providing, at the earliest moment, for the employment of social workers and fellows for investigation and social uplift.

D. For a publication fund.

E. For laying down a present program with plans for future expansion.

39-3-65

20. Minimum requirements for initiating the program:

1. One or two teachers of History.
2. One or two teachers of Anthropology and Sociology.
3. One teacher of Economics.
4. One teacher of Psychology, with laboratory.
5. A teaching Fellow with some time and funds for field work.
6. A Social Worker with whole time for investigation and advice.

The presidents of the Negro Land-Grant# colleges received this proposal with favor adopted this general plan, June 12, 1942:

To initiate a series of cooperative studies of the social condition of the American Negro and more especially of his economic situation during and after this war.

For this purpose they propose to use in their institutions the division of the Social Sciences including history, anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, psychology, and other cognate subjects so as to give their students unified knowledge of social conditions and modern trends.

In addition to this they propose to recommend the use of one or more of their qualified instructors, with sufficient time and funds for a series of social studies, whose subject, methods and scope shall be determined after conferences with executives and investigators in other institutions, and with outside experts in the social sciences, including students of conditions among the white population. This proposal

is subject to the approval of the governing boards in the various states.

The ultimate object of such conferences and studies shall be to accumulate a body of knowledge, intensively pursued according to the best scientific methods, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted and integrated to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law, and social action.

39-3-66

We propose that the results of these studies by each college in its own state or section of state, shall be brought together, periodically compared, edited and published annually in some convenient form for the use of students, legislators and social reformers.

For these purposes of conference, investigation and publication we propose to set aside in our annual budget such sums as may be approved by the various state authorities.

This was signed by the Presidents of 20 Negro Land-Grant colleges and eventually by the Presidents of Atlanta, Fisk and Howard. Representatives of War Production Board, the American Council of Education, the North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science commended the plan as did School and Society and the Journal of Higher Education.

The Journal of Negro Education said in an article:

"Briefly, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois' proposal, agreed upon by the Presidents of the Land-Grant Colleges, assumes first a core of social studies in each of our Negro colleges and graduate schools. It assumes that by internal administrative and staff effort these may be internally unified and coordinated for a joint, continuous attack upon the problem of the study of the Negro population in the area surrounding each college. It assumes that, pouring into a central headquarters, yet to be designated, for review and analysis by a central board, yet to be chosen, there would be a continuous flow of raw data and completed studies. It assumes central coordination, synthesis and report of these studies. It assumes that by this great increase in knowledge, sound and rich and full, we would have materials wholly convincing as to

the needs of local, regional, and national Negro populations. It assumes that with this knowledge we could so increase our wisdom as to be able both to make Negro higher education very much better than it is in all aspects and we would have the facts at last on which to base valid requests for support from foundations, individuals, and local, state, and national governments. By knowing what the problems are we could know also how to arrange them in priorities and further, much better than we know now, how to attack them each in turn with some expectation of success.

39-3-67

The plan was finally implemented by this vote of the Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents on October 28, 1942:

1. That Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois be designated the official coordinator of the proposed sociological studies to be instituted by the various land grant colleges.

2. That each President appoint from his faculty a liaison officer to serve as the agent for continued implementation of the project. This officer to report progress and seek further cooperation from the administration and faculty; preferably, though not necessarily, he should be a social scientist.

3. That each President agree to try to find funds in the college budget to permit attendance of liaison officer at a methodological conference to be called by Dr. Du Bois at a convenient time and place, after appropriate correspondence should have further clarified various issues.

4. That the Executive Committee at this meeting address itself to possible ways and means of further financing said study, conference, or other aspects of the program.

The 26th Atlanta University Conference met at Robert Hall, Morehouse College, Atlanta, April 19 and 20, 1943. It became the first conference of the Negro Land-Grant colleges, for coordinating a programme of cooperative social studies. Among those present were:

E. Franklin Frazier, Library of Congress

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina

E.B. Reuter, University of Iowa

T. Lynn Smith, Louisianna State University

Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University

Donald Young, Social Service Research Council

Thirty-four persons attended, representing thirty institutions. The sessions lasted two days and consisted of exhibits, reports, addresses and conferences.

By special invitation, there were present at the conference, eight well-known sociologists, from leading American institutions. These persons, after observation and consultation, have written the following opinions on the possibilities of this movement. The names are arranged in order of academic seniority.

39-3-68

Howard Washington Odum, Kenan Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina:

" It seems to me that in two or three ways a strong, integrated program for research in the land grant colleges would constitute and important step forward. In the first place, the area in which they work is still virgin and important, and their laboratories are adequate for genuine research and experimentation. They have a fine opportunity to combine the social studies with the physical sciences and to implement them in practical programs."

Edward Byron Reuter, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department, College of Commerce, University of Iowa:

" The plan for cooperative studies to be carried on by the Negro Land-Grant Colleges seems to me to be a very wise development and one that may lead to increasingly important results. It will make possible a pooling of resources - of time, staff, and funds - to discover and make known information that now gets too little public notice."

Edward Franklin Frazier, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, Howard University; Consultant in Negro bibliography, Library of Congress.:

" To my mind, the Conference was significant because it represented the broadening and deepening of the stream of a great tradition which owes much to you. Moreover, the Conference was a distinct success in that it brought together and stimulated men and women who have generally been forced to work in isolation. Even if no other conferences were held, I am sure that many of those who attended this one would return to their work with a feeling that they were engaged in a worthwhile endeavor

and that they had the support and appreciation of their fellow workers."

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science, Fisk University; Trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Chairman of the Race Relations Committee of the American Missionary Association:

"The fact that so large a number of persons were present without direct financial aid from an outside source pointed to a reserve of interest that might be counted on to carry along a coordinated movement among the colleges. Not to be overlooked, however, is the prestige of an established and admired scholar in this field who has served as an effective catalyzing agent."

Donald Ramsey Young, Research Secretary of the Social Science Research Council:

"I have no doubt whatever concerning the value of your objective. There is need for the encouragement and guidance of social and economic research at the Land-Grant Colleges, both in terms of the benefits which should be derived therefrom by the institutions and their faculties and also in terms of the practical social utility of the anticipated results."

39-3-69

Edgar Tristram Thompson, Associate Professor of Sociology, Duke University:

"I feel that you have a good idea and that you deserve support in your efforts to carry it out. I appreciate your including me among the invited sociologists and I feel that my efforts to contribute to the conference have taught me something."

William Earle Cole, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Tennessee; Acting Chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

"I think you are starting something which is very fundamental and which should go a long way in improving not only the Negroes of the South but other peoples as well. I was greatly impressed with what the Negro colleges have been doing and the prospects for the future."

Thomas Lynn Smith, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Louisiana:

"I think well of your plan for promoting research work on the part of the social science personnel at the land-grant colleges for Negroes.

"The advice of sociologists at institutions for whites should be sought from time to time as the work goes along; but not to the extent that there is any tendency

at any institution for the white man to determine, even by suggestion, what shall be done by the Negro."

#

A second Conference was planned for the Spring of 1944, and I wrote in July 1943:

"This whole plan will come up for discussion and modification in the Second Land-Grant College Conference in the Spring of 1944. The main consideration is this: The economic situation of the Negro during and after the present war is a matter of critical and vital importance. There is going to be increased race friction and finally want and unemployment in the midst of violent social change. At such time we want accurate and carefully made social measurements, tested techniques and the machinery for further investigation. There will be neither time nor disposition during times of turmoil to initiate new and calm investigation. If now we begin this nation-wide study of economic and Social conditions, it can be continuously pursued through storm and stress and after the post-war calm and form a priceless guide to social survival and lasting peace."

39-3-70

Many other commendations came from across the nation, from white and black. Especially was the new cooperation among Negro institutions noted with Atlanta University as the acknowledged head and center of work.

Then at the moment of triumph of this carefully thought-out and carefully planned scheme, came catastrophe. Without notice to me of any kind, I was retired from my professorship and headship of the department of Sociology at Atlanta University. This was not merely a personal disaster. It was removing from leadership the one person who because of age and long experience; because of works published and a wide aquaintanceship based on the relation of teacher and student, happened to be the person to whom the presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges and other Negroes of influence were willing to entrust this cooperative venture. President Clement had quarrelled with the Land-Grant Colleges a few years past. So that many of them did not like him personally. Most of the others did not know him but they did know Atlanta University and they knew me. They were willing to put this plan into these hands but they would not consent to cooperate with President Clement. There were doubtless at other Negro institutions persons capable of doing this job, but they

were not as well known and in any case my selection gained unusual agreement and Atlanta University unprecedented prestige as the center of this venture.

My sudden retirement then savored a deliberate plot, although this cannot be proven. The retirement age at Atlanta University was sixty-five. But I was sixty-five when President Hope called me to the university. Nothing was said between us about the conditions of eventual retirement -- due to my usual neglect of financial considerations and because my good health gave me no thought of stopping work at any near time. Hope must have mentioned the matter to Florence Reed, but they reached no decision that I knew of. Later I opposed Miss Reed's election as president; and the new plan gained me wide acclaim. Even the General Education Board which handled Rockefeller funds favored my plan. President Clement while supporting the plan was not enthusiastic. As a new young unknown president, perhaps he saw my reputation overshadowing him. Letters came to me; visitors asked for me and no doubt Miss Reed encouraged his jealousy. I was conscious that this might occur and tried to be careful. On all my plans I consulted him. All invitations went out in his name. His delays and small objections seemed petty and I said so. Perhaps I was too brusque and not diplomatic enough in this and did not take into account his inexperience and lack of understanding. Doubtless too he had no desire to stop the development of the plan, but had no idea that I was at least for the time being so necessary for its firm establishment.

Neither Miss Reed nor President Clement said a word to me about retirement; but at the meeting of the Board of Trustees in 1944, Miss Reed proposed that I be retired. President Clement seconded the motion and apparently with little or no objection the Board passed the vote. Presumably most of the members assumed that the matter had been discussed with me and had my agreement. No pension was mentioned.

The result of this action was disastrous; not merely to me but to the American Negro. Up until this time the Negro himself had led in the study and interpretation of and the condition of his race in the United States. Beginning with 1944, with accelerated speed the study of the Negro passed into the hands of whites and increasingly Southern whites. There were colored sociologists and historians but they

39-3-71

worked without coordinated plan, without adequate funds or under superiors who were not interested. Finally many Negro writers found it profitable to write what Business and the Government demanded and not the whole truth. Until in the last decade 1949 to 1959 with increasing unaniminity, the thesis has been defended in a thousand books and papers that the Civil War was not a struggle to preserve and spread the slavery of black workers, but a holy crusade to maintain the superior civilization of white folk and today current historians can treat American history and take no account of American Negroes and their activities in the Twentieth century.

39-3-72

At any rate without a word of warning I found myself at the age of 76, without employment and with less than five thousand dollars of savings. Not only was a great plan of scientific work killed at birth, but my own life was thrown into confusion. I felt the world tottering beneath my feet and I fought back in despair. Finally the trustees gave me a year's full salary in lieu of my never having been given notice of retirement. Also after offering me a pension of $100 a month, they finally granted me $1800 a year for five years and $1200 a year thereafter.

A word from the poet Sarah Teasdale expressed my mood:

"When I can look life in the eyes,
Grown calm and very coldly wise,
Life will have given me the Truth
And taken in exchange -- my youth."

My youth? I laughed grimly. It was not my youth that I was losing; it was my old age; There were some earnest attempts to carry the proposed program on. It was transferred to Howard University, with E. Franklin Frazier in charge. An excellent conference was held in 1945. But Frazier was not given funds for continuing the project and the Land-Grant Colleges gradually ceased to cooperate. The whole scheme died within a year or two. It has never been revived.

There was another loss in the giving up of this plan, which I have never mentioned. Here was an unprecedented chance for an experiment in Sociology; for measuring and classifying human action, on a scale never before attempted; it would be reasonably sure of adequate funds and the best of trained cooperation and nation-wide if not world-wide criticism. On such a base a real science of Sociology could have been built. The opportunity was surrendered and the whole science of Sociology has suffered. Indeed today there is no recognized field of Sociology; almost no one

worked without coordinated plan, without adequate funds or under superiors who were not interested. Finally many Negro writers found it profitable to write what Business and the Government demanded and not the whole truth. Until in the last decade 1949 to 1959 with increasing unaniminity, the thesis has been defended in a thousand books and papers that the Civil War was not a struggle to preserve and spread the slavery of black workers, but a holy crusade to maintain the superior civilization of white folk and today current historians can treat American history and take no account of American Negroes and their activities in the Twentieth century.

39-3-72

At any rate without a word of warning I found myself at the age of 76, without employment and with less than five thousand dollars of savings. Not only was a great plan of scientific work killed at birth, but my own life was thrown into confusion. I felt the world tottering beneath my feet and I fought back in despair. Finally the trustees gave me a year's full salary in lieu of my never having been given notice of retirement. Also after offering me a pension of $100 a month, they finally granted me $1800 a year for five years and $1200 a year thereafter.

A word from the poet Sarah Teasdale expressed my mood:

"When I can look life in the eyes,
Grown calm and very coldly wise,

* and old age was worthless in the United States.

transferred to Howard University, with E. Franklin Frazier in charge. An excellent conference was held in 1945. But Frazier was not given funds for continuing the project and the Land-Grant Colleges gradually ceased to cooperate. The whole scheme died within a year or two. It has never been revived.

There was another loss in the giving up of this plan, which I have never mentioned. Here was an unprecedented chance for an experiment in Sociology; for measuring and classifying human action, on a scale never before attempted; it would be reasonably sure of adequate funds and the best of trained cooperation and nation-wide if not world-wide criticism. On such a base a real science of Sociology could have been built. The opportunity was surrendered and the whole science of Sociology has suffered. Indeed today there is no recognized field of Sociology; almost no one

calls himself a Sociologist and few institutions grant a degree in sociology. I even had projected a path of scientific approach: I was going to plot out beside the world of physical law, a science of Sociology which measured "the limits of chance in human action." If this field proved narrow or non-existent, world law was proven. If not the resultant "chance" was what men had always regarded as "Free Will". Meantime as students of human action hesitated and waited, Psychology measured nervous reaction; Physics merging with Chemistry rose to enormous accomplishment and helped by vast prevision of mathematics, recast our whole conception of the universe. Finally Biology revealed new realms of what we now can name as nothing but Chance beyond the area of conscious mind. Sociology has been by-passed, and reduced to Social Work.

39-3-73

CHAPTER XIX

I RETURN TO THE NAACP

Howard University, Fisk University and North Carolina College for Negroes offered me work after my retirement. For the most part it was for lectures and part-time employment. Then came an unexpected offer for me to return to the employment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which I had helped found and from which I had resigned in 1933. I had had at various times requests to cooperate with the NAACP -- to attend mass meetings, to take part in Spingarn medal installations, to serve on committees, etc. I had steadfastly refused in order to avoid seeming to interfere in any way with an organization from which I had parted. And especially because I never had come to trust the Secretary, Walter White. But now I was without employment to support me and my family and two men whom I regarded as close friends urged me to give serious heed to this invitation: Arthur Spingarn and Louis Wright. Spingarn's brother was one of my closest friends before his untimely death. I believed that Arthur was also a friend, although we had not been thrown as closely together. Louis Wright I had known from his youth. His step-father was my family physician and since I had come to New York Louis also a physician had willingly taken care of me and my family without charge.

These two friends assured me that a real welcome awaited me at the NAACP. They said that Walter White was the chief mover in this offer and urged my acceptance. I wrote them in detail and at last came to New York to consult Arthur Spingarn, Louis Wright, Walter White and Hubert Delany. I asked a salary of $5000; two offices, one for myself and library and one for my secretary; I wanted leisure to write and assured them that I expected no role in the executive department of the organization; that

39-3-75

I would be glad to revive the Pan-African movement and give general attention to the foreign aspects of the race problem. The committee assented to everything, willingly although nothing was reduced to writing except in my letters. As events soon proved, in my invitation to return to the NAACP, there were three conflicting ideas as to what my status would be. My own thought was that I was to have no power or place in the regular organization except to give such advice as I was asked for. I was to have freedom to write and express my opinions avoiding of course anything that would hurt the organization. I was to continue the long interrupted interest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Africa, by calling Pan-African Congresses and consulting with them. The NAACP might be able to help finance such Congresses, and perhaps other methods of assisting the Africans, but that naturally would be at the direction of the main organization under the secretary, Walter White. I naturally [redacted]ted to work and to have an area of work which was mine. That I would continue to think and express and publish my thoughts; that in fine I would continue to be myself, working in cooperation but not in complete subordination to anybody. It did not occur to me that anyone would expect or ask that.

On the other hand, as his actions later developed, Walter White expected me to help him by writing such documents as he needed; by appearing for him on such public occasions as he wished; and in general to act as ghost writer and representative. It was for this reason that he did not want me to occupy separate offices, or to take any action which he did not initiate. The third theory of my new status was a theory of my two friends, my former physician, Louis Wright, who was chairman of the Board of Directors, and the brother of one of my closest friends, Arthur Spingarn, who was President of the Association. They assumed with some others that

at seventy-six my life work was done. That what I wanted was leisure and comfort and that what I would willingly [redacted] in return [redacted] act as window dressing, [redacted] say a proper word now and than and give the Association and its secretary moral support. This theory did not occur to me. I had no thought of doing nothing or of subordinating myself entirely to anybody in thought or deed. I was determined not to try to run the Association and I wanted to cooperate with Walter White in every possible way.

"Since the donations from the philanthropists never became large, the NAACP depended more and more on membership dues. The three first of the secretaries, Shillady, Johnson and White increased this source of support, until Negroes were themselves paying mainly the cost of their emancipation. Especially under White, the income increased rapidly, and with it his power and independence. The Board of Directors became chiefly window dressing, and real power of the organization lay in the hands of an executive committee, most of whom [redacted] were selected by White from among his subordinate appointees.

I returned to the NAACP after an absence of ten years during which I had not followed closely its development. The results astonished me. The income had quadrupled, the membership approached a half-million; the staff had tripled or more. It had become a big business, smoothly run and extraordinarily influential. The newspapers vied for its releases, courts listened to its attorneys, and men of prominence accepted readily places on its Board of Directors.

One thing, however, filled me with foreboding; almost every vestige of democratic method and control had disappeared from the organization. This change slapped me hard in the face within three months. I had hesitated in accepting this work; repeatedly during my sojourn

at Atlanta, I had refused invitations from Mr. White to attend NAACP meetings and to cooperate in other ways. Invariably I had refused because I did not like Mr. White's methods nor did I trust his personal attitude toward me.

39-3-77

No sooner however, had I reached New York than ominous things occurred which I tried to ignore. I was expected to join the NAACP in August; but the United States Government invited me to join their organization in Haiti and lecture before the teachers at a Summer conference. I thought this an ideal start of my work, but White objected. When I pressed the necessity of acceptance, White declared that my salary could not be paid while I was in Haiti. However Spingarn and Wright intervened and in the end all was amicably adjusted.

However, when in September I reported for my duties at the NAACP, I found that despite the rush for my presence, my promised office space was not ready for me, and indeed for the four years that I remained I was never furnished the offices promised. I was jammed --- books, desk and secretary - in one office about five by ten feet, where the voices of the whole organization were plainly audible. Most of my books and office paraphernalia had to be stored. No one but a writer can realize what lack of office facilities means to an author. I had had beautiful and commodious offices in Atlanta. My first request on considering coming back to the NAACP was office accomodations. I remembered my offices which I occupied from 1910 to 1933 and while I did not insist on similar accomodations I did want comfort, space and quiet. I asked this clearly and there was no whisper of objection. It proved however that this was the one thing to which White objected. He wanted me visibly at his elbow so that at no point could my subordination to him be doubted. I did not dream of this reaction of his and could not understand why in all

367

New York he could not find me office space. I asked and protested about adequate quarters but got no results until the secretary took a trip to the military front in Asia and loaned me his own office during his absence.

This was in 1945 and the meeting of the UNO in San Francisco was projected. The NAACP was asked to send a consultant and the Board of Directors selected me. I corresponded with interested persons, especially Negroes and was making ready to start to San Francisco when White without notice appeared on the scene and took back his offices. Also when final authorization came from Washington, White was set down as Consultant and I was as assistant. The NAACP Board was not consulted. I made no complaint since as secretary he undoubtedly would have been so designated had he been in the country. Yet it was his maneuvering in Washington which enabled him without notice to me or the Board to change my designation. I went with him and rendered every service I could. I wrote statements and appeals; wrote a daily column in the San Francisco Chronicle and consulted men like John Foster Dulles. Yet White was the official representative of the NAACP and was consulted in many cases where I was not invited.

When I returned to New York, no offices were yet ready. I protested to Spingarn and Wright and to the Board of Directors, but got no results. This seemed to me wretchedly unfair. However it was true that the NAACP offices were crowded and that the organization was moving into a new building which was being purchased on 40th Street. I hoped to have the space promised. Finally I hired offices for myself on Sixth Avenue and 42nd Street in the suite of a friend. I paid $476 for these out of my own pocket. I laid my plight before Mr. Spingarn in person, with plans based on the new building.

By this time after much delay I had finally arranged for attending

39-3-79

the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England. In the four years in which I remained with the NAACP I attended the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England, wrote two books on colonies and Africa, edited two others and wrote many articles, pamphlets and newspaper columns. I attended several conferences and traveled 20,000 miles to deliver 150 lectures on subjects connected with my work for the NAACP as I conceived it. I was instructor for two semesters at the New School for Social Research in New York and I was guest speaker at Vassar, Yale and Princeton.

I was however taken aback when I saw how the organization was being conducted. At first I attended meetings of the Board of which I was not a member. Few Directors usually attended. Their work was to accept the report of the Committee on Administration which consisted of the secretary, his five assistants whom he appointed; and nine members of the Board, only two or three of whom usually attended. Unfinished business of the Board was referred to this committee. There was little discussion at Board meetings and the chief work was to accept the report of the Committee of Administration after brief discussion.

Once the secretary summoned a staff conference for general criticism. I was included in the invitation and thought my opinion was desired. It was elaborately conducted at a suburban resort. I wrote a general criticism pointing out that the executive was trying to do too many things and not giving his helpers enough initiative and authority. The statement won wide assent, but it was given no executive attention and no further conferences were called.

The result of this close dictatorship was soon apparent in my work. I tried to confine myself to my department of relations of the organization to Africa, other colored people and colonies. But try as I did I could get no action nor direction as to this work.

Walter White soon undoubtedly set out to get rid of me. In 1946, he

accused me before the Board of Directors of appearing before a Congressional Committee without his consent. This was Connelly's committee on assent to the Charter of the United Nations. They invited me as an individual and not as representative of the NAACP. My first words in testifying were that I spoke for no organization and only for myself. Walter White was also invited but he did not go.

Next he accused me of interfering with a court case on school segregation being tried by the NAACP in Dayton, Ohio. This was my answer to one of dozens of letters asking my opinion on many subjects. In this case I was asked my present interpretation of a passage in my "Dusk of Dawn". My answer expressed my personal opinion. Finally White demanded the right to open and read my mail for the reason that many persons wrote me as an officer of the NAACP rather than as an individual. I assured the secretary that I would turn over to him immediately any letter which came to me but belonged in his hands; but that under no circumstances could he open mail addressed to me. I saw the handwriting on the wall, but I was sure that my two sponsoring friends would see the attack being made on me and stand by me.

In 1946 I was asked to visit Columbia, S. C. and speak to a meeting of the Southern Negro Race Congress, whose leaders, James Jackson and Louis Burnham, I knew and admired for their hard work and sacrifice. They had called a "Southern Youth Legislature" in the former center of secession with white and Negro members. I went and said in part:

"The future of American Negroes is in the South. Here three hundred and twenty-seven years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America; here they have made their greatest contribution to American culture; and here they have suffered the damnation of slavery, the frustration of reconstruction and the lynching of emancipation. I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South

39-3-81

as the battle-ground of a great crusade. Here is the magnificent climate; here is the fruitful earth under the beauty of the Southern sun; and here if anywhere on earth, is the need of the thinker, the worker and the dreamer. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the colored races; and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalistic monopoly."

"There could be no more splendid vocation beckoning to the youth of the twentieth century, after the flat failures of white civilization, after the flamboyant establishment of an industrial system which creates poverty and the children of poverty which are ignorance and disease and crime; after the crazy boasting of a white culture that finally ended in wars which ruined civilization in the whole world; in the midst of allied peoples who have yelled about democracy and never practiced it either in the British Empire or in the American Commonwealth or in South Carolina."

In 1945 I had planned an appeal to the Commission on Human Rights of the UN, in behalf of American Negroes and their disabilities. I had proposed a pamphlet which I would edit and to which a group of experts would contribute articles. The Directors assented. I secured the cooperation of Earl Dickerson, Milton Konvitz, William R. Ming, Jr., Leslie S. Perry and Rayford Logan. To this appeal of 80 pages I wrote an introduction.

When the appeal was ready for the press, the secretary, without consulting me as editor, held it up for weeks because he wanted to add an introduction by himself. I pointed out that for a pamphlet of less than 100 pages there was no call for two introductions and that my introduction of 14 pages was an integral part of the plan. After further

and unnecessary delay the appeal was issued. At first the Human Rights Commission refused to receive it except for filing. At last however the appeal was received formally by an undersecretary and at a public meeting. Walter White made the speech of presentation.

One other development of the NAACP gradually dawned on me. The organization had divided into two parts: A Legal Department under Arthur Spingarn as chairman and Thurgood Marshall as legal director, occupied separate offices and was supported by a separate fund. Although still a department of the NAACP, they were largely independent of the executive secretary and their work was decided by decision of a few men. They achieved unexpected and extraordinary success in a series of court decisions which culminated in the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954, outlawing race segregation in the schools and other public facilities.

To me this success was beyond anything I had dreamed. But it proved two things which the public did not realize: 1. No such decision would have been possible without the world pressure of Communism led by the Soviet Union. It was simply impossible for the United States to continue to lead a "Free World" with race segregation kept legal over a third of its territory. 2. Legal enactment and decision in the United States is necessary but it does not ensure action. The South is rebelling against the Supreme Court decision and for many years will have its way; not forever but long enough to ruin the education of millions of black and white children.

Then came the political campaign of 1948. I had never belonged to an active political organization, but I had expressed my views on candidates since the election of 1912. I early donned a Wallace button and let it be known that I was going to support him. A poll in the NAACP office showed that 70% of the staff favored Wallace. I was then warned by the secretary not to take part in "politics". I replied that I certainly

39-3-83

would be careful not to appear to speak for the NAACP nor to take the time for active political work; but I assumed that I had the right to vote and to tell my choice; that this was what the NAACP had stood for for 30 years. The secretary merely reiterated that the Board insisted that no salaried employee should take part in politics. When later at a non-political meeting in Philadelphia, I advised the audience to vote for Wallace, I was careful to preface my remarks by saying that I did not officially speak for the NAACP or any official. I was rebuked by the secretary for this, while at the same time he was making a nation-wide drive for Truman, by letter, newspaper articles, telegrams and public speech.

In 1947 the Human Rights Commission of the UN scheduled a meeting in Paris at which our Appeal would be considered. Walter White decided himself to attend. Naturally I regarded White's trip at this point as interfering into a matter which was in my domain, but I said nothing. He asked for memoranda from me which I furnished. Then he asked for a second memorandum from me which I refused to write until the Board of Directors took some action on the matter of just what my area of work was. Here again I quite misconceived the attitude of the Board toward me and my work. I was to have no area of work which was mine. I was to be completely at the direction of the secretary. He could direct or interfere as he chose and he was the judge as to what was the proper procedure. In a tight modern business corporation this had become standard procedure. But I could not conceive being asked to function in such a capacity. Surely in my nearly fifty years of work for the American Negro I had earned the right to some small niche where I could think and act with reasonable freedom. The Board paid not the slightest attention to my request. Indeed since I sent it in care of the secretary it is quite

possible that the Board never received it at all. White prepared to sail before the next meeting of the Board.

At Geneva nothing important took place. The Soviet delegate tried to take up our appeal and another appeal from women. But Mrs. Roosevelt and Daniels objected. Mr. White not being a member of the Commission did not even have the right to attend the meeting.

I then took a decisive step. I sent a memorandum to each member of the Board protesting against the handling of this case which lay in my department. And protesting also against the political activity of the Secretary and his representation of his appointment as consultant to the UNO as reason for supporting Truman. I pointed out that the Annual Meeting of the NAACP to which I was not invited, was turned into a Truman rally. I sent copies of this protest to the Board, and the office staff. I did not send any copy of this protest to any newspaper nor did I speak to any newspaper reporter.

The Board promptly dismissed me from my position effective December 31. They did not discuss at all the facts, but dismissed me for refusing "to cooperate" with the secretary and for distributing my memorandum before the meeting of the Board.

A considerable number of persons now urged me to lead a fight protesting my treatment and planning a reorganization of the NAACP. I refused. I was too old for such a task which was the duty of younger persons. Moreover White was not wholly responsible for what had happened. Much of the blame lay on the shoulders of my two friends at whose insistence I had returned to the NAACP. I now realized that between Spingarn and Wright on the one hand and the secretary on the other, there had been an understanding that at any time White could not get along with me, I was to go. They assumed that my days of work were over and they wanted [redacted]

39-3-85

to furnish me leisure and dignity before death. White, on the other hand, wanted me for window dressing, as one who would boost his prestige with reports which he would use and speeches made at his direction. On the other hand I myself had not even at the age of eighty felt any serious diminution of my power to work or to follow my ideals. I could not work as long or reason so quickly; but in joining the NAACP I had no thought of sitting down and doing nothing; and it never occurred to me that I would be expected to act as show piece or figure head for someone else.

I started in to do a job and I was succeeding when White decided that my work interfered with his and he asked Spingarn and Wright to redeem their promise. They hesitated. They asked me once when I had appealed to them about office space. "Why do you work so hard? Why not take it more leisurely?" I did not understand. I merely smiled and proceeded to point out that in the newly purchased headquarters I had been alloted a small office of some 10 by 12 feet for myself and secretary, 2500 books, ten file cases and office furniture. They pointed out that the new offices were already too small and that the growing legal department was seriously cramped and needed even the space that I was occupying.

Finally I was not dismissed because of my radical thought - this was never discussed; nor for disobeying the secretary or the rules of the organization. I was dismissed on the technical charge of sending to the newspapers facts about a difference of opinion between the secretary and myself over furnishing him more data for his trip to the Human Relations Conference in Paris. This in fact I had not done and told this to the Board. But I added that if the newspapers had asked me

315

about this difference I would have stated the facts. For this the Board dismissed me.

The NAACP has a noble record of which all Negroes and all Americans should be proud. All the more reason that its future path be guided by wisdom and by use of that vast reservoir of human knowledge and experience which can be called into use by democracy. It is difficult to guide a mass of people. Continually we are tempted to use our own limited knowledge and experience to push through decisions and compel action, instead of trusting the slower, muddled and hesitating development of mass action. Yet without this action we land in tyranny and fatal mistake. The hundred thousands of members of the NAACP are not people of the highest education or widest experience. But that is no excuse for turning their most effective organ of protest and progress into a fascist dictatorship, virtually under the control of one man. We see too much of this attitude already in current America, in the broad areas of business and industry; in the organized church; in social reform and uplift of every sort; in politics and government; it is the growing custom to narrow control, concentrate power, disregard and disfranchise the public; and assuming that certain persons by divine right of money raising or by sheer assumption, have the power to do as they think best without consulting the wisdom of mankind.

37-3-26

It is the tragedy of the day that the democracy of which we prate so glibly is being murdered in the house of its friends, and in the everyday life far more than in broad governmental decisions. The nation which cannot conduct its philanthropy in a democratic manner, will not in the end convince the world that it knows more of good government abroad than it does at home.

316
3/6

39-3-87

The present condition of the NAACP illustrates what I have said. The NAACP is today divided in two parts, with separate offices, officials and funds. The Legal Department is under the control of two lawyers; one a conservative white man, honest and careful, trained as an expert in conserving the private funds of the rich and well-to-do. He has had broad human contacts, but he has no sympathy with radical thought or experiment. The other lawyer is a talented colored man, trained in the strict field of current law and with narrow cultural background. These men have collected a fund which they administer and pursued a line of legal attack on color caste with extraordinary success, culminating with the epoch-making decision of the Supreme Court against segregation by race in the public schools. They have drawn around them a number of able young helpers and are supported by the strong public opinion of the nation, black and white. Walter White tried several times in vain to interfere with their work but never succeeded.

The remaining field of the NAACP has to do with social uplift of all sorts: education, housing, occupations, race relations, literature and art, history, science and social progress. Here rests the whole theory of the future of the Negro race in America and its relation to the Negroes of Africa and the West Indies, and the Colored peoples of the world. It matters not how many may think that these relations may be ignored, the fact is that they must be considered. Moreover and beyond this, the relations of American Negroes to the working people of America and to the Socialist and Communist movements of the world have got to be matters of grave and present consideration. The whole world is confronting these problems, while the NAACP the greatest organization among fifteen million of the most advanced group of Negroes in the world has no program or leadership; no experts, no commentators or leaders

but can only answer each problem with the parrot-like call "No Discrimination". This was the slogan of the last generation. It is desperately inadequate today. Given no race discrimination, Negro citizens still face modern problems and for a long time face them as a group, working together because of blood relationship and cultural ties. For this they must organize, plan and work: how can they plan to live with friends and acquaintances: how shall the history of Negroes be taught; what occupations shall their children be prepared to follow, what shall their attitude be toward Socialism and Communism, and especially toward the Soviet Union and China who above all nations fight the very color bar which we try to get rid of. All these matters call for trained knowledge and expert advice and wide experience.

This the main office of the NAACP today lacks. Its secretary has beentrained as a newspaper reporter; he is intelligent and good-willed but lacks all training in social science, has traveled little and has no broad background of education. He has a staff of excellent clerks but ~~not a single~~ few if any professional social workers, artists, writers or research specialists. The branches and their officials have no scientifically planned program except to raise money and defend cases of injustice or discrimination in courts. The organization fears the processes of democracy and avoids discussion. All meetings and programs are "fixed". When a North Carolina official voices what every Negro at sometime has thought -- namely retaliation for attack and injustice -- there is no discussion, but he is buried by a prepared vote. What is demanded is wide planning, thoughtful cooperation, organized social work and the selection of men and women of genius and training to solve one of the most difficult of modern problems of race relations.

Above all the American Negro needs to be taught to read and to support a school of art and literature which will preserve his history and culture and add to the great treasure of human accomplishment; rather than let the unique and marvelous life and experience of the black race in America be distorted or even lost to memory as it threatens to be today.

b8-3-45

CHAPTER XX

Work for Peace

I am not sure just when I began to feel an interest in Africa. Some folks seem to assume that just as Irish Americans have a sentimental regard for Ireland, and German Americans and Americans of Scandinavian descent look back to their mother countries, either through their own experience of that of their parents, so in similar ways Negro Americans should regard Africa.

This was true in the 17th and early 18th centuries, when there actually were, in the United States, Negroes who either remembered Africa or inherited memories from their fathers or grandfathers. Among Negroes of my generation there was not only little direct acquaintance or consciously inherited knowledge of Africa, but much distaste and recoil because of what the white world taught them about the Dark Continent. There arose resentment that a group like ours, born and bred in the United States for centuries, should be regarded as Africans at all. They were, as most of them began gradually to assert, Americans. My father's father was particularly bitter about this. He would not accept an invitation to a "Negro" picnic. He would not segregate himself in any way.

Notwithstanding all this, I became interested in Africa by a sort of logical deduction. I was tired of finding in newspapers, textbooks, and history, fulsome lauding of white folk, and either no mention of dark peoples, or mention in disparaging and apologetic phrase. I made up my mind that it must be true that Africa had a history and destiny, and that one of my jobs was to disinter this unknown past, and help make certain a splendid future. Along this line I did, over a stretch of years, a great deal of reading, writing, research, and planning.

When I returned to New York from Atlanta in 1944 to become Director

of Special Research for the NAACP, it was in my mind specifically for the purpose of concentrating on study of colonial peoples and people of Negro descent throughout the world, and to revive the Pan-African Congresses. From this plan came the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England, 1945; and my book, The World and Africa, in 1947. I should have liked to join the Council on African Affairs, and expected to be invited, but the secretary, Max Yergan, did not seem to want my co-operation.

39-3-91

Nothing illustrates more clearly the hysteria of our times than the career of the Council on African Affairs. It had been the dream of idealists in earlier days that the stain of American slavery would eventually be wiped out by the service which American descendants of African slaves would render Africa. Most of those American Negroes who gained their freedom in the 18th century looked forward to a return to Africa as their logical end. They often named their clubs and churches, their chief social institutions, "African." But the Cotton Kingdom and Colonial Imperialism gradually drove this dream entirely from their minds until the Negroes of the post-Civil War era regarded Africa as renewal of color caste and slavery. They regarded the colonization and "back to Africa" movements of Lincoln and Bishop Turner with lack-luster eye; and when in 1918 I tried to found a social and spiritual Pan-African movement, my American Negro following was small.

The Council on African Affairs was planned in London in 1939, when Max Yergan, a colored Y.M.C.A. secretary, returning from long and trying service in South Africa, met Paul Robeson returning from a visit to West Africa. They set up an organization in New York. In 1943 they were joined by Alphaeus Hunton, son of the greatest Negro secretary the American Y.M.C.A. ever had; himself a doctor of philosophy in English, and a professor for seventeen years at Howard University.

With the cooperation of Frederick V. Field, a fine African library and collection of African art, along with offices for the new organization, were secured. A monthly fact sheet devoted to developments in new Africa was issued. Money was raised for starving people in South Africa and striking miners in West Africa. African visitors were welcomed, and lectures delivered.

Then came the witch-hunting scare, and the Council was put on the Attorney-General's list of "subversive" organizations. Immediately, without consulting his board, Yergan as secretary, issued a newspaper release attacking "Communists". Robeson protested. His position was that the Council was not a Communist organization even if some of the supporters were Communists. It was doing a specific and needed work; that the political or religious opinions of its members or officials were their own business, so long as the actions of the organization as such were legal.

A division immediately arose within the ranks of the Council and many of the members of the board resigned. At this time, on invitation of Robeson, I was asked to join the Council, which I did. I joined on account of my faith in his sincerity, and my belief in the necessary function of the Council on African Affairs. Since Yergan now was at odds with the board, he was dismissed from his office. Legal complications followed, due to Yergan's claims to property which the Council and Mr. Field considered theirs. When settlement was finally made, the Council resumed work, hampered by its proscription by the Attorney-General.

When I was dismissed by the NAACP as Director of Special Research in 1948, I was offered the honorary position of Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, without salary but with an office rent-free, and the services of a secretary to be furnished by the Council. I accepted for two reasons: first, because of my belief in the work which the Council should do for Africa; and secondly, because of my belief that no man or

organization should be denied the right to a career because of political or religious beliefs.

The Council was, however, on shaky foundations so far as funds were concerned. Membership fell, and money-raising efforts were not very successful. One promising effort presented itself in May, 1950. We had received from South Africa a moving appeal for assistance from a native musician, Michael Moerane. We turned to the brilliant, black orchestra leader, Dean Dixon, and asked him to arrange a concert of symphonic music by Negro composers of all lands, including Moerane. The concert was successful. We gave it at Town Hall. A thousand persons paid to listen. Critics applauded.

But alas for our dream! The concert cost $4,617, and our receipts were $3,236, leaving a loss of $1,381. This was not bad in itself; but since we had very limited funds and a dwindling income this result made any plans for repeating the concert annually, as Dixon so ardently desired, impossible. Yet the "Voice of America" broadcast news of this concert as proof of the encouragement of Negro culture by the United States! It failed to add that this was done by an organization listed by the United States as "subversive."

The ability of the Council to finance even my rent and clerical help decreased, and by 1950 it seemed my duty to relieve them of this obligation. However, the officers came to me and asked me earnestly not to do this, and disclosed a plan which they had considered; and that was that I would consent to a celebration of my 83rd birthday in February 1951, for the declared purpose of raising a publication fund; that this fund would go to maintaining my office and my connection with the Council on African Affairs, and also for re-publication of some of my works long out of print, and for new

publications of certain unprinted manuscripts. They were sure that such a proposition would be welcomed by a large number of people, and would mean not only forwarding my work, but the renewed activity of the Council on African Affairs, at a time when its services were greatly needed.

It was a particularly difficult situation because the increased costs called for a high charge a plate, and other expenses meant a great outlay of money. Yet I did not feel free to refuse. I consented. A committee was organized, and the dinner planned. Publicity sent out by Dr. E. Franklin Frazier of Howard University, past president of the American Sociological Association and chairman of the sponsoring group said:

"More than 200 prominent individuals from all sections of the United States, among them Dr. Albert Einstein, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Langston Hughes, Lion Feuchtwanger, and Hon. J. Finley Wilson, have joined in sponsoring a testimonial dinner honoring W.E.B. Du Bois on the occasion of his eighty-third birthday this month.

"Honorary chairmen of the sponsoring group for the dinner include Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland; Thomas Mann, noted author; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell of Washington; Miss Mary White Ovington, a founder of the NAACP: Dr. Alain Locke; Dr. William H. Jernagin; Carey McWilliams; and Bishop William J. Walls."

"At the peak of his unparalleled experience, learning, and skill, we have the rare opportunity of paying tribute to him in a tangible way by assuring continuing facilities for his research, writings, and publications. His priceless library must be kept intact and preserved. His unique collection of scores of thousands of letters and manuscripts must be edited and published. Most important of all, his basic works now out of print must be made available through the publishing of The Collected

Works of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois."

Then suddenly came news of my indictment. I was indicted as a criminal by a grand jury in Washington, on February 9, 1951 for not registering as an agent of a foreign power in the peace movement.

39-3-95

My connection with the peace movement had been long. Even in my college days I had vowed never to take up arms. I wrote in the Crisis in 1913 concerning the meeting of the peace societies at St. Louis:

> "Peace today, if it means anything, means the stopping of the slaughter of the weaker by the stronger in the name of Christianity and culture. The modern lust for land and slaves in Africa, Asia, and the South Seas is the greatest and almost the only cause of war between the so-called civilized peoples. For such 'colonial' aggression and 'imperial' expansion, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Austria are straining every nerve to arm themselves; against such policies Japan and China are arming desperately. And yet the American peace movement thinks it bad policy to take up this problem of machine guns, natives, and rubber, and wants 'constructive' work in 'arbitration treaties and international law.' For our part we think that a little less dignity and dollars and a little more humanity would make the peace movement in America a great democratic philanthropy instead of an aristocratic refuge."

At the Congress of Versailles in 1919, my contribution was the Pan-African Congresses, and appeals to the Mandate Commission and the International Labor Organization. In 1945, as Consultant to the American delegation to the U.N.O. in San Francisco, I tried to stress the colonial question. I wrote May 16, 1945:

> "The attempt to write an International Bill of Rights into the San Francisco Conference without any specific mention of the people living in colonies seems to me a most unfortunate procedure. If it were clearly understood that freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from fear, which the nations are asked to guarantee, would without question be extended to the 750 million people who live in colonial areas, this would be a great and rateful step. But the very fact that these people, forming the most depressed peoples in the world, with 90 per cent illiteracy, extreme poverty and a prey to disease, who hitherto for the

325

most part have been considered as sources of profit and not included in the democratic development of the world; and whose exploitation for three centuries has been a prime cause of war, turmoil, and suffering; -- the omission of specific reference to these peoples is almost advertisement of their tacit exclusion as not citizens of free states, and that their welfare and freedom would be considered only at the will of the countries owning them and not at the demand of enlightened world public opinion."

39-3-76

On February 5, 1949, O. John Rogge, formerly Assistant Attorney-General of the U. S., wrote me:

"The recent development in American-Soviet relations places a new emphasis on the need for a meeting such as our Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. Certainly intellectuals today are faced with no greater challenge than to give the best of their talent, skills, and special knowledge to the problem of how we achieve a real peace.

"We are most eager to make this Conference a real contribution to the solution of the problems that now block the way to peace. For that reason we are asking you and a small group of key individuals among our sponsors to meet with us to help in the preparation of the subject matter and program as well as speakers for this Conference . . . ."

The Conference took place in March 1949, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, N. Y. and marked an era in the cultural history of the United States. It was sponsored by 550 of the outstanding leaders of American cultural and liberal thought. It succeeded in bringing together an extraordinary representation of the leaders of modern culture, and especially cultural leaders of the Soviet Union.

So rabid was its reception by the American press, that a concerted and directed movement against peace and in favor of war against the Soviet Union was made clear. Distinguished cultural figures like Picasso were refused visas to attend. The meeting became a matter of bitter recrimination; the sessions were picketed, and the distortion of the whole enterprise in the press was unprecedented.

39-3-97

Thus a conference called by persons of the highest standing in science, literature, and art, and conceived with the best motives, became as the New York Times said, one of "the most controversial meetings in recent New York history"; and a signal expression of the witch-hunting and calumny in this nation which has driven free speech and the right to inquire and reason into almost total eclipse.

At the final meeting in Madison Square Garden I said in introducing the Chairman, Harlow Shapley:

> "We know and the saner nations know that we are not traitors nor conspirators; and far from plotting force and violence it is precisely force and violence that we bitterly oppose. This conference was not called to defend communism nor socialism nor the American way of life. It was called to promote peace! It was called to say and say again that no matter how right or wrong differing systems of beliefs in religion, industry, or government may be, war is not the method by which their differences can successfully be settled for the good of mankind."

The next month I was urged by O. John Rogge, Albert E. Kahn, and others to attend a world peace meeting in Paris. The American committee offered to pay a part of my expense, and I paid the rest. I went to what seems to me to have been the greatest demonstration for peace in modern times. For four days witnesses from nearly every country in the world set forth the horrors of war and the necessity of peace if civilization was to survive. On the concluding Sunday, 500,000 pilgrims from all parts of France, coming on foot, by automobiles, by train and plane, filed through the vast Buffalo Stadium crying "Peace, no more war!" At this Conference I emphasized colonialism and said:

> "Let us not be misled. The real cause of the differences which threaten world war is not the spread of socialism or even of the complete socialism which Communism envisages. Socialism is spreading all over the world and even in the United States .... Against this spread of socialism, one modern institution is working desperately

327

> and that is colonialism, and colonialism has been and is and ever will be one of the chief causes of war . . . Leading this new Colonial Imperialism comes my own native land, built by my father's toil and blood, the United States. The United States is a great nation; rich by grace of God and prosperous by the hard work of its humblest citizens... Drunk with power we are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery which once ruined us; and to a Third World War which will ruin the world."

32-3-217

On Monday, April 25th, during the last session of the Congress, a Peace Manifesto was adopted. This historic document whose Preamble declared it was drawn up by representatives of the people of seventy-two countries, "men and women of every creed, philosophy, color, and type of civilization," solemnly proclaimed that "the defense of Peace is henceforth the concern of all peoples." In the name of the 600 million represented, the Congress sent out this message: "We are ready and resolved to win the battle for Peace, which means to win the battle for Life."

The Congress adjourned and the delegates returned to their seventy-two countries.

In July, 1949, I joined with Linus Pauling, John Clark, Uta Hagen and O. John Rogge to call an "American Continental Congress for World Peace" to be held in Mexico City in September.

Again in August, 1949, twenty-five prominent Americans were asked to attend an all-Soviet peace conference in Moscow. For reasons which arose directly from the violent reception given the peace congress in March, I was the only one who accepted the invitation. I addressed the 1,000 persons present.

> "I represent millions of citizens of the United States who are just as opposed to war as you are. But it is not easy for American citizens either to know the truth about the world or to express it. This is true despite the intelligence and wealth and energy of the United States. Perhaps I can best perform my duty to my country and to the cause of world peace by taking a short time to explain the

328

39-3-91

historic reasons for the part which the United States is playing in the world today. I can do this the more appropriately because I represent that large group of fourteen million Americans, one tenth of the nation, who in a sense explain America's pressing problems.

"The two great advantages of the United States have been vast natural resources and effective labor force. The first effective labor force were slaves, at first both white and black; but increasingly as time went on black Africans brought in by an intense effort made by the English especially in the 18th century. That succeeded in landing 15 million black laborers in all the Americas from 1500 to 1800, at a cost of 100,000,000 souls to Africa, disrupting its culture and ruining its economy. This labor gave the world tobacco, cotton, sugar, and numbers of other crops and opened America to the world. There followed an increasing migration of millions of workers chiefly from Europe who became energetic laborers with initiative and skill encouraged by the large and immediate returns from their efforts. With free land, favorable climate and freedom of trade, the individual laborer could make a living and often become rich without the necessity of any wide social control for the common good. Plenty for most workers, without socialism, marked America from 1800 to 1900.

"But this was possible not only because of vast resources but also because of the slavery of the blacks. So long as a depressed class of slaves with no political nor social rights supplied a rich mass of basic materials and a whole area of personal service the share of white capital and white labor was abnormally large. Even when the expanding mass of white labor tried to build a democratic form of government, inspired by the thinkers of the late 18th century, they faced the uncomfortable fact of slavery in the land of liberty. Some wanted to abolish Negro slavery forthwith: but slaves represented too much invested property and income for this to be easy. In 1787, the United States, beginning work on the drafting of a Constitution, and having previously declared that "All men are created equal" faced the problem of slavery and the slave trade. The phrase "All men are created equal" was not complete hypocrisy. Most persons believed that Negro slavery could not continue without a slave trade so they arranged to suppress this African slave trade in 20 years and thus gradually they hoped the slave labor would disappear.

"This did not happen, because slave labor in the United States even with a curtailed slave trade began to raise so valuable a cotton crop that this crop by use of newly invented machinery became one of the most profitable investments of the modern world. The spindles for spinning cotton cloth in Europe increased from five million in 1800 to 150 million in 1900 and black labor furnished the raw material. This was the Cotton Kingdom and it represented vast capital and the income of millions of people. Slavery therefore in the United States by 1820, had so firm an economic foundation that emancipation became impossible without cataclysm.

"This pressure for social upheaval naturally did not come from the organizers of industry, nor from property owners, nor even at first from white workers, who had been taught that their high wages depended on the slavery of Negroes. The pressure came primarily from the Negroes; first by their sheer physical expansion from 750,000 in 1790 to 3 million in 1840, of whom nearly 400,000 had gained their freedom by purchase, escape, or philanthropy. They organized systematic escapes from the territory where the slave system prevailed: they joined with white men in an abolition movement; and their kin in Haiti and other West Indies Islands shook the world with bloody revolt.

"But the struggle of the black slave for freedom did not gain the sympathy of the majority of citizens of the United States. This was because a persistent propaganda campaign had been spread as slave labor began to increase in value, to prove by science and religion that black men were not real men; that they were a subspecies fit only for slavery. Consequently the fight for democracy and especially the struggle for a broader social control of wealth and of individual effort was hindered and turned aside by widespread contempt for the lowest class of labor and the consequent undue emphasis put on unhampered freedom of individual effort, even at the cost of social loss and degradation. Therefore at the time when socialism and broad social control for the common good should have spread in the United States as it was spreading in Europe, there grew on the contrary exaltation of industrial anarchy, tightening of the slave system and belief in individual or group success even at the expense of national welfare.

"The catastrophe was precipitated as the workers gradually discovered that slavery of their black fellows was not to their advantage if slave labor spread to the free soil of the West. The nation went to Civil War therefore not to abolish slavery, but to limit it to the cotton states. The South was determined to spread

39-3-101

slavery in the North and if not there, into the Caribbean and South America. This would cut Northern capital off from its most valuable market, and the North fought to preserve this market. But the North could not win without the cooperation of the slaves themselves, since the slaves were raising food for the Southern armies. Gradually by a general strike the Negroes began to desert to the Northern armies as laborers, servants, and spies, until at last 300,000 of them became armed soldiers while a million more stood ready to fight. Thus American Negroes gained their freedom.

"Now came the problem as to what to do with them. They were ignorant, poverty-stricken, sick. The Northerners wanted to let them drift. The freedmen desperately wanted land and education. A plan of socialistic control with schools and land distribution was worked out by philanthropists, but industry rejected it as too costly and as alien to American individualism. Then came a hitch; unless the slaves were given the right to vote, their numerical voting strength would go to their white former masters, who would vote to lower the tariff on which war industry flourished and to scale the war debt owned by Northern banks. Suddenly industry gave the black freedmen the vote, expecting them to fail but meantime to break the power of the planters. The Negroes did not fail; they enfranchised their fellow workers, establishing public schools for all and began a modern socialistic legislation for hospitals, prisons, and land distribution. Immediately the former slave owners made a deal with Northern industrial leaders for the disfranchisement of the freedmen. The South would support the tariff and the debt. The freedmen lost the right to vote but retained their schools, poorly supported as they were by their own meager wages and Northern philanthropy.

"The history of the United States in the last 75 years has been one of the great series of events in human history. With marvelous technique based on scientific knowledge with organized expert management, vast natural resources, and world wide commerce, this country has built the greatest industrial machine in history -- still capable of wide expansion. This organization is socialistic in its planning and coordination and methods but it is not under democratic control, nor are its objects those of the welfare state.

"Our industry is today controlled, as George Seldes tells us, by 1,000 individuals and is conducted primarily for their profit and power. This does not exclude a great deal which is for the progress of America and the world, but human progress is not its main object nor its

39-3-13-2

sole result. The American philosophy brought over from pioneer days was that individual success was necessarily social uplift, and today large numbers of Americans firmly believe that the success of monopolized industry controlled by an oligarchy is the success of this nation. It is not; and the high standard of living in the United States and its productive capacity is not due to monopoly and private profit, but has come in spite of this and indicates clearly how much higher standards of living might have been reached not only in America but throughout the world, if the bounty of the United States and its industrial planning had been administered for the progress of the masses instead of the power and luxury of the few.

"The power of private corporate wealth in the United States has throttled democracy and this was made possible by the color caste which followed Reconstruction after the Civil War. When the Negro was disfranchised in the South, the white South was and is owned increasingly by the industrial North. Thus, caste which deprived the mass of Negroes of political and Civil Rights and compelled them to accept the lowest wage, lay underneath the vast industrial profit of the years 1890 to 1900 when the greatest combinations of capital took place.

"The fight of Negroes for democracy in these years was the main movement of the kind in the United States. They began to gain the sympathy and cooperation of those liberal whites who succeeded the Abolitionists and who now realized that physical emancipation of a working class must be followed by political and economic emancipation or means nothing. For more than a half century this battle of a group of black and white Americans for the abolition of color caste has gone on and made striking progress: The American Negro is beginning to vote, to be admitted to labor unions and to be granted many Civil Rights. But the mischief and long neglect of democracy has already spread throughout the Nation. A large percentage of eligible voters do not get to the polls. Democracy has no part in industry, save through the violence or threatened violence of the strike. No great American industry admits that it could or should be controlled by those who do its work. But unless democratic methods enter industry, democracy fails to function in other parts of life. Our political life is admittedly under the control of organized wealth and while the socialized organization of all our work proceeds, its management remains under oligarchical control and its objects are what that oligarchy decide. They may be beneficial decisions, they may be detrimental, but in no case are they arrived at by democratic methods.

39-3-103

"The claim of the United States that it represents democracy in contrast to fascism or communism is patently false. Fascism is oligarchy in control of a socialized state which is run for the benefit of the oligarchs and their friends. Communism is a socialized state conducted by a group of workers for the benefit of the mass of the people. There may be little difference in the nature of the controls exercised in the United States, Fascist Germany, and the Soviet republics. There is a world of difference in the objects of that control. In the United States today the object is to center and increase the power of those who control organized wealth and they seek to prove to Americans that no other system is so successful in human progress. But instead of leaving proof of this to the free investigation of science, the reports of a free press, and the discussion of the public platform, today in the United States, organized wealth owns the press and chief news gathering organs and is exercising increased control over the schools and making public discussion and even free thinking difficult and often impossible.

"The cure for this and the way to change the socially planned United States into a welfare state is for the American people to take over the control of the nation in industry as well as government. This is proceeding gradually. Many Americans are not aware of this, but it is true: we conduct the post office; we are in the express and banking business; we have built the great Tennessee Valley river control system; we exercise control in varying degrees over railroads, radio, city planning, air and water traffic; in a thousand other ways, social control for general welfare is growing and must grow in our country. But knowledge of this, of its success and of its prevalence in other lands, does not reach the mass of people. They are being carried away by almost hysterical propaganda that the freedoms which they have and such individual initiative as remains are being threatened and that a third world war is the only remedy.

"Not all America has succumbed to this indefensible belief. The Progressive Party ... has challenged this program, the voters in 1948 declared wide agreement but were induced by fear to vote for a man who has not carried out his promises; the Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions assembled a vast protest against war last year and the religious sect of Quakers have just issued a fine balanced statement in the same line. There are millions of other Americans who agree with these leaders of the Peace Movement. I bring you their greetings."

My trip to the Soviet Union made it impossible for me to get to the Congress in Mexico City, but I watched with interest other peace conferences: in Cuba in August; in Australia in April, 1950; the delegations to the Parliaments of the world, projected by the Defenders of Peace in Paris in February, 1950. I joined a group to welcome persons selected to come here,

including the Dean of Canterbury, and the great painter, Picasso. They were refused visas. A Mid-Century Conference for Peace was called by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives in May, 1950, in which I was asked to conduct a panel; but a previous engagement kept me away. I was asked to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Paris Defenders for Peace in Prague in August, 1951, and accepted. This meeting was to call a Second World Congress and make a new plea for disarmament.

But before this meeting, we had succeeded in forming in the United States an organization to work for peace. This was the Peace Information Center. There were about sixty Americans who attended the World Congress of the Defenders in Paris in April, 1950. We were all tremendously impressed and discussed many times the question as to what we could do when we returned to America. We did nothing for nearly a year, because in the state of hysteria and warmongering which we found in the United States, it was not at all clear as to what could be done legally.

Finally I received this telegram from O. John Rogge:

> "Strongly urge your participation meeting my house 400 East 52 Street at 8 o'clock Wednesday evening March 1st. Purpose is to discuss certain vital problems relating to current activities for promotion of world peace."

I went to the meeting and found that the thirty or forty persons attending had already in previous meetings been exploring methods of organizing for peace in the United States. The first idea seemed to have been a federation of the various peace movements in the United States already in existence. That had fallen through. Then a committee to welcome the prominent advocates of peace who proposed to visit the United States proved useless when they were refused visas. We appointed a committee to explore possibilities.

A number of the participants in this initial meeting went to Europe to attend a meeting of the Bureau of the Partisans of Peace in Stockholm, and

39-3-105

also to visit Russia under the plan of approaching Parliaments in the interests of peace. Our committee adopted a plan which seemed to us all unusually apt and legal, and that was, as we decided at a later meeting in a private home, to form a Peace Information Center, the object of which should be simply to tell the people of the United States what other nations were doing and thinking about war.

Johannes Steele suggested that we publish what he called a "Peacegram" at intervals, and in that way we could collect information and send it over the United States. The proposal to organize was made by the chairman of the committee, Elizabeth Moos, and we proceeded to locate offices and start organized work. In July, Mrs. Moos, on account of ill-health, resigned with regret after having put the organization on its feet.

Abbott Simon, a young veteran interested in work among youth, was her obvious successor and became our executive secretary from July to our dissolution. Kyrle Elkin was a young business man, educated at Harvard, and engaged in small manufacturing. He had never been especially active in social work, but was attracted by our program, and in his quiet way helped us by accepting the duties of treasurer.

We all worked together smoothly and effectively. We issued the "Peacegrams," and then reprinted and circulated the "Stockholm Appeal" to abolish the atom bomb. We distributed this over the nation, and collected in all (5p)/ 2,500,000 signatures. We printed and distributed other demands and arguments for peace, like the Red Cross Appeal, the statement of the Friends, and many others.

The half billion persons in the world who signed the Stockholm Appeal and the billion who would have signed if given the chance, were moved not by the thought of defending the Soviet Union so much as by the desire to prevent modern culture from relapsing into primitive barbarism.

The first direct public attack on the Peace Information Center came in a broadside from the United States Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, released July 12: *

> "I am sure that the American people will not be fooled by the so-called 'world peace appeal' or 'Stockholm resolution' now being circulated in this country for signatures. It should be recognized for what it is -- a propaganda trick in the spurious 'peace offensive' of the Soviet Union . . . . "

I replied immediately on July 14, saying in a release to the press:

> "The main burden of your opposition to this Appeal and to our efforts lies in the charge that we are part of a 'spurious peace offensive' of the Soviet Union. Is it our strategy that when the Soviet Union asks for peace, we insist on war? Must any proposals for averting atomic catastrophe be sanctified by Soviet opposition? Have we come to the tragic pass where, by declaration of our own Secretary of State, there is no possibility of mediating our differences with the Soviet Union? Does it not occur to you, Sir, that there are honest Americans who, regardless of their differences on other questions, hate and fear war and are determined to do something to avert it? .....
>
> "We have got to live in the world with Russia and China. If we worked together with the Soviet Union against the menace of Hitler, can we not work with them again at a time when only faith can save us from utter atomic disaster? Certainly hundreds of millions of colonial peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, conscious of our support of Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai and the colonial system, and mindful of the oppressive discrimination against the Negro people in the United States, would feel that our intentions also must be accepted on faith.
>
> "Today in this country it is becoming standard reaction to call anything 'communist' and therefore subversive and unpatriotic, which anybody for any reason dislikes. We feel strongly that this tactic has already gone too far; that it is not sufficient today to trace a proposal to a communist source in order to dismiss it with contempt.
>
> "We are a group of Americans, who upon reading this Peace Appeal, regard it as a true, fair statement of what we ourselves and many countless other Americans believed. Regardless of our other beliefs and affiliations, we united in this organization for the one and only purpose of informing the American people on the issues of peace."

* The New York Times, July 13, 1950

39-3-107

The Peace Information Center continued its work. The evidence of the desire for peace came in from all parts of the United States, and especially from those regions where the newspapers were suppressing information. Surprising interest and support came to us especially from the West and South.

In August, I had a cablegram from Paris inviting me to attend as a guest the meeting of the Bureau of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace in Prague. They were meeting for two main purposes: to broaden the Stockholm Appeal by asking for disarmament; and to arrange a Second World Peace Congress. I regarded this as important and applied for a visa on my unexpired passport.

It took ten days of deliberation in Washington and two telephone calls before my visa came. Even then it was carefully limited to sixty days in Czechoslovakia and "necessary lands" en route, and "was not to be validated for additional countries without the express authorization of the Department of State." I felt like a prisoner on parole.

When asked at Prague to speak, I said:

> "For fifty years I have been in touch with social currents in the United States. Never before has organized reaction wielded the power it does today: by ownership of press and radio, by curtailment of free speech, by imprisonment of liberal thinkers and writers. It has become almost impossible today in my country even to hold a public rally for peace. This has been accomplished by inducing Americans to believe that America is in imminent danger of aggression from communism, socialism and liberalism, and that the peace movement cloaks this threat ....
>
> "Manifestly, to meet this hysteria, it is not so much a question of the concept of war under any circumstances, as the far deeper problem of getting the truth to the masses of the citizens of the United States who still in overwhelming majority hate murder, crippling destruction and insanity, as a means of progress. By personal contact, by honest appeal, by knowing the truth ourselves, we can yet win the peace in America. But it is going to take guts and the willingness to jeopardize jobs and respectability ... "

39-3-108

After this meeting in Prague where the Bureau of the Defenders of Peace finally voted to broaden the "Stockholm Appeal" so as to ask disarmament and condemn aggression and armed intervention, I started home; but on my way I received two messages in Paris, which led to a political campaign and a criminal indictment.

The Peace Information Center was in existence from April 3, 1951, to October 12 of that year, when it formally disbanded. After that, the closing down of our activities, answering continued correspondence, paying our bills, and ending our lease, kept our office partially in existence until the end of the year. During the seven months of active work, we took in a total of $25,000 from small donations, public and house meetings, and sale of literature for which there was a large demand. We printed and distributed 750,000 pieces, of which 485,000 were petitions for signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. These sold for a cent and cost us a half cent. We also issued a hundred thousand stickers, and thousands of pamphlets for children, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Spanish and Italian speaking minorities whom we tried to interest in peace. In addition came the regular "Peacegram" with its news of the world peace movement. Our largest two items of expense were about $9,000 for printing and $8,000 for rent and salaries. We had, finally, a mailing list of 6,000 persons in all parts of the nation especially interested in peace.

39-3-109

CHAPTER XXI

AN INDICTED CRIMINAL

As I started home from Prague in August, 1950, I received two cabled messages from the United States. One was from John Abt of the American Labor Party, asking if I would run for United States Senator from New York in the current campaign. The other was from Abbott Simon, executive secretary of the Peace Information Center, informing me that the Department of Justice had demanded our registration as "agents of a foreign principal."

I proceeded to remind Abt of my age and political inexperience, and my unwillingness to run for public office. But Abt said a number of things, of which two sunk in: (1) That this campaign would afford a chance for me to speak for peace which could be voiced in no other way. (2) My candidacy would help the campaign of Vito Marcantonio.

Of all members of Congress, Vito Marcantonio had acted with courage, intelligence and steadfast integrity in the face of ridicule, mud-slinging and cheating. If I could do anything for Marcantonio, I decided to try. On August 31, I wired, "Accept. Du Bois."

My experience in practical politics had been small. First of all I had been reared in the New England tradition of regarding politics as no fit career for a man of serious aims, and particularly unsuitable for a college-bred man. Respectable participation in political life as voter, thinker, writer, and, on rare occasions as speaker, was my ideal. This preoccupation was strengthened by the fact that for Negroes entrance into political life was especially difficult. Spending as I did the thirteen years of my early, active life in Georgia, I was disfranchised from the "White Primary" on account of my race, and confined my political work to advice to my students and to writing.

39-3-110

I went into the campaign for Senator knowing well from the first that I did not have a ghost of a chance for election, and that my efforts would bring me ridicule at best and jail at worst. On the other hand, I did have a message which was worth attention and which in the long run could not fail to have influence. The leaders of the American Labor Party and my colleagues on the ticket were more than kind and solicitous; they reduced my participation to a minimum, themselves bore an unfair part of the work, and gave me every help to keep my efforts within my strength and ability.

I delivered, in all, ten speeches and made seven broadcasts. I began with a press conference in Harlem, to which the Times and Herald Tribune sent reporters, and the Associated Press; but only one Negro paper was represented. I addressed mass meetings in Harlem, Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx, each attended by 1,000 to 2,500 persons, who gave me careful attention and generous applause. My last speech in the city of New York was at that marvelous gathering of 17,000 persons at Madison Square Garden on October 24, news of which was nearly blacked out by the press.

On an upstate tour from Buffalo to Albany beginning October 15, I spoke four times to audiences of a few hundred persons in small and rather obscure halls. There was a distinct air of fear and repression. "Free" Americans slipped in almost furtively and whispered many stories of how the industries of Rochester and Syracuse threatened their workers. In Albany political pressure was tense. While the press was courteous, we evidently were permitted just to touch the edges of real publicity.

My main thesis was thus summed up:

39-3-111

> "The most sinister evil of this day is the widespread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgement realize just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeated occasions when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress. But as civilization has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear; one, that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay, no matter what the alternative; and two, that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party. In modern world war all contestants lose and not only lose the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture."

Above all, I was amazed and exasperated by the overwhelming use and influence of money in politics. Millionaires and corporations, not record and logic, defeated Marcantonio. Dewey could afford to spend $35,000 for one day on radio; when friends of mine the nation over sent $600 to further my campaign, it represented more honesty and guts than all the millions spent on Lehman and Hanley. Small wonder the result of this election throughout the land sounded like a "tale told by an idiot."

Five million persons voted in this election; of these, 4 per cent voted for me (15 per cent in Harlem), which was far more than I expected. More than a million of the voters stayed away from the polls. As for myself, having never expected anything but defeat I would not have been surprised if no more than 10,000 persons had voted for me. I was astonished by a vote of 205,729, a vote from men and women of courage, without the prejudice against color which I always expect and usually experience. This meant that these faced poverty and jail to stand and be counted for peace and civil rights. For this I was happy.

39-3-112

The first letter from the Department of Justice to the Peace Information Center was received August, 1950. It read:

> "The Peace Information Center is engaged in activities within the United States which require registration with the Department under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended ....
>
> "In view of the length and time that has elapsed since the Peace Information Center has been acting as an agent of a foreign principal without having filed its registration statement as required by law, it is expected that the registration statement will be submitted forthwith."

The executive secretary, Abbott Simon, replied:

> "The Peace Information Center is American in its conception and formation. Its activities were intended to and do relate only to the people of the United States. It acts and is responsible only to itself and to the people of this country. It has never agreed, either by contract or otherwise, to act as a 'publicity agent' for a 'foreign principal' as defined in the Act, nor does it purport or assume to act as one."

At the same time Mr. Simon sent our attorney, Gloria Agrin, to Washington, and she verbally and in writing, reiterated the position of the Peace Information Center.

> "The inference which you and the Department have made seems to be founded only on the fact that there are people throughout the world who may have, and be expressing, ideas and concepts similar to those expressed by the Peace Information Center. In fact, it might even be surprising to find that this were not so. The minds and desires of men have always transcended national barriers. This is so in every field of endeavor, whether it be art, music, literature, science, or politics. Respect for an Einstein, a Mann, a Picasso, a Pasteur, or a Disraeli, has never been diminished by the fact that they were not American aborigines, nor has esteem for their ideas lessened. It would seem, therefore, to be a startlingly new pattern of reasoning that any idea or activity which is not indigenous to, and confined to, the United States, will subject the holder to the inference that he acts for some person abroad. Concomitantly, such a concept would limit the thought processes of American citizens to the four corners of the United States boundaries."

39-3-113

On September 19, Mr. Foley of the Department of Justice wrote us that the Center's registration "should be submitted without further delay" and added, "Again, let me stress the point that registration under the act is in no way intended to interfere with the operation of the Peace Information Center in its present program." We need not stop our work but must lie as to why we were doing it.

Finally, on February 8, we were notified that the Grand Jury in Washington had indicted the Peace Information Center and its officers for "failure to register as agent of a foreign principal."

The indictment said in part:

> "Continuously during the period from April 3, 1950 to and including the date of the return of this indictment, Peace Information Center has been an agent of a foreign principal, because within the United States (1) it has acted as, and has held itself out to be a publicity center for; (2) it has reported information to; and (3) it has acted at the request of, the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace and its successor the World Peace Council . . . "

The Bill of Particulars added:

> "During the period mentioned in the indictment, the officers, directors, and representatives of the Peace Information Center, at the request of its said foreign principal, published and disseminated in the United States the 'Stockholm Peace Appeal' and related information pertaining primarily to prohibition of the use of atomic weapons as instruments of war . . . "

To this indictment the Peace Information Center replied in a release to the public, setting forth the truth about the organization:

> "The defendants deny that Peace is a foreign idea; but they gladly admit that they gathered and publicized ideas and news of action for peace from everywhere they could obtain them. They assert that any attempt to curtail such free interchange of thought, opinion, and knowledge of fact the world over is clearly an interference with the constitutional rights of American citizens. The function of this Center was to give to the citizens of this country those facts concerning the world-wide efforts for peace which the American press for the most part was ignoring or suppressing. It did this with the same object that other Americans have spread information of medical advance, efforts for labor uplift, scientific discoveries, plans for housing, suppression of crime and education of youth. The United States has as

> yet laid no embargo on the importation of ideas, or knowledge of international effort for social uplift; and surely there can be today no greater need for information than in the peace movement and the effort to remove the horrible threat of a Third World War."

39-3-114

Our board of advisers, however, voted October 12 to dissolve the Center. We had no intention of running counter to the government, but only wished to make it clear that we did not believe we should register under the law. But closing the office of such a movement takes time. Letters kept pouring in asking for petitions, asking about further peace congresses, asking what anyone could do to help. We answered the letters and used our remaining stock of stationery for this correspondence. We tried to break our lease on the office, but could not do this immediately. Above all we tried to turn all public interest in peace into other channels: into local peace organizations and especially toward a second world peace congress to be held in England. A special committee was organized for this end, and they opened a separate office. But all this closing activity was held against us eventually by the Government as evidence of our deliberate flouting of orders. The Department of Justice thus assumed that our real crime was peace and not foreign agency. It was reiterated that the Peace Information Center continued to exist until the indictment was handed down in February, 1951. This was technically true.

In 1950 the month of February had for me special meaning. I was a widower. The wife of fifty-three years lay buried in the New England hills beside her first-born boy. I was lonesome because so many boyhood friends had died, and because a certain illogical reticence on my part had never brought me many intimate friends. But there was a young woman, a minister's daughter, to whom I had been a sort of father confessor in literary affairs and difficulties of life for many years, especially after her father's death fifteen years before. I knew her hardships and I had rejoiced in her successes.

Shirley Graham, with her beautiful martyr complex, finally persuaded herself that I needed her help and companionship, as I certainly did; so we decided to get married a few days after my next birthday, when I would be 83 years old.

39-3-115

Preparation for a birthday dinner to be held at the Essex House, New York City, were being made at the request of the Council on African Affairs of which I had become vice-chairman after leaving the NAACP. The list of sponsors was imposing and growing daily. Before the indictment about three hundred people had made reservations and paid over $2,000.

Then came a strange series of events: on February 9 I was indicted for an alleged crime; on February 14, I was married secretly to Shirley, lest if I were found guilty she might have no right to visit me in jail; February 16 I was arraigned in Washington and on February 19, four days before the dinner, the hotel at which the dinner was planned cancelled our contract by telegram saying:

> "Pursuant to our rules and regulations and for other sufficient reasons we hereby advise you that reservations of our facilities for Friday evening, February 23 for the W.E.B. Du Bois testimonial dinner is cancelled. Deposit is being returned. Vincent J. Coyle, Vice-President and Managing Director, Essex House Hotel, Inc."

We had five days before the dinner to find a place to entertain our 300 guests. In addition to this, three of our speakers, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mordecai Johnson, and Rabbi Hillel Silver, hastily declined to appear. Some of the sponsors withdrew, but I do not know how many of the original list remained.

I can stand a good deal, and have done so during my life; but this experience was rather more than I felt like bearing, especially as the blows continued to fall. I had meantime been finger-printed, handcuffed, bailed and remanded for trial. I was more than ready to drop all thought of the birthday dinner.

3445

39-3-116

But my remaining friends said No! I could do no less than stand beside them, although without Shirley's faith and strength I probably would not have allowed the dinner to take place. Franklin Frazier, the chairman, stood firm. He said the dinner must and would go on.

There ensued a period of wild search for a place of meeting; of securing other speakers and of notifying participants. Subtly the whole picture changed; instead of a polite, friendly social gesture, this dinner became a fight for civil rights, and into the seats of timid and withdrawing guests slipped a new set of firmer men and women who were willing to face even the United States government in my defense and for the preservation of American freedom. They carried on the battle while I sat uneasily in the background.

The program was hastily rearranged. No white downtown hotel would harbor us, and turning to Harlem we found Small's Paradise, well-known to the Cabaret world, much too small but with a proprietor willing and eager even to lose money by the venture. At the dinner Belford Lawson, head of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, volunteered and made a fighting speech; Paul Robeson spoke courageously and feelingly. A strong letter from Judge Hubert Delany was read. Franklin Frazier presided and spoke. The room was crowded to suffocation, and many could not get to their seats. But the spirit was what the Germans call "feierlich!" Finally, amid cheers, birthday cakes and flowers, I made my speech. There were about 700 persons present who paid $6,557 in dinner fees and donations.

In this indictment of the Peace Information Center, I received a severe jolt, because in fact I found myself being punished before I was tried. In the first place, the Department of Justice allowed the impression

344

to spread that my colleagues and I had in some way betrayed our country. Although the charge was not treason, it was widely understood and said that the Peace Information Center had been discovered to be an agent of the Soviet Union.

39-3-117

When we were arraigned in Washington February 16, the proceedings were brusque and unsympathetic. We were not treated as innocent people whose guilt was to be inquired into, but distinctly as criminals whose innocence was to be proven, which was assumed to be doubtful.

The white commercial press treated our case either with silence or violent condemnation. The New York Herald Tribune had this editorial, February 11:

"The Du Bois outfit was set up to promote a tricky appeal of Soviet origin, poisonous in its surface innocence, which made it appear that a signature against the use of atomic weapons would forthwith insure world peace. It was, in short, an attempt to disarm America and yet ignore every form of Communist aggression. A lot of 'men and women of good will through the world,' to quote the petition's bland phrasing, were snared into signing without quite realizing that this thing came straight out of the Cominform."

So far as the nation was concerned, Alice Barrows secured 220 leaders of the arts, sciences, clergy and other professions in thirty-three states, including thirty-five universities, to sign "A Statement to the American People," released June 27, calling for the withdrawal of the prosecution. The statement, initiated by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, described the indictment as "but one of numerous recent actions against individuals and organizations that advocate peaceful solutions to the world's crisis. In this time of hysteria, the attempted labeling of 'foreign agent' on a distinguished

347

scholar and leader of a peace movement can fairly be interpreted as an effort to intimidate and silence all advocates of peace."

39-3-118

The response of Negroes in general was slow. At first many Negroes were puzzled. They did not understand the indictment and assumed that I had let myself be drawn into some treasonable acts or movements in retaliation for continued discrimination in this land, which I had long fought. They understood this and forgave it, but thought my action ill-advised. The Norfolk Journal and Guide expressed this clearly. The Chicago Defender said:

"Dr. Du Bois has earned many honors and it is a supreme tragedy that he should have become embroiled in activities that have been exposed as subversive in the twilight of his years." But on the other hand, editors like Percival Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier, Carl Murphy of the Afro-American, and columnists like Marjorie McKenzie, J. A. Rogers, and others, showed a courage and real intellectual leadership which was lacking elsewhere. The reaction of Negroes revealed a distinct cleavage not hitherto clear in American Negro opinion. The intelligentsia, the "Talented Tenth," the successful business and professional men, were not, for the most part, outspoken in my defense. There were many and notable exceptions, but as a group this class was either silent or actually antagonistic. The reasons were clear; many believed that the government had actual proof of subversive activities on our part; until the very end they awaited their disclosure.

Other Negroes of intelligence and prosperity had become American in their acceptance of exploitation as defensible, and in their imitation of American "conspicuous expenditure." They proposed to make money and spend it as pleased them. They had beautiful homes, large and expensive cars and fur coats. They hated "Communism" and "Socialism" as much as

any white American. Their reaction toward Paul Robeson was typical; they simply could not understand his surrendering a thousand dollars a night for a moral conviction.

39-3-119

This dichotomy in the Negro group, this development of class structure, was to be expected, and will be more manifest in the future, as discrimination against Negroes as such decreases. There will gradually arise among American Negroes a separation according to their attitudes toward labor, wealth and work. It is still my hope that the Negro's experience in the past will, in the end, lead the majority of his intelligentsia into the ranks of those advocating social control of wealth, abolition of exploitation of labor, and equality of opportunity for all.

I have belonged to a Negro graduate fraternity for forty-five years -- indeed helped its first formation. Today it contains in its membership a large number of leading business and professional Negroes in the United States. Yet of its thirty or more chapters covering the nation, only one expressed any sympathy with me, and none offered aid. It is probable that individual members of the fraternity gave my cause support, but no official action was taken save in one case. In my own New York chapter I was bitterly criticized.

Another of our projects was to secure the names of a dozen nationally-prominent Negroes to this statement:

" .... We are not here concerned with the political or social beliefs of Dr. Du Bois. Many of us do not agree with him on these and other matters. But we are concerned with the right of a man to say within the law what he thinks without being subject to threat and intimidation. Especially we are concerned with Dr. Du Bois as a leader of the Negro American for 50 years. In that time until now his integrity and absolute sincerity has never been questioned.... "

349

39-3-120

We did not, however, succeed in getting enough such signatures to this statement to warrant its circulation. I recognized the fear in the Negro group, especially among the educated and well-to-do. One said to me sadly, "I have a son in government employ; he has a well-paid position and is in line for promotion. He has worked long for this start and has had many disappointments. I am sorry but I dare not sign this."

I served the NAACP for twenty-eight years in all. When this case came up, although I was no longer officially connected with the organization, branches and members all over the nation wanted to help me and urged the main office to join in. The president of the Board of Directors said frankly to Shirley Graham that undoubtedly the Peace Information Center was supported by funds from the Soviet Union. He admitted that it was possible that I did not know this. At a meeting, March 12, of the Board of Directors, it was urged that the Board take a position on the indictment, and as one branch said, "give active, tangible aid to Dr. Du Bois in his present plight." However, the Secretary, Walter White reported that he had talked with Peyton Ford, Assistant to the Attorney-General in Washington, and was told that there was definite evidence of guilt in the hands of the Department of Justice and that the four associates of Dr. Du Bois could not be prosecuted without prosecuting Dr. Du Bois.

A white member of the board had offered to take up the matter of asking the legal department of the NAACP to join in our defense. After this member heard our "certain guilt" stated he made no further effort.

The Board finally passed this resolution:

39-3-121

"Without passing on the merits of the recent indictment of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the board of directors of the NAACP expresses the opinion that this action against one of the great champions of civil rights lends color to the charge that efforts are being made to silence spokesmen for full equality of Negroes. The board also reaffirms its determination to continue its aggressive fight for full citizenship rights for all Americans."

Even this resolution was not given much publicity, and the main office advised the branches strongly "not to touch" this case. Some branches vigorously complained, and despite the attitude of the New York office, many branches of the NAACP supported our campaign.

Our appeal to the officials of the World Defenders of Peace resulted in wide publicity for our case all over the world. Messages began to come to us from Europe, Asia and Africa; from the West Indies and South America. We received letters from England, Scotland, and France; from Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and Scandinavia; from Germany, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Albania, Hungary, Trieste, and Switzerland; from Canada, Cuba, Martinique, Jamaica, British Guiana and Brazil; from West Africa, South Africa, Southeast Asia, China, Viet Nam, Indonesia, India and Australia. International bodies sent their support, including the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, the International Federation of Women, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, and others.

An "International Committee in Defense of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and his Colleagues" was formed. The original signers included a university professor from Holland; two professors from Switzerland; a Judge of the Court of Appeals and a federal judge in Brazil; two magistrates from Colombia and Iran; an Italian senator; and the president of the French

Court of Cassation; together with ten Americans, eight white and two Negro. Eventually this committee grew to 200 with 33 Frenchmen, 30 poles, 12 Belgians, 11 Germans, 7 Englishmen, 6 Italians, 5 Brazilians, 4 each from Switzerland, the Soviet Union, Hungary and China; one to three each from Romania, Bulgaria, Iran, Lebanon, Martinique, Holland, Austria; and (59) from the United States, of whom six were colored. Isabelle Blum of Belgium was chairman.

Articles were published in Austria, India, the Soviet Union, the Shanghai China News and Edinburgh Review in Scotland. The story was told in at least a dozen different languages. From the West Indies came letters, from the Professors of the University of Havana and outstanding Cubans like Dr. Fernando Ortiz, Latin America's most famous sociologist; Dr. Domingo Villamil, eminent Catholic jurist; and Juan Marinello, Senator and poet.

39-3-122

The International Union of Students wrote to the Department of National Union of Students sent communications and protests. The students wrote to Justice:
the Department of Justice:

"On behalf of over 5,000,000 students in 71 countries, the International Union of Students expresses indignation at the prosecution of Dr. Du Bois and associates. Du Bois is an internationally known scholar and spokesman for peace. His work for peace is in best traditions of the American people. Prosecution is an attack upon peace supporters, upon Negro people and upon right of professors and students to act for peace. We join with peace-loving people throughout the world in demanding that you dismiss Du Bois' indictment and end persecution of United States peace supporters."

Despite the difficulty of securing meeting places in New York where we could defend our cause, we succeeded late in September in organizing a meeting in Town Hall. The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and

352

Professions put on an interesting program, with Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild presiding. Here Bishop Wright, Corliss Lamont, and Lawrence D. Reddick, former curator of the Schomburg Collection and then Librarian of Atlanta University, spoke. Dr. Reddick said in part:

39-3-123

"I have just come from a part of our country where the flag of the Confederacy is more popular than the flag of the United States of America; where Robert E. Lee is not only more of a hero than Ulysses S. Grant but also more than George Washington; and where the Governor threatens to close down the State's entire system of education if the courts should compel the public, tax-supported institutions that are presently maintained for whites only to admit a single Negro."

I wrote this statement for the defendants:

"This case is a blow at civilization: by instituting thought control; by seeking to stop the circulation of ideas; by seeking to shut off the free flow of culture around the world and reducing all American culture to the level of Mississippi and Nevada; by making it a crime to think as others think, if your thought is against the prejudices or graft of barbarism of some backwoods partisan; by making it treason to brand the hoary lie that War is the path to Peace; by crucifying fathers and mothers who do not want their sons raised to murder men, women and children ....

"The Government can put into absolute control of our thinking, feeling and culture any set of half-educated fanatics from Southern rotten boroughs or western mining camps or Missouri gang politics in order to: curtail and misdirect education in America; limit thought and twist ambition; send school children hiding under desks instead of learning to read and write; make saints of spies, informers and professional liars; make a prisoned nation call Freedom that which is slavery and to change a Democracy into a police state!

39-3-124

"Wake up, America. Your liberties are being stolen before your very eyes. What Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln fought for, Truman, Acheson, and McGrath are striving desperately to nullify. Wake up, Americans and dare to think and say and do. Dare to cry: No More War!"

This brought forward the whole question of costs. It had not occurred to us how costly justice in the United States is. It is not enough to be innocent in order to escape punishment. You must have money and a lot of it. In the end it cost us $35,150 to prosecute this case to a successful end, not counting the fee refused by the Chief Counsel. If, as we had confidently expected, the case had gone to higher courts to determine the constitutionality of this foreign agents Act, it might have cost us $100,000. Before this prospect of sheer cost, we stood for many weeks appalled and discouraged. We realized more than ever that this trial was not going to be simply a legal process, but a political persecution, the outcome of which would depend on public opinion; and that to raise the funds necessary for our defense, we would need the contributions of large numbers of poor people and need have no hope for gifts from the rich.

There followed an appeal to the people of the United States, by lecture trips undertaken by myself and my wife, Shirley Graham. We wished to meet the blackout in the press by explaining our case; and to collect funds for our legal expenses. But before we started West, a central committee was formed in New York. Former Minnesota Governor Elmer Benson and artist Paul Robeson were elected co-chairmen. First came all the difficulties of setting up an office, enhanced by the nature of our particular case and the usual problems of race. After two or three volunteer workers, we secured Alice Citron as secretary. She was one of the public school teachers of New York City who had been a victim of the witch-hunt.

354

39-3-125

Alice Citron taught colored children eighteen years in Harlem. She was regarded widely as "the best of the best teachers in our system." On May 3, 1950, Superintendent Jansen of the New York City schools suspended her without pay "because she had not answered the question: "Are you or were you ever a member of the Communist Party?" He said that he knew nothing of her record in the classroom or in the community. He might have added that he cared less. Miss Citron was dismissed. She took charge of our defense office. She became our executive secretary and threw herself into the work with unfaltering sacrifice and at a nominal salary.

We started out in the Spring, in June. Our plan was for Shirley to speak first and explain the case. Shirley spoke easily and interestingly, without notes and with an intense vigor which set the audiences on the edges of their seats. Then came the collection directed by some local person of standing. Then I spoke:

"The world is astonished at recent developments in the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed with puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the world. Reluctantly the world is coming to believe that we actually want War; that we must have War; that in no other way can we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending 70 thousand million dollars a year for war preparations and adding to the vast debt of 218 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war in the past .....

"If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain; and that is: Why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique; with our commerce belting the earth; and goods and

355

39-3-126

services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses; why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease, and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

"That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer ...

"It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based on or seeks to base itself on, the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember, it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor; it is American enterprise that fattens off Central African copper; it is American investors that seek to dominate China, India, Korea, and Burma, and who are throttling the starved workers of the Near East, the Caribbean and South America ...

"I have never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today, when students in our colleges may not hear or discuss the Truth. Today, in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence, or even of keeping out of jail! --- unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims that:

He hates Russia

He opposes Socialism and Communism

He supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea

He is ready to spend any amount for further war, anywhere or anytime

He is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country, or all countries togetner

He believes in the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction, and regards anyone opposed as a traitor

39-3-127

To that great audience of 15,000 people in the Coliseum of Chicago my address had a clear thesis. I wanted to dispel in the minds of the government and of the public any lingering doubt as to my determination to think and speak freely on the economic foundation of the wars and frustration of the wars and frustration of the twentieth century. I think even the sponsors of this congress shrank at my outspoken analysis. I am sure the government gave up all hope that I would succumb to fear and sink to acquiescence and silence. I said in part:

"Big Business in the United States is forcing this nation into war, transforming our administration into a military dictatorship, paralyzing all democratic controls and depriving us of knowledge we need. The United States is ruled today by great industrial corporations controlling vast aggregations of capital and wealth. The acts and aims of this unprecedented integration of power, employing some of the best brain and ability of the land, are not and never have been under democratic control. Its dictatorship has varied from absolute monarchy to oligarchy, limited by organized labor and by often ineffective public opinion, trying repeatedly and desperately to express itself through free elections.

"If sincere dislike of this state of affairs is Communism, then by the living God, no force of arms,nor power of wealth, nor smartness of intellect will ever stop it. Denial of this right to think will manufacture Communists faster than you can jail or kill them. Nothing will stop such Communism but something better than Communism. If our present policies are examples of free enterprise and individual initiative, they free crime and initiate suffering, as well as make wealth; if this is the American way of life, God save America.

39-3-128

"There is no way in the world for us to preserve the ideals of a democratic America, save by drastically curbing the present power of concentrated wealth; by assuming ownership of some natural resources, by administering many of our key industries, and by socializing our services for public welfare. This need not mean the adoption of the communism of the Soviet Union, nor the socialism of Britain, nor even of the near-socialism of France, Italy, or Scandinavia; but either in some way or to some degree we socialize our economy, restore the New Deal, and inaugurate the welfare state, or we descend into military fascism which will kill all dreams of Democracy; of the abolition of poverty, disease and ignorance; or of peace instead of war.

"There must come vast social change in the United States; a change not violent, but by the will of the people certain and inexorable, carried out 'with malice toward none but charity for all'; with meticulous justice to the rich and thrifty, and complete sympathy for the poor, the sick and the ignorant; with Freedom and Democracy for America, and on earth, Peace, Good-will toward men."

The government not only went to trouble and large expense, risked its own reputation, but also forced us to extraordinary and world-wide effort, to escape punishment. Personally, I had no funds for such a case. I am retired from work, with a pension too small for normal expenses of living. My wife's work and income were seriously curtailed by her complete immersion in this case. We had no rich friends. None of the defendants were able personally to finance this case. Had it not been for the almost miraculous rise of American friends, we would have gone to jail by default. Not a cent of money for the trial came from abroad. Even had this been possible, it would have been

356

used to convict us. But in this nation by popular appeal to poor and middle-class folk, Negroes and white, trade unions and other groups, we raised funds for these purposes:

39-3-129

Legal fees	$18,400
Publicity	5,600
Office	5,250
Salaries	3,600
Travel	2,365

To this should be added additional legal fees of at least $13,000; $3,000 paid to an attorney hired by one of the defendants and not paid for by the Committee, and at least $10,000 which Marcantonio earned but would not accept. This amounts to a total of $40,215. To this should be added at least $2,000 in travel expenses paid by localities. How much the case cost the government we cannot know, but it could not have been less than $100,000 and it might have been much more.

I have faced during my life many unpleasant experiences; the growl of a mob; the personal threat of murder; the scowling distaste of an audience. But nothing has so cowed me as that day, November 8, 1951, when I took my seat in a Washington courtroom as an indicted criminal. I was not a criminal. I had broken no law, consciously or unwittingly. Yet I sat with four other American citizens of unblemished character, never before accused even of misdemeanor, in the seats often occupied by murderers, forgers and thieves; accused of a felony and liable to be sentenced before leaving this court to five years of imprisonment, a fine of $10,000 and loss of my civil and political rights as a citizen, representing five generations of Americans.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TRIAL

39-3-130

In strictly legal aspect, remember what this trial was: it was not a question of our opinions and beliefs; it involved no question as to whether we were Communists, Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses or Nudists; it involved no imputation of moral turpitude except in so far as it is a statutory crime to say what foreigners are saying at the command of those foreigners. The judge said:

"The point in this case is whether or not this organization acted as an agent or in a capacity similar to that for a foreign organization or foreign political power, whether advocating peace, advocating this, or advocating that. They can advocate the distribution of wealth; they can advocate that all red-headed men be shot. It doesn't make any difference what they advocate."

In our case there came another angle -- the colored juror. In many parts of the nation, Negroes seldom or never serve on juries. But in the District of Columbia, lately, continually there are many Negro jurors drawn, so much so that there has been a distinct movement to curb their choice. Something of this was heard by the lawyers in our case, and they were prepared to fight it. But on the other hand, we sensed another and more hurtful method of opposition. There is a considerable proportion of Negroes in government employ: in the post office, as teachers in the public schools, as civil servants in dozens of branches. All such employees in Washington, white as well as black, are in fear of attack by witch hunts and loyalty tests.

It was not even fully admitted until the third week of the trial that the government did not allege that the Soviet Union was the "foreign principal" accused in the indictment. It was never alleged that we had no right to

310

39-3-131

advocate peace. It was only the question: were we "agents" of a foreign principal? Yet and despite all this, the public was deliberately given to understand by spokesmen of government and by the press that we were accused of lying, spying, and treason in the pay of the Soviet Union. As one of the attendants said in the ante-room of the court, scowling at us: "If the damned Communists don't like this country, why don't they go back to Russia?"

The chief dependence of the prosecution was on John Rogge. Rogge the witness was a caricature of Rogge the crusader for Peace and Reform. In place of the erect self-confident if not arrogant leader, came a worn man, whose clotnes hung loosely on him, and who in a courtroom where he had conducted many cases, had difficulty locating me in the defendant's chairs. I voluntarily stood up to help him out.

He admitted his membership in the Peace Information Center. He admitted his attendance at the World Peace Congress; but declared that its actual objective was not peace, but that it was an agency for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The Court asked the prosecution:

"Do you expect to show that the World Council for Peace was in fact an agent of another principal, namely the Soviet Union?"

Mr. Maddrix answered: "We do not intend to show that the Committee of the Congress of the World Defenders of Peace was an agent of the Soviet Union."

As a result of this admission the Court said:

"I thought I ought to be advised at this juncture just exactly what the Government expected to show with reference to the Soviet Union being the principal of the Peace Information Center."

The prosecution then again admitted: We do not charge in our indictment that the foreign principal in any way involves an element of agency

361

39-3-132

as I understand this case, between the foreign principal, the Committee of the World Congress, and the Soviet Union."

The Court then asked Mr. Maddrix if he considered Mr. Rogge an expert. He said no, but that no one was in a better position than Mr. Rogge to know what was going on and to answer this particular question. He was a member of the policy-making group and had attended its meetings. The Court then said:

"I am not trying any propaganda lines. I am not trying any foreign policy questions involving any country, including our own. You have a very simple case here. You charged this Peace Information Center and these individuals, as officers and directors, as being agent of a foreign principal, and disseminating propaganda in the United States. You have got to show a tie-up between the principal so-called and the so-called agent. If you don't do that, you are out of court.

Thereupon, when the jury had returned, the judge addressed them saying that when Rogge was on the stand he was asked what the purpose of the World Council for Peace was, and he answered. The judge went on:

"You are now instructed by the Court, as emphatically as I can make words that lend emphasis to what I say, that you are to disregard Mr. Rogge's opinion of what he thought the purpose of the Stockholm Peace Appeal was. It is a very simple rule of evidence that excludes that type of opinion, because opinion is excluded, and the only opinion that is permitted to be introduced in a court of law, in certain circumstances, is the opinion of an expert. So, therefore, you will disregard entirely the characterization of the witness Rogge with reference to what he thought the World Council for Peace had in view."

Although we did not at the time realize it, and still watched narrowly for trumped up testimony, it was right here that we won our case. The pro-

717 362

39-3-133

secution had rested its whole case on Rogge's testimony that we were representing the Soviet Union through the Defenders of Peace organization in Paris. They had naturally not an iota of real proof of this, but they planned to depend on public opinion. But Rogge's own testimony convicted him. He was a member of the Peace Information Center; he was a member of the policy-making bureau of the Defenders of Peace. He had visited the Soviet Union and spoken as a representative of the Defenders of Peace and the Peace Information Center. He had sworn on oath when he himself became an agent of Yugoslavia that he was not a member of any other foreign agency.

The prosecutor tried now to say that the Peace Information Center acted and held itself out to be a publicity agent, "that the proof of that does not require the showing of any nexus or any direct connection between the Peace Information Center and the foreign principal."

The Court: "Let's stop right there. Why doesn't the statute require that?" Mr. Cunningham tried to refer to the legislative history of the bill, but this the Court refused to allow, and said: "You have got to show nexus and you have got to show nexus either by direct or circumstantial evidence."

Armistice Day, November the 11th, had interrupted the trial and given a three day recess. I took the occasion to fill a conditional promise to speak at the Community Church in Boston, where for some years I have made annual addresses. Mr. Lathrop, the minister, in introducing me, reminded the congregation that a spiritual founder of this church, Theodore Parker, had once also been an indicted criminal. I said in part:

"The real cause of World War will persist and threaten so long as peoples of Europe and America are determined to control the wealth of most of the world by means of cheap labor and monoplies. Against this a resurgence of the revolt of the poor will raise a new Russia from the dead if we kill this one, and birth a new theory of communism so long as Africa, Asia and

343

39-3-134

South America see the impossibility of otherwise escaping poverty, ignorance and disease.....

"We who have known a better America find the present scene almost unbelievable. A great silence has fallen on the real soul of the nation. We are smearing loyal citizens on the paid testimony of self-confessed liars, traitors and spies. We are making the voice of America the babble of cowards paid to travel ....

"My words are not a counsel of despair. Rather they are a call to new courage and determination to know the Truth. Four times this nation has faced disaster and recovered: Once at the end of the 18th century when we hesitated between separate independent colonies and a disciplined federal state; again when in the age of Jackson, the uncouth, democratic west overbore the oligarchical well-mannered east; once more in the 19th century when human slavery cut the heart of the nation in two and we had to cement it with blood; finally, when in 1929 our boasted industries fell in vast ruin and begged on their knees for government aid, until Roosevelt rescued them with socialist planning and gave his life to rebuilding our economy. What we have done, we can do again. But not by silence -- not by refusing to face the ugly facts."

When the trial resumed Marcantonio insisted that the basic definition of "agency" in the law of 1938 was not changed by the law of 1942, and that (1) the Government must establish that the Peace Information Center was subject to control of the Paris Partisans of Peace; (2) that the Peace Information Center was subject to control of the Partisans of Peace; (3) that the Partisans of Peace had consented to the fact that the Peace Information Center should act on its behalf; (4) that the Peace Information Center consented to act for the Partisans of Peace; (5) that the Peace Information Center consented to act for the Partisans of Peace, and (6) that

364
3641

39-3-135

there was a consent on the part of the Peace Information Center to be subject to the control of the Partisans of Peace. "All these are musts; if any one of these fails, the case fails."

The argument went over into the afternoon. The judge intervened with the following analogy, directed to Mr. Maddrix of the Prosecution. He said: "Suppose you were living in Vienna and published a pamphlet in New York at my expense. The Government asks me to register as your agent. I refuse. I maintain that while I agree with your thought I am not your agent and therefore will not register. Is that not right?"

Mr. Maddrix replied that the Government insisted that the agency was implied by the similarity of ideas. Here Mr. Cunningham of the Government prosecution, a lank Texan with a perpetually anxious scowl, came up with the extraordinary plea that no connection need be proven. He maintained that a publicity agent as defined by the law of 1942 was not an agency in the sense of the law of 1938:

"You have to go further and show, as your Honor points out, that one was doing it for the other, not necessarily by contract, and not necessarily by any agreement at all. The foreign principal may never have heard of the person here, as I have said before. We have to show it was the subjective intent of these people here to disseminate information in the United States, propaganda for and on behalf of, and further the propaganda objectives of the European organization."

The judge leaned forward and asked how a person disseminating propaganda of the type that the statute prohibits could be found guilty of acting for a foreign principal, "if the principal never heard of the disseminator and disseminator never heard of the principal?" The judge continued, "Your contention is this: that if there is an argument about salt

39-3-130

and pepper, Congress, by virtue of its power, said, 'pepper could be salt and salt could be pepper'."

Mr. Cunningham answered, "Yes sir. That is exactly what is confusing the issue here."

Here the arguments ended. The jury had not yet been summoned. Without giving us any chance to offer our testimony or the sworn depositions of the Defenders of Peace; without waiting for the character witnesses, Judge McGuire, sitting at his high rostrum, rendered his verdict. We still were waiting for that overwhelming proof of guilt which for nine months the Department of Justice had promised. It never came. The judge said:

"The Government has alleged that 'Peace Information Center' was the agent of a foreign principal. They proved the existence, in my judgement, of the Peace Information Center. They certainly proved the existence of the World Council for Peace ... There may have been, and I take it as proven, there were individuals who were officers of both; but, applying the test, as laid down here, in a case which, presumably, is the law of the land (because an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States certiorari was denied in the case) - in this case the Government has failed to support, on the evidence adduced, the allegations laid down in the indictment. So, therefore, the motion, under the circumstances, for a judgement of acquittal will be granted."

For a moment a wave of surprised excitement passed over the audience, which had been listening breathlessly. Applause seemed on the edge of bursting out. Behind me, as I afterwards learned, my wife fainted. I, myself, felt slightly numb. Someone on my left kissed my cheek. But the judge, changing his position slightly, but with no change of tone, quickly warned against any demonstration, and continued to speak. I

39-3-137

thought that perhaps I had misunderstood him, and that some modification of his words was coming. The judge proceeded:

"The judge's function is exhausted when he determines that the evidence does or does not permit the conclusion of guilt beyond reasonable doubt within a fair operation of a reasonable mind. So, therefore, if the case should go to the jury, I would be permitting the jury to conjecture in a field of conjecture, and, in addition to that, I would have to inform the jury and to instruct them that, if they could resolve the evidence in the case with any reasonable hypothesis looking toward the defendants, then, under the circumstances, they are obliged to do so, and then, as a consequence, they would have to be so instructed.

"So the case goes off, in my view, on a conception of law. The government maintains one point of view and defense maintains another. I think that the position of the defense is maintained and supported by the opinion mentioned and that opinion is conclusive in my mind; and that is my ruling."

The jury was then brought in, the ruling of the Court explained to them, and they were discharged. We were free for the first time in nine months.

We left Washington as quickly as possible. I was, frankly, bewildered. Of all the results of this fantastic and utterly unfair indictment, this was quite the last which I had awaited. At first I had confidently expected that after conference and explanation, the indictment would be quashed. Then, when it was relentlessly pushed, and the case set for trial, I had expected that after a series of delays and postponements, the actual trial would never take place. This would have been unsatisfactory, and left us long in unease, but it would have been better than a criminal procedure. Then, when the indictment was

37-3-138

pushed and the trial opened, our best hope was for a failure to agree on the part of the jury where Negroes out-numbered whites two to one. This would have left a bad taste and brought the charge that narrow race loyalty had defeated justice - an argument for excluding Negro jurors hereafter. With the acceptance of the jury there could be but one conclusion, and that was that the government thought it had absolute proof to convict us.

Indeed, there is evidence that this is what the highest authorities said, and allowed the public to believe. But we knew that even if the government thought it had such proof, it was either mistaken or the alleged proof was based on a deliberate lie. We had never asked or been offered opportunity to act as agent of any foreign person, organization or government; our organization had never received a cent of money from abroad or from representatives of foreigners for its work, so far as we knew or believed. Indeed, the total amount of our funds was far too modest, and its expenditure too easily proven to indicate any foreign aid. It would have been possible to prove the source of every penny, if we had been pushed to divulge each contributor. But this would have been a betrayal of trust, and grossly unfair to donors, who were often so afraid of the F.B.I. as to refuse to give anything to any cause. But the facts were clear enough without this resort. We had received no large sums, never more than single gifts of a hundred dollars, and very seldom as much as that. We had books and testimony to show receipts and every dollar of expenses.

Of course, there were many who continually intimated that while I or even most of my colleagues knew nothing of treachery and bribery, nevertheless someone in the organization might have been a spy or foreign agent. Anybody can sometimes be deceived, but to those of us who knew

39-3-139

this group, such accusation or suspicion was simply silly.

Why, then had the Department of Justice been so arrogant, determined, and certain? Why did it so impudently brush off my offer to explain our whole work? If, after explanation, the Department had indicated any way in which we had transgressed the law, I was quite ready to change our methods or give up the whole project. But one thing we could not do, and that was to say under oath that we had been and were "agents of a foreign principal." This was a lie that no government could compel us to tell no matter what the penalty.

But of course this unjustified effort to make five persons register as the source of foreign propaganda for peace and particularly to scare fifteen million Negroes from plaint, was not the real object of this long and relentless persecution. The real object was to prevent American citizens of any sort from daring to think or talk against the determination of Big Business to reduce Asia to colonial subserviency to American industry; to reweld the chains on Africa; to consolidate United States control of the Caribbean and South America; and above all to crush Socialism in the Soviet Union and China. That was the object of this case.

This object every intelligent American knew. Our leading thinkers and educators were perfectly aware of this assault on the basis of the democratic process in America. Even if some thought peace at present dangerous and did not believe in socialism, they knew that if democracy was to survive in modern culture and in this vaunted "Land of the Free" and leader of "free nations," the right to think and to speak; the right to know what others were thinking; particularly to known opinion in that Europe which, despite our provincial and vulgar boasting and golgotha of world wars, is still our main source of science and culture --

39-3-140

that this democratic right of freedom of thought and speech must be preserved from Truman and McGrath; McCarran and Smith; from McCarthy and little Georgia's Wood leading the reactionary slave South, or America was dead.

Despite this, most Americans of education and stature did not say a word or move a hand. This is the most astonishing and frightening result of this trial. We five are free but America is not. The absence of moral courage and intellectual integrity which our persecution revealed still stands to frighten our own nation and the better world. It is clear still today, that freedom of speech and of thinking can be attacked in the United States without the intellectual and moral leaders of this land raising a hand or saying a word in protest or defense, except in the case of the Saving Few. Their ranks did not include the heads of the great universities, the leaders of religion, or most of the great names in science. Than this fateful silence there is on earth no greater menace to present civilization.

It was the State Department which started this prosecution to quell Communists, and retard the peace movement which was beginning to annoy the Pentagon. The inclusion of myself, a Negro, in the dragnet, was probably at first fortuitous, but quickly backed by the Military as a needed warning to complaining Negroes. When rising public opinion fastened on me as the key figure, the determination of the government to convict me increased, especially when I refused to plead "Nolle Contendere" and my contumacious speeches continued. The continued appeals to Truman and McGrath must have had effect, but were ignored at the insistance of the State Department, until the volume of protest abroad compelled attention, centered emphasis on the Negro question in America, and made even the Catholic Church aware that the growing extent of its proselytizing among Negroes might suffer from the fact that the Attorney-General was a Catholic.

39-3-141

The Department of Justice evidently put its main faith in Rogge's testimony to secure a conviction. But when the judge excluded testimony about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and testimony about the aims and acts of the World Defenders of Peace, demanding first that evidence of our agency of the Defenders of Peace be introduced, the value of Rogge's testimony was very small and more damning against him than us. Hearing this, the Department of Justice had made a frantic last minute search of all possible sources of information for possible discovery of spies and stoolpigeons. Practically every person who had attended any meetings of the Peace Information Center or been connected in any way was visited by F.B.I. agents, often two or three times, and many of them subpoenaed. So little was discovered, however, that at the last moment most of these witnesses were never summoned.

As public opinion against this prosecution belted the earth and threatened to erupt into the Assembly of the United Nations, and when despite free trips abroad for prominent Negroes, and threats against Negro professionals, civil servants and business men, the volume of Negro protest increased rather than stopped, Truman and the National Democratic Committee began to listen to the warning of the highest placed Negro Democrats, and the pressure for conviction lessened.

There was some indication that an attack on colored ~~jurors~~ Jurors might be tried, but that seemed too risky. All Jews on the panel were barred, but Negroes, most of them office-holders and subject to intimidation, were accepted. But any verdict of conviction with a jury of eight Negroes and four whites was hardly probable. A devout Catholic judge, who once faced trouble for refusing to grant any divorces, was assigned to the case.

What turns me cold in all this experience is the certainty that thousands of innocent victims are in jail today because they had neither

B71

39-3-142

money, experience nor friends to help them. The eyes of the world were on our trial despite the desperate effort of press and radio to suppress the facts and cloud the real issues; the courage and money of friends and of strangers who dared stand for a principle freed me; but God only knows how many who were as innocent as I and my colleagues are today in hell. They daily stagger out of prison doors embittered, vengeful, hopeless, ruined. And of this army of the wronged, the proportion of Negroes is frightful. We protect and defend sensational cases where Negroes are involved. But the great mass of arrested or accused black folk have no defense. There is desperate need of nation-wide organizations to oppose this national racket of railroading to jails and chain-gangs the poor, friendless and black.

Only a minority of the business and professional Negroes of Harlem attended my birthday dinner after the indictment was known. Of the fifty presidents of Negro colleges, every one of which I had known and visited - and often many times as speaker and advisor - of these only one, Charles Johnson of Fisk University, publicly professed belief in my integrity before the trial; and only one congratulated me after the acquittal.

The Negro churches varied: the Baptists of Philadelphia strongly supported me, but the National Baptist Convention took no action; several bishops of the A.M.E. and Zion Church connections expressed sympathy, and my undergraduate Negro fraternity, the Alpha Phi Alpha, was divided in opinion. The colored Elks supported me through their chief official, but none of the other colored secret orders did.

Colored public school teachers sat in almost complete silence. All this shows not necessarily lack of sympathy for me in my persecution, but the wide fear and intimidation of the Negro people of America, afraid for jobs, appointment, business opportunities, and even of personal safety.

In contrast to all this lethargy and fright, the mass support which

377 372

39-3-43

I gained from the Negroes of the nation began to increase slowly as soon as they could understand the facts, and then swelled in astonishing volume as the trial neared. From the beginning of the trial the courtroom was continuously crowded, and largely by out-of-town colored people and white, some of whom came from long distances. The coverage by Negro newspapers attested the nationwide demand for news and sympathy for the accused. The F.B.I. and the Departments of State and Justice had observers seeking information from Negroes present. Republican and Democratic National Committees kept in touch. There is no doubt that increasing apprehension of repercussions of the possible results of this trial on the Negro vote played a great part in its result.

We must admit that the majority of the American Negro intelligentsia, together with much of the West Indian and West African leadership, shows symptoms of following in the footsteps of western acquisitive society, with its exploitation of labor, monopoly of land and its resources, and with private profit for the smart and unscrupulous in a world of poverty, disease, and ignorance, as the natural end of human culture. I have long noted and fought this all too evident tendency, and built my faith in its ultimate change on an inner Negro cultural ideal. I thought this ideal would be built on ancient African communism, supported and developed by memory of slavery and experience of caste, which would drive the Negro group into a spiritual unity precluding the development of economic classes and inner class struggle. This was once possible, but it is now improbable. I strove hard to accomplish this while I was yet editor of The Crisis, and afterward in my teaching at Atlanta University.

The Supreme Court decision on segregation in schools called for a distinct modification of my attitude toward segregation which I expressed

39-3-144

in 1934. I assumed that legal discrimination along the color line would last much longer than it may. It is to the credit of Spingarn and Marshall that they fought so valiantly and intelligently in the courts at a time when I had little faith in substantial victory. Nevertheless the battle is not won. Unfortunately in the United States there is a long habit of ignoring and breaking the law. Especially in the South, lawlessness is common and has been for a century. The movement toward the abolition of the color line has begun and will continue, strengthened as it is by the mighty uprising of the colored peoples backed by the Soviet Union. But meantime what will happen to us? During the twenty-five or fifty years while the southern South refuses to obey the law, what will happen to Negro children? Widespread effort for their protection and education should be undertaken by the Negroes themselves in inner cooperative effort. We must not make the error of the German Jews. They assumed that if the German nation received some of them as intellectual and social equals, the whole group would be safe. It only took a psychopathic criminal like Hitler to show six million of them their tragic mistake. American Negroes may yet face a similar tragedy. They should prepare for such an eventuality.

If once this line of thought and action had become established, my guidance of the young Negro intelligentsia might have been increased and implemented, and the science of sociology might have immeasurably benefited by a laboratory test of extraordinary breadth and opportunity. This as I fondly hoped, might have revived my Atlanta University studies of the late nineteenth century, which white "philanthropy" starved to untimely death. All this, petty envy killed, just as it was reborn.

The very loosening of outer racial discriminatory pressures had not, as I had once believed, left Negroes free to become a group cemented into a new cultural unity, capable of absorbing socialism, tolerance, and

374

39-3-145

democracy, and helping to lead America into a new heaven and new earth. But rather, partial emancipation is freeing some of them to ape the worst of American and Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, luxury, showing-off, and "social climbing."

I find, curiously enough then, that my experience in this fantastic accusation and criminal process is tending to free me from that racial provincialism which I always recognized but which I was sure would eventually land me in an upper realm of cultural unity, led by "My People." I have discovered that a large and powerful portion of the educated and well-to-do Negroes are refusing to forge forward in social leadership of anyone, even their own people but are eager to fight social medicine for sick whites or sicker Negroes; are opposing trade unionism not only for white labor but for the far more helpless black worker; are willing to get "rich quick" not simply by shady business enterprise, but even by organized gambling and the "dope" racket.

The American Negro must realize that the attack on me for socialism is but the cloaked effort of Southern whites to deprive Negroes of leadership in my and other cases. I was just as much hated by the white South before the Russian Revolution as now; and feared too by those of the educated and progressive elements who were and are determined to keep the dark world in submission. They have seized on the charge of "Communism" to silence me just as they once charged "Abolition" to shut the mouths of Northerners. And just as today the thrifty are cowed by the threat of revolution.

As I have related, there came the indictment and trial and after long struggle the acquittal. But that was not the end. The publication of my story of this persecution in my book "In Battle for Peace"; the collaboration of Shirley Graham; my open thanks for the Communists of the world for their help in my defense; and my clear stand in favor of

39-3-1419

the Soviet Union. My defense of the Rosenbergs in speech and writing and my denunciation of the hounding and imprisonment of the Communists as unjust and barbarous. I defended and supported Communists and taught at the socialist Jefferson School.

All this made my enemies and the Federal Government take a determined stand to insure my destruction. The secret police swarmed in my neighborhood asking about my visitors; whether I entertained and whom. When we entertained Vishinsky, his wife and daughter, and Paul Robeson, the whole borough of Brooklyn was declared "out of bounds" for Soviet diplomats. My manuscripts and those of Shirley Graham were refused publication by reputable publishers. My mail was tampered with or withheld. Negro newspapers were warned not to carry my writings nor mention prominently my name. Colleges ceased to invite my lectures and Negro colleges no longer asked for my lectures or my presence at Commencement exercises. From being a person whom every Negro in the nation knew by name at least and hastened always to entertain or praise, churches and Negro conferences refused to mention my past or present existence. The white world which had never liked me but was forced in the past to respect me, now ignored me or deliberately distorted my work. A whispering campaign continually intimated that some hidden treason or bribery could be laid at my door if the Government had not been lenient. The central office of the NAACP refused to let local branches invite me or sponsor any lectures. I was refused the right to speak on the University of California campus, because of NAACP protest. In fine I was rejected of men, refused the right to travel abroad and classed as "Controversial figure" even after being acquitted of guilt by a federal court of law.

It was a bitter experience and I bowed before the storm. But I did not break. I continued to speak and write when and where I could.

376

39-3-147

I faced my lowered income and lived within it. I found new friends and lived in a wider world than ever before -- a world with no color line. I lost my leadership of my race. It was a dilemma for the mass of Negroes; either they joined the current beliefs and actions of most whites or they could not make a living or hope for preferment. Preferment was possible. The color line was beginning to break. Negroes were getting recognition as never before. Was not the sacrifice of one man, small payment for this? Even those who disagreed with this judgement at least kept quiet. The colored children ceased to hear my name.

39-3-148

CHAPTER XXIII

MY TENTH DECADE

My ninetieth birthday was a surprising occasion. Friends wanted to celebrate it, but I recoiled. Who would sponsor such an event? There had I admitted been some pleasant occurrences. I had a successful television interview over the Dumont Broadcasting system; my bust by Zorach had been accepted by the New York Public Library and installed in the Schomburg Collection at the 135th street branch. At the dedication Franklin Frazier, Judge Jane Bolin and Van Wyck Brooks took part. Tablet, the official organ of the Brooklyn diocese of the Roman Catholic church, naturally added one sour note, writing the library "This corporation writes to enquire whether you would accept a bust of Benedict Arnold, which we would be happy to present to you."

I spoke at Paul Robeson's sixtieth birthday:

"The persecution of Paul Robeson by the government and people of the United States during the last nine years has been one of the most contemptible happenings in modern history. Robeson has done nothing to hurt or defame this nation. He is, as all know, one of the most charming, charitable and loving of men. There is no person on earth who ever heard Robeson slander or even attack the land of his birth. Yet he had reason to despise America. He was a black man; the son of black folk whom Americans had stolen and enslaved. Even after his people's hard won and justly earned freedom, America made their lot as near a hell on earth as was possible. They discouraged, starved and insulted them. They sneered at helpless black children. Someone once said that the best punishment for Hitler would be to paint him black and send him to the United States. This was no joke. To struggle up as a black boy in America; to meet jeers and blows; to meet insult with silence and discrimination with a smile; to sit with fellow students who hated you and work and play for the honor of a college that disowned you -- all this was America for Paul Robeson. Yet he fought the good fight; he was despised and rejected of men; a

39-3-149

man of sorrows and acquainted with grief and we hid as it were our faces from Him; He was despised and we esteemed Him not."

"Why? Why? Not because he attacked this country. Search Britain and France, the Soviet Union and Scandinavia for a word of his against America. What then was his crime? It was that while he did not rail at America he did praise the Soviet Union; and he did that because it treated him like a man and not like a dog; because he and his family for the first time in life were welcomed like human beings and he was honored as a great man. The children of Russia clung to him, the women kissed him; the workers greeted him; the state named mountains after him. He loved their homage. His eyes were filled with tears and his heart with thanks. Never before had he received such treatment. In America he was a "nigger"; in Britain he was tolerated; in France he was cheered; in the Soviet Union he was loved for the great artist that he is. He loved the Soviet Union in turn. He believed that every black man with blood in his veins would with him love the nation which first outlawed the color line.

"I saw him when he voiced this. It was in Paris in 1949 at the greatest rally for world peace this world ever witnessed. Thousands of persons from all the world filled the Salle Pleyel from floor to rafters. Robeson hurried in, magnificient in height and breadth, weary from circling Europe with song. The audience rose to a man and the walls thundered. Robeson said that his people wanted Peace and "would never fight the Soviet Union". I joined with the thousands in wild acclaim.

"This, for America, was his crime. He might hate anybody. He might join in murder around the world. But for him to declare that he loved the Soviet Union and would not join in war against it -- that was the highest crime that the United States recognized. For that, they slandered Robeson; they tried to kill him at Peekskill; they prevented him from hiring halls in which

379

39-3-150

to sing; they prevented him from travel and refused him a passport. His college, Rutgers, lied about him and dishonored him. And above all, his own people, American Negroes, joined in hounding one of their greatest artists -- not all, but men like Langston Hughes, who wrote of Negro Musicians and deliberately omitted Robeson's name -- Robeson who more than any living man has spread the pure Negro folk song over the civilized world. Yet has Paul Robeson kept his soul and stood his ground. Still he loves and honors the Soviet Union. Still he has hope for America. Still he asserts his faith in God. But we -- what can we say or do; nothing but hang our heads in endless shame."

On my ninetieth birthday, my friends invited my well-wishers to a party at the Roosevelt Hotel. No body of sponsors could be found, but Angus Cameron acted as chairman, and Eslanda Robeson as treasurer. Two thousand persons were present including my own great grandson, who behaved with exemplary decorum. I addressed my remarks to him. I quote from the National Guardian.

"The most distinguished guest of this festive occasion is none other than my great-grandson, Arthur Edward Mc Farlane 11, who was born this last Christmas Day. He has kindly consented to permit me to read to you a bit of advice which, as he remarked with a sigh of resignation, great-grandparents are supposed usually to inflict on the helpless young. This then is my word of advice.

"As men go, I have had a reasonably happy and successful life, I have had enough to eat and drink, have been suitably clothed and, as you see, have had many friends. But the thing which has been the secret of whatever I have done is the fact that I have been able to earn a living by doing the work which I wanted to do and work that was what the world needed done.

39-3-151

"I want to stress this. You will soon learn, my dear young man, that most human beings spend their lives doing work which they hate and work which the world does not need. It is therefore of prime importance that you early learn what you want to do; how you are fit to do it and whether or not the world needs this service. Here, in the next 20 years, your parents can be of use to you. You will soon begin to wonder just what parents are for besides interfering with your natural wishes. Let me therefore tell you: parents and their parents are inflicted upon you in order to show what kind of person you are; what sort of world you live in and what the persons who dwell here need for their happiness and well-being.

"Right here, my esteemed great-grandson, may I ask you to stick a pin. You will find it the fashion in the America where eventually you will live and work to judge that life's work by the amount of money it brings you. This is a grave mistake. The return from your work must be the satisfaction which that work brings you and the world's need of that work. With this, life is heaven, or as near heaven as you can get. Without this -- with work which you despise, which bores you and which the world does not need -- this life is hell. And believe me, many a $25,000-a-year executive is living in just such a hell today.

"Income is not greenbacks, it is satisfaction; it is creation; it is beauty. It is the supreme sense of a world of men going forward, lurch and stagger though it may, but slowly, inevitably going forward, and you, you yourself with your hand on the wheels. Make this choice, then, my son. Never hesitate, never falter.

"And now comes the word of warning: the satisfaction with your work even at best will never be complete, since nothing on earth can be perfect.

39-3-152

The forward pace of the world which you are pushing will be painfully slow. But what of that: the difference between a hundred and a thousand years is less than you now think. But doing what must be done, that is eternal even when it walks with poverty.

> And I care not to garner while others
> Know only to harvest and reap
> For mine is the reaping of sowing
> Till the spirit of rest gives me sleep."

A purse of seven thousand five hundred dollars was given me. Later in Chicago, Truman Gibson and Margaret Burroughs arranged another birthday celebration and gave me seventeen hundred dollars more. After talks in California, I was able to take a trip to the West Indies and see the beginnings of the new British West Indian Federation.

I was invited to attend the All African conference at Accra. At the Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester, England in 1945, a Sixth Congress on the continent of Africa had been projected. When Ghana gained her independence it was planned. I was not allowed to attend the inauguration. If I had been present undoubtedly the matter would have been further discussed. Meantime George Padmore, secretary of the Pan-African Congress, was called to Ghana as chief adviser to the Prime Minister, and he published a book called "Pan-Africanism or Communism" in which he said:

"In our struggle for national freedom, human dignity and social redemption Pan-Africanism offers an ideological alternative to Communism on one side and Tribalism on the other. It rejects both white racialism and black chauvinism. It stands for racial co-existence on the basis of absolute equality and respect for human personality."

I ventured to advise Nkrumah. "I have your kind invitation of January 22, 1957. In behalf of myself and of my wife, Shirley Graham, I thank you for it and want to say how great was our desire to accept it. But since the United States government refused to issue us passports, we must

39-3-153

with deep regret inform you of our inability to accept. I have recently also, and for the same reason, been compelled to my sorrow to decline a trip to China for lectures and participation in the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. However, because of the fact that I am now entering the 90th year of my life and because of my acquaintanceship with you during the last 12 years, which cover the years of your imprisonment, vindication, and political triumph, I trust you will allow me a few words of advice for the future of Ghana and Africa.

"Today, when Ghana arises from the dead and faces this modern world, it must no longer be merely a part of the British Commonwealth or a representative of the world of West Europe, Canada, and the United States. Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa.

"The consequent Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels. It should avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalists who seek to get rich on African labor and raw material, and should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life; rejecting the exaggerated private initiative of the West, and seeking to ally itself with the social program of the Progressive nations; with British and Scandinavian Socialism, with the progress toward the Welfare State in India, Germany, France and the United States; and with the Communist States like the Soviet Union and China, in peaceful cooperation and without presuming to dictate as to how Socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places.

"Pan-African Socialism seeks the Welfare State in Africa. It will refuse to be exploited by people of other continents for their own benefit

39-3-154

and not for the benefit of the peoples of Africa. It will no longer consent to permitting the African majority of any African country to be governed against its will by a minority of invaders who claim racial superiority or the right to get rich at African expense. It will seek not only to raise but to process the Raw material and to trade it freely with all the world on just and equal terms and prices.

"Pan-Africa will seek to preserve its own past history, and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folks which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all, the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of all its youth on the broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry nor stoolpigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of vision and character.

"I pray you, my dear Mr. Nkrumah, to use all your power to put a Pan-Africa along these lines into working order at the earliest possible date. Seek to save the great cultural past of the Ashanti and Fanti peoples, not by inner division but by outer cultural and economic expansion toward the outmost bounds of the great African peoples, so that they may be free to live, grow, and expand; and to teach mankind what Non-Violence and Courtesy, Literature and Art, Music and Dancing can do for this greedy, selfish, and war-stricken world."

Meantime Big Business in America, surprised by the success of the Ghana revolution set itself to influence Nkrumah. Nkrumah was invited to the United States in 1958, and treated as never a Negro had been treated by the government. Hershey, a great manufacturer of chocolate sent a special

39-3-155

plane to take him to his factories; and the New York Cocoa Board of Trade dined him at the Waldorf-Astoria. I saw Mr. Nkrumah briefly. He was most cordial and I expected soon to be invited to the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Accra. No invitation came, but I received my passport and sailed for Europe. While I was in Tashkent an invitation arrived but not from Nkrumah nor for a Pan-African Congress. It was from a new "All-African" body for an African conference in December and it said nothing about my expenses. I sensed immediately that opposition had arisen in Africa over American Negro leadership of the African peoples. This had happened in 1920, when the West African Congress acknowledged no tie with the First Pan-African Congress in Paris which sparked it. American Negroes had too often assumed that their leadership in Africa was natural. With the rise of an educated group of Africans, this was increasingly unlikely. I realized how natural this was and knew that neither Nkrumah nor Padmore were calling a Sixth "Pan-African Congress" but that this "All-Africa Conference" was taking its place. However later Padmore sent me a cordial note emphasizing the invitation and offering to pay expenses.

By this time, however, my long travel was beginning to tell on me and I was in a Soviet Sanitarium at Barvieka near Moscow. I prepared to leave for Africa, but the council of physicians advised against the trip as too taxing. I had prepared three messages for Africa. One I delivered at Tashkent, one I sent by my wife Shirley, who attended the conference at Accra, and the last I broadcast later from Peking on my ninety-first birthday.

At Tashkent, before my invitation to Accra had come I warned Africa about borrowing capital from the West.

"Boycott the export of big capital from the exploiting world, led by America. Refuse to buy machines, skills and comforts with cocoa, coffee, palm oil and fruit sold at ridiculously low prices in exchange for imported

385

39-3-156

food, liquor, refrigerators and automobiles sold at exhorbitant prices. Live simply. Refuse to buy big capital from nations that cheat and overcharge. Buy of the Soviet Union and China as they grow able to sell at low prices. Save thus your own capital and drive the imperialists into bankruptcy or into Socialism."

Shirley, my wife, took my speech to Accra. She was shown rare courtesy and was the only non-African allowed to address the Assembly. She read my words:

"My only role in this meeting is one of advice from one who has lived long, who has studied Africa and has seen the modern world. I had hoped to deliver this word in person, but this was not possible. I have therefore asked my wife, Shirley Graham, to read it to you. It is simple and direct. In this great crisis of the world's history, when standing on the highest peaks of human accomplishment we look forward to Peace and backward to War; when we look up to Heaven and down to Hell, let us mince no words. We face triumph or tragedy without alternative. Africa, ancient Africa has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Which way shall Africa go? First, I would emphasize the fact that today Africa has no choice between private Capitalism and Socialism. The whole world, including Capitalist countries, is moving toward Socialism, inevitably, inextricably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union, you cannot choose between Socialism and Private Capitalism, because Private ownership of capital is doomed.

"But what is Socialism? It is disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers

39-3-157

with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort. Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part and even the United States adopted the New Deal which was largely socialistic, even though today further American socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and the Trade Union leaders.

"On the other hand, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its very beginnings. No tribesman was free. All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice. Read of the West Coast trade as described by Caseley-Hayford: There is small trace of private enterprise of individual initiative. It was the tribe which carried on trade through individuals, and the chief was mouthpiece of the common will.

"Here then, my Brothers, you face your great decision: Will you for temporary advantage - for automobiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns, spend your income in paying interest of borrowed funds, or will you sacrifice present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbors in order to educate your children, develop such industry as best serves the great mass of people and makes your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defense? Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the United States, will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism. You are

39-3-153

not helpless. You are the buyers of capital goods, and to continue existence as sellers of capital, the great nations, former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mass of western capitalistic pottage. You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized western private capitalists, but at last today you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West. The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the West, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which is the price which the West has demanded, and still demands. Today she offers a compromise, but one of which you must beware: She offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters, if in turn they induce the nation's masses to pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia. Strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply soil it into new slavery to old masters overseas.

"As I have said, this is a call for sacrifice. Great Goethe sang, "Entbehran sollst du, sollst entbehren" - "Thou shalt forego, Shalt do without." If Africa unites it will be because each part, each nation, each tribe gives up a part of its heritage for the good of the whole. That

39-3-159

is what union means; that is what Pan-Africa means: When the child is born into the tribe the price of his growing up is to give over a part of his freedom to the tribe. This he soon learns or dies. When the tribe becomes a union of tribes, the individual tribe surrenders some part of its freedom to the paramount tribe.

"When the nation arises, the constituent tribes, clans and groups must each yield power and much freedom to the demands of the nation or the nation dies before it is born. Your local tribal, much-loved languages must yield to the few world tongues which serve tne largest numbers of people and promote understanding and world literature.

"This is the great dilemma which faces Africa today; faces one and all: Give up individual rights for the needs of the nation; give up tribal independence for the needs of Mother Africa. Forget nothing but set everything in its rightful place: the Glory of the six Ashanti Wars against Britain; the wisdom of the Fanti Confederation; the unity of Nigeria; the song of the Songhay and Hausa; the rebellion of the Mahdi and the hands of Ethiopia; the greatness of the Basuto and the fighting of Chaka; the revenge of Mutessa, and many other happenings and men; but above all - Africa, Mother of Men. Your nearest friends and neighbors are the colored people of China and India, the rest of Asia, the Middle East and the sea isles, once close bound to the heart of Africa and now long severed by the greed of Europe. Your bond is no more color of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt.

"So too, your bond with the white world is closest to those like the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who support and defend China and help the slaves of Tibet and India, and not those who exploit the Middle East, the West Indies, and South America.

"Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; reject the meekness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but emphasize the virtues of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labor. Africa awake, put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African Socialism.

"You have nothing to lose but your Chains!

"You have a continent to regain!

"You have freedrom and human dignity to attain!!"

The address was greeted with applause. Later Shirley and Mrs. Robeson with the help of Tom M'Boya, the chairman, secured the removal of Chiang kai Chek's Formosa flag from the assembly hall.

When in Peking, my ninety-first birthday was given national celebration. I pled for unity of China and Africa and my speech was broadcast to the world:

"By courtesy of the government of the 600 million people of the Chinese Republic, I am permitted on my ninety-first birthday to speak to the people of China and Africa and through them to the world. Hail, then, and farewell, dwelling places of the yellow and black races. Hail human kind!

"I speak with no authority; no assumption of age nor rank; I hold no position, I have no wealth. One thing alone I own and that is my own soul. Ownership of that I have even while in my own country for near a a century I have been nothing but a "Nigger". On this basis and this alone I dare speak, I dare advise.

"China after long centuries has arisen to her feet and leapt forward. Africa arise, and stand straight, speak and think! Act! Turn from the West and your slavery and humiliation for the last 500 years and face the rising sun.

"Behold a people the most populous nation on this ancient earth which has burst its shackles, not by boasting and strutting, not by lying about its history and its conquests, but by patience and long suffering; by blind struggle, moved up and on toward the crimson sky. She aims to "make men holy; to make men free."

"But what men? Not simply the mandarins but including mandarins; not simply the rich, but not excluding the rich. Not simply the learned, but led by knowledge to the end that no man shall be poor, nor sick, nor ignorant; but that the humblest worker as well as the sons of emperors shall be fed and taught and healed and that there emerge on earth a single unified people, free, well and educated.

"You have been told, my Africa: My Africa in Africa and all your children's children overseas; you have been told and the telling so beaten into you by rods and whips, that you believe it yourselves, that this is impossible; that mankind can rise only by walking on men; by cheating them and killing them; that only on a doormat of the despised and dying, the dead and rotten, can a British aristocracy, a French cultural élite or an American millionaire be nurtured and grown.

"This is a lie. It is an ancient lie spread by church and state, spread by priest and historian, and believed in by fools and cowards, as well as by the downtrodden and the children of despair.

"Speak, China, and tell your truth to Africa and the world. What people have been despised as you have? Who more than you have been rejected of men? Recall when lordly Britishers threw the rickshaw money on the ground to avoid touching a filthy hand. Forget not, the time when in Shanghai no Chinese man dare set foot in a park which he paid for. Tell this to Africa, for today Africa stands on new feet, with new eyesight, with

39-3-162

new brains and asks: Where am I and why?

"The Western sirens answer: Britain wheedles; France cajoles; while America, my America, where my ancestors and descendants for eight generations have lived and toiled; America loudest of all, yells and promises freedom. If only Africa allows American investment.

"Beware Africa, America bargains for your soul. America would have you believe that they freed your grandchildren; that Afro-Americans are full American citizens, treated like equals, paid fair wages as workers, promoted for desert and free to learn and travel across the world.

"This is not true. Some are near freedom; some approach equality with whites; some have achieved education; but the price for this has too often been slavery of mind, distortion of truth and oppression of our own people.

"Of 18 million Afro-Americans, 12 million are still second-class citizens of the United States, serfs in farming, low-paid laborers in industry, and repressed members of union labor. Most American Negroes do not vote. Even the rising six million are liable to insult and discrimination at any time.

"But this, Africa, relates to your descendants, not to you. Once I thought of you Africans as children, whom we educated Afro-Americans would lead to liberty. I was wrong. We could not even lead ourselves, much less you. Today I see you rising under your own leadership, guided by your own brains.

"Africa does not ask alms from China nor from the Soviet Union nor from France, Britain, nor the United States. It asks friendship and sympathy and no nation better than China can offer this to the Dark Continent. Let it be freely given and generously. Let Chinese visit Africa, send their scientists there and their artists and writers. Let

39-3-163

Africa send its students to China and its seekers after knowledge. It will not find on earth a richer goal, a more promising mine of information.

"On the other hand, watch the West. The new British West Indian Federation is not a form of democratic progress but a cunning attempt to reduce these islands to the control of British and American investors. Haiti is dying under rich Haitian investors who with American money are enslaving the peasantry. Cuba is showing what the West Indies, Central and South America are suffering under American Big Business.

"The American worker himself does not always realize this. He has high wages and many comforts. Rather than lose these, he keeps in office by his vote the servants of industrial exploitation so long as they maintain his wage. His labor leaders represent exploitation and not the fight against the exploitation of labor by private capital. These two sets of exploiters fall out only when one demands too large a share of the loot.

"This China knows. This Africa must learn. This the American Negro has failed so far to learn. I am frightened by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment and high interest to bind you in serfdom to business as the Near East is bound and as South America is struggling with. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers. What shall you do?

"First, understand! Realize that the great mass of mankind is freeing itself from wage slavery, while private capital in Britain, France, and now in America, is still trying to maintain civilization and comfort for a few on the toil, disease and ignorance of the mass of men. Understand this, and understanding comes from direct knowledge. You know America and France, and Britain to your sorrow. Now know the Soviet

39-3-164

Union, but particularly know China.

"China is flesh of your flesh, and blood of your blood. China is colored and knows to what a colored skin in this modern world subjects its owner. But China knows more, much more than this: she knows what to do about it. She can take the insults of the United States and still hold her head high. She can make her own machines, when America refuses to sell her American manufactures, even though it hurts American industry, and throws her workers out of jobs. China does not need American nor British missionaries to teach her religion and scare her with tales of hell. China has been in hell too long, not to believe in a heaven of her own making. This she is doing.

"Come to China, Africa, and look around. Invite Africa to come, China, and see what you can teach by just pointing. Yonder old woman is working on the street. But she is happy, She has no fear. Her children are in school and a good school. If she is ill, there is a hospital where she is cared for free of charge. She has a vacation with pay each year. She can die and be buried without taxing her family to make some undertaker rich.

"Africa can answer: but some of this we have done; our tribes undertake public service like this. Very well, let your tribes continue and expand this work. What Africa must realize is what China knows; that it is worse than stupid to allow a people's education to be under the control of those who seek not the progress of the people but their use as means of making themselves rich and powerful. It is wrong for the University of London to control the University of Ghana. It is wrong for the Catholic church to direct the education of the black Congolese. It was wrong for Protestant churches supported by British and American wealth to control higher education in China.

39-3-165

"The Soviet Union is surpassing the world in popular and higher education, because from the beginning it started its own complete educational system. The essence of the revolution in the Soviet Union and China and in all the "iron curtain" nations, is not the violence that accompanied the change; no more than starvation at Valley Forge was the essence of the American revolution against Britain. The real revolution is the acceptance on the part of the nation of the fact that hereafter the main object of the nation is the welfare of the mass of the people and not of the lucky few.

"Government is for the people's progress and not for the comfort of an aristocracy. The object of industry is the welfare of the workers and not the wealth of the owners. The object of civilization is the cultural progress of the mass of workers and not merely of an intellectual elite. And in return for all this communist lands believe that the cultivation of the mass of people will discover more talent and genius to serve the state than any closed aristocracy ever furnished. This belief the current history of the Soviet Union and China is proving true each day. Therefore don't let the West invest when you can avoid it. Don't buy capital from Britain, France and the United States if you can get it on reasonable terms from the Soviet Union and China. This is not politics; it is common sense.

(add hyp. ---)

39-3-1666

It is learning from experience. It is trusting your friends and watching your enemies. Refuse to be cajoled or to change your way of life, so as to make a few of your fellows rich at the expense of a mass of workers growing poor and sick and remaining without schools so that a few black men can have automobiles.

"Africa, here is a real danger which you must avoid or return to the slavery from which you are emerging. All I ask from you is the courage to know; to look about you and see what is happening in this old and tired world; to realize the extent and depth of its rebirth and the promise which glows on your hills.

Visit the Soviet Union and visit China. Let your youth learn the Russian and Chinese languages. Stand together in this new world and let the old world perish in its greed or be born again in new hope and promise. Listen to the Hebrew prophet of communism:

"Ho! every one that thirsteth; come ye to the waters; come, buy and eat, without money and price!

"Again, China and Africa, hail and farewell!"

29-3-147

POSTLUDE

Returning to America after my great journey in 1959, I was welcomed home; not simply by my friends but by my government. In Sweden it was feared I might not as a member of the World Peace Council, be allowed to land in England. But Pritt and Belfrage took hold and I received every courtesy. I had tea on the terrace of the House of Lords, with a viscount, an earl, and two ladies; also on the terrace of the House of Commons, I had tea where I had last been entertained by Kier Hardie. I met several members of Parliament, and spent many Sunday afternoons with Donald Ogden Stewart and Ella Winter. There I met James Aldrich and Katherine Hepburn. I saw Paul Robeson and his splendid production of "Othello." Lawrence Bradshaw, sculptor of the great head of Karl Marx, did my head.

The cabin on the Liberté as we returned was large and airy, and the voyage smooth and pleasant. But how would the United States receive us? We had openly spent ten weeks in China, and spoken widely and broadcast. There was some hasty last minute telephoning from the boat, I am sure, but all went well. Our passports were not seized, and the chief Inspector of Customs passed our bags quickly and welcomed us home. Our relatives and friends swarmed to greet us. I was unable to understand why Scott Nearing and Waldo Frank should be forbidden to do what as yet I have been unrebuked for doing openly and proudly. However, three months later when the Supreme Court agreed to consider the cases of Waldo Frank and William Worthy, the State Department demanded our passports. We asked delay until the Supreme Court made its verdict. This was granted.

I am a little puzzled now about the ordering of my life. Several times in the past I find that I have prepared for death and death has not come. Always on my desk lies a calendar of my own devising with daily and hourly tasks; with plans for the week and next week, the month and months ahead and the sentinel of my main task

397

39-3-168

for the year. This year-part is now getting uncertain. Even months are no longer absolutely mine, yet I am reasonably content and although my strength warns me not to try to work as many hours as once I did, yet I work and work regularly and with some efficiency, from day to day.

As I recall, I have long faced the inevitability of death and not tried to dodge the thought. In early manhood I wrote:

"I saw a mother, black and seared and iron-haired, who had watched her boy through college, for men to jeer at and discourage and tempt until he sought women and whiskey and died. She crept on a winter's Sunday into a Cathedral of St. John The Divine and crouched there where a comfortable red and yellow angel sat sunning her ample limbs, 'To Keep the Memory of Obadiah James Green,' -- a stock-gambler. And there she rested while the organ warbled the overture to Der Feischütz, and the choir asserted 'My Jesus! As Thou wilt.' The priest intones: 'Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest! For my yoke is easy and my burden light'. And the window-angel moved a fat wing and murmured: 'except Niggers!'

"In that dark day when all friends gathered round shall sigh; as he goes to that full dreadful home where earth shall move away and these dim eyes shall strain to scenes all glorious, shall they see on that morning round the wide, white throne a glorified Negro Problem? If so, Father of Mercies, send me to Hell."

At fifty, after a serious operation I wrote:

"Last year I looked death in the face and found its lineaments not unkind. But it was not my time. Yet in nature some time soon and in the fullness of days I shall die, quietly, I trust, with my face turned South and eastward; and, dreaming or dreamless I shall, I am sure, enjoy death as I have enjoyed life."

At sixty years of age I wrote again:

39-3-169

"For long years we of the world gone wild, have looked into the face of death and smiled. Through all our bitter tears we knew how beautiful it was to die for that which our souls called sufficient. Like all true beauty this thing of dying was so simple, so matter-of-fact. The boy clothed in his splendid youth stood before us and laughed in his own jolly way -- went and was gone. Suddenly the world was full of the fragrance of sacrifice. We left our digging and burden-bearing; we turned from our scraping and twisting of things and words; we paused from our hurrying hither and thither and walking up and down, and asked in half whisper: 'Death -- is this life? And is its beauty real or false?'

"Here, then is beauty and ugliness, a wide vision of world-sacrifice, a fierce gleam of world-hate. Which is life and what is death and how shall we face so tantalizing a contradiction? Any explanation must necessarily be subtle and involved. No pert and easy word of encouragement, no merely dark despair, can lay hold of the roots of these things. And first and before all, we cannot forget that this world is beautiful. Grant all its ugliness and sin -- the petty, horrible snarl of its putrid threads, which few have seen more near or more often than I -- notwithstanding all this, the beauty of the world is not to be denied.

"And then -- the Veil, the Veil of color. It drops as drops the night on southern seas -- vast, sudden, unanswering. There is Hate behind it, and Cruelty and Tears. As one peers through its intricate, unfathomable pattern of ancient, old, old design, one sees blood and guilt and misunderstanding. And yet it hangs there, this Veil, between then and now, between Pale and Colored and Black and White -- between You and Me. Surely it is but a thought-thing, tenuous, intangible; yet just as surely is it true and terrible and not in our little day may you and I lift it. We may feverishly unravel its edges and even climb slow with giant shears to where its ringed and gilded top nestles close to the throne of Eternity. But as we

39-3-170

work and climb we shall see through streaming eyes and hear with aching ears, lynching and murder, cheating and despising, degrading and lying, so flashed and fleshed through this vast hanging darkness that the Doer never sees the Deed and the Victim knows not the Victor and Each hate All in wild and bitter ignorance. Listen, O Isles, to these Voices from within the Veil, for they portray the most human hurt of the Twentieth Cycle of that poor Jesus who was called the Christ!

"At last to us all comes happiness, there in the Court of Peace, where the dead lie so still and calm and good. If we were not dead we would lie and listen to the flowers grow. We would hear the birds sing and see how the rain rises and blushes and burns and pales and dies in beauty. We would see spring, summer, and the red riot of autumn, and then in winter, beneath the soft white snow, sleep and dream of dreams. But we know that being dead, our Happiness is a fine and finished thing and that ten, a hundred, and a thousand years, we shall lie at rest, unhurt in the Court of Peace."

From then until now the wraith of Death has followed me, slept with me and awakened me and accompanied my day. Only now it is more commonplace and reasonable. It is the end and without ends there can be no beginnings. Its finality we must not falsify. It is our great debt to the Soviet Union that it alone of nations dared stop that lying to children which so long disgraced our schools. We filled little minds with fairy tales of religious dogma which we ourselves never believed. We filled their thoughts with pictures of barbarous revenge called God which contradicted all their inner sense of decency. We repeated folk tales of children without fathers, of death which was life, of sacrifice which was shrewd investment and ridiculous pictures of an endless future. The Soviets have stopped this. They allow a child to grow up without religious lies and with mature mind make his own decision about the world without scaring him into Hell or rewarding him with a

400

silly Heaven.

We know that Death is the End of Life. Even when we profess to deny this we know that this hope is mere wishful thinking, pretense broidered with abject and cowardly Fear. Our endless egotism cannot conceive a world without Us and yet we know that this will happen and the world be happier for it.

I have lived a good and full life. I have finished my course. I do not want to live this life again. I have tasted its delights and pleasures; I have known its pain, suffering and despair. I am tired, I am through. For the souls who follow me; for that little boy born Christmas day before last, my great grandson and his compeers, I bequeath all that waits to be done, and Holy Time what a task, forever!

I have seen miracles in my life. As a boy we did not have the possibility of miracles emphasized in our schools. In the weekly Sunday School, we studied the bible with its tales of the impossible but I remember distinctly that I questioned the validity of some of them, like that story of Jonah. In other words I was brought up in the shadow of modern science where all that happens had a cause and there were many things unlikely to happen. For instance, then flying by man was not to be thought of and we talked of flying as impossible and joked at man's attempts. Yet I read of the first successful flights; and myself in 1921 flew from Paris to London. I have flown tens of thousands of miles since, over land and sea. I visited the Paris world's fair in 1900, and was astonished to see automobiles on the streets; not many but perhaps a dozen in a day. I lived to see the jokes about the possibility of these motors displacing the horse fade away and automobiles fill the streets and cover the nations.

I remember when first in an American city, seeing the streets lighted by electricity; the lights blinked and sputtered but in a few years electric bulbs supplanted the gas lights of my boyhood. Then came the gas-filled balloons rising

401

39-3-172

in the sky and men crossed the Atlantic in Zeppelins. Soon came the horror of Hiroshima and I began to feel the vast possibilities of man's brain and his coming conquest of the air. But the most startling miracle of my time before the year 1958, was Sputnik. This went beyond the internal combustion engine; the airplane and balloon; beyond the electric light and the bursting atom. This was beyond mere utility into the realm of Knowledge and the triumph of Reason. It taught the United States the superiority of Communist thought and calculation. It stopped our sneers at Soviet education.

Then this year came the climax; the triumph of thought over power and space that was the greatest miracle of which I ever dreamed. Not yet have I been able to comprehend its meaning, or to realize that it is today actually possible to send a human being to the stars. A Frenchman once said: "I know but two beautiful things on earth: the stars above us and the feeling of duty within us." Now that we have pierced the heavens, we are more sure of making Mankind willing and eager to do right.

I have lived to an age of life which is increasingly distasteful to this nation. Unless by sixty a man has gained possession of enough of money to support himself, he faces the distinct possibility of starvation. He is liable to lose his job and to refusal if he seeks another. At seventy he is frowned upon by the Church and if he is foolish enough to survive until ninety, he is often regarded as a freak. This is because in the face of human experience the United States has discovered that Youth knows more than Age. When a man of 35 becomes president of a great institution of learning or United States Senator or head of a multi-million dollar corporation, a cry of triumph rings in the land. Why? To pretend that fifteen years bring of themselves more wisdom and understanding than fifty is a contradiction in terms. Given a born fool, a hundred years will not make him wise; but given an idiot, he will not be wise at twenty. Youth is more courageous than age because it knows less. Age is wiser than youth because it knows more. This all mankind has

39-3-173

affirmed from Egypt and China five thousand years ago, to Britain and Germany today. Only the United States knows better. I would have been hailed with approval if I had died at fifty. At seventy-six my death was practically requested. If living does not give value, wisdom, and meaning to life, then there is no sense in living at all. If immature and inexperienced men rule the earth, then the earth deserves what it gets: the repetition of age-old mistakes, and wild welcome for what men knew a thousand years ago was disaster.

I do not apologize for living long. High on the ramparts of this blistering hell of life, as it must appear to most men, I sit and see the Truth. I look it full in the face, and I will not lie about it, neither to myself nor to the world. I see my country as what Cedric Belfrage aptly characterizes as a "Frightened Giant" afraid of the Truth, afraid of Peace. I see a land which is degenerating and faces decadence unless it has sense enough to turn about and start back. It is no sin to fail. It is the habit of men. It is disaster to go on when you know you are going wrong. I judge this land not merely by statistics or reading lies agreed upon by historians. I judge by what I have seen, heard, and lived through for near a century.

There was a day when the world rightly called Americans honest even if crude; earning their living by hard work; telling the truth no matter whom it hurt; and going to war only in what they believed a just cause after nothing else seemed possible. Today we are lying, stealing, and killing. We call all this by finer names: Advertising, Free Enterprise, and National Defense. But names in the end deceive no one; today we use science to help us deceive our fellows; we take wealth that we never earned and we are devoting all our energies to kill, maim and drive insane, men, women, and children who dare refuse to do what we want done. No nation threatens us. We threaten the world. Our President says that Foster Dulles was the wisest man he knew. If Dulles was wise, God help our fools -- the fools who rule

463

30-3-174

us and are today running wild in order to shoot a football into the sky where Sputnik rolls in peace around the earth. And they know why we fail -- these military masters of men -- we haven't taught our children mathematics and physics. No, it is because we have not taught our children to read and write or to behave like human beings and not like hoodlums. Every child on my street is whooping it up with toy guns and big boys with real pistols. When Elvis Presley goes through the motions of copulation on the public stage it takes the city police force to hold back teen-age children from hysteria. The highest ambition of an American boy today is to be a millionaire. The highest ambition of an American girl is to be a movie star. Of the ethical actions which lie back of these ideals, little is said or learned. What are we doing about it? Half the Christian churches of New York are trying to ruin the free public schools in order to install religious dogma in them; and the other half are too interested in Venezuelan oil to prevent the best center in Brooklyn from fighting youthful delinquency, or preventing a bishop from kicking William Howard Melish into the street and closing his church. Which of the hundreds of churches sitting half empty protests about this? They hire Billy Graham to replace the circus in Madison Square Garden.

Howard Melish is one of the few Christian clergymen, for whom I have the highest respect. Honest and conscientious, believing sincerely in much of the Christian dogma, which I reject, but working honestly and without hypocrisy, for the guidance of the young, for the uplift of the poor and ignorant, and for the betterment of his city and his country, he has been driven from his work and his career ruined by a vindictive Bishop of his church, with no effective protest from most of the Christian ministry, and membership or of the people of the United States. The Melish case is perhaps at once the most typical and frightening illustration of present American religion and my reaction. Here is a young man of ideal character, of

404

39-3-175

impeccable morals; a hard worker, especially among the poor and unfortunate, with fine family relations. His father had helped build one of the most popular Episcopal churches in the better part of Brooklyn. He himself had married a well-educated woman, and had three sons in school. The community about it was changing from well-to-do people of English and Dutch descent, to white collar and laboring folk of Italian, Negro and Puerto-Rican extraction. Trinity church, under the Melishes, adapted itself to changing needs, and invited neighborhood membership. It was not a large church, but it was doing the best work among the young and foreign-born of any institution in Brooklyn.

The young rector took one step for which the bishop, most of his fellow clergymen and the well-to-do community, with its business interests, illoried him. He joined and became an official of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. He was accused immediately of favoring Communism, and to appease criticism he gave up his official position in this organization, but refused to resign his membership. Allegedly for this reason the bishop, most of the clergy and the well-to-do community proceeded to force him out of the church. The real reason behind their fight was anger because a rich, white, "respectable" church was being surrendered to Workers and Negroes. It became a renewed battle between Episcopal authority and democratic rule. That his parish wanted to retain Mellish as rector was unquestionable. Through the use of technicalities in the canon law and in accord with the decision of Catholic judges who believed in Episcopal power, Howard Melish lost his church, had his life work ruined, the church itself closed, and its local influence ended. There was vigorous protest against this by a few devoted colleagues, many of them Jews and liberals. But the great mass of the Episcopal church membership was silent and did nothing.

All this must not be mentioned even if you know it and see it. America must never be criticized even by honest and sincere men. America must always be praised and extravagantly praised, or you lose your job or are ostracized or land in jail.

405

39-3-176

Criticism is Treason, and treason or the hint of treason testified to by hired liars may be punished by shameful death. I saw Ethel Rosenberg lying beautiful in her coffin beside her mate. I tried to stammer futile words above her grave. But not over graves should we shout this failure of justice, but from the housetops of the world.

Honest men may and must criticize America. Describe how she has ruined her democracy, sold out her jury system, and led her seats of justice astray. The only question that may arise is whether this criticism is based on truth, not whether it has been openly expressed.

What is truth? What can it be when the President of the United States, guiding the nation, stands up in public and says: "The world also thinks of us as a land which has never enslaved anyone." Everyone who heard this knew it was not true. Yet here stands the successor of George Washington who bought, owned, and sold slaves; the successor of Abraham Lincoln who freed four million slaves after they had helped him win victory over the slave-holding South. And so far as I have seen, not a single periodical, not even a Negro weekly, has dared challenge or even criticize that falsehood.

Perhaps the most extraordinary characteristic of current America is the attempt to reduce life to Buying and Selling. Life is not Love unless Love is sex and bought and sold. Life is not Knowledge save knowledge of technique, or science for destruction. Life is not Beauty except beauty for sale. Life is not Art unless it's price is high and it is sold for profit. All Life is production for profit and for what is Profit, but for buying and selling again?

Even today the contradictions of American civilization are tremendous. Freedom of political discussion is difficult; elections are not free and fair. Democracy is for us to a large extent unworkable. In business there is a tremendous amount of cheating and stealing; gambling in card games on television and on the stock exchange

406

is widely practised. It is common custom for distinguished persons to sign books, articles, and speeches that they did not write; and for men of brains to compose and sell opinions which they do not believe. Ghost writing is a profession. The greatest power in the land is not thought or ethics, but wealth, and the persons who exercise the power of wealth are not necessarily its owners, but those who direct its use, and the truth about this direction is so far as possible kept a secret. We do not know who owns our vast property and resources, so that most of our argument concerning wealth and its use, must be based on guess work. Those responsible for the misuse of wealth escape responsibility, and even the owners of capital often do not know for what it is being used and how. The criterion of industry and trade, is the profit that it accrues, not the good which it does either its owners of the public. Present profit is valued higher than future need. We waste materials. We refuse to make repairs. We cheat and deceive in manufacturing goods. We have succumbed to an increased use of lying and misrepresentation. In the last ten years at least a thousand books have been published to prove that the fight to preserve Negro slavery in America was a great and noble cause, led by worthy men of eminence.

I know the United States. It is my country and the land of my fathers. It is still a land of magnificent possibilities. It is still the home of noble souls and generous people. But it is selling its birthright. It is betraying its mighty destiny. I was born on its soil and educated in its schools. I have served my country to the best of my ability. I have never knowingly broken its laws or unjustly attacked its reputation. At the same time I have pointed out its injustices and crimes and blamed it, rightly as I believe, for its mistakes. It has given me education and some of its honors, for which I am thankful.

Today the United States is the leading nation in the world, which apparently believes that War is the only way to settle present disputes and difficulties. For this reason it is spending fantastic sums of money, and wasting wealth and energy

407

39-3-178

on the preparation for war, which is nothing less than criminal. Yet the United States dare not stop spending money for war. If she did her whole economy which is today based on preparation for war, might collapse. Therefore, we prepare for a Third World War; we spread our soldiers and arms over the earth and we bribe every nation we can to become our allies. We are taxing our citizens into poverty, crime and unemployment, and systematically distorting the truth about socialism. We have used the horror of germ warfare. Some of our leaders are ready to use it again.

The use of history for distortion and not for education has led to another of our greatest present evils; and that is to make fear of Socialism and Communism so great that we have withdrawn our efforts toward the education of children, the war on disease, and the raising of the standards of living. We encourage the increase of debt to finance present enjoyment; and above all we use news gathering and opinion, radio and television, magazines and books, to make most Americans believe that the threat of war, especially on the part of the Soviet Union against the United States justifies heavy taxation and tremendous expenditure for war preparation. This propaganda began when our tremendous profits from the first world war encouraged American business to believe that the United States was about to replace Great Britain as ruler of most of mankind. The rise and spread of Socialism contradicted this ambition, and made the projected American century quail in fright before the century of Communism. We determined therefore to overthrow Communism by brute force. Gradually we discovered the impossibility of this, unless we risked suicide. We saw Communism increasing education, science and productivity. We now face the possibility of co-existence with the Communist world, and competition between the methods of Capitalism and the methods of Socialism. It is at this crisis that I have the opportunity to live seven months in a world of Socialism, which is striving towards Communism as an ideal.

~~This is what I call decadence.~~ It could ~~not have~~ happened fifty ~~years~~ ago.

39-3-179

In the day of our fiercest controversy we have not dared thus publicly to silence opinion. I have lived through disagreement, vilification, and war and war again. But in all that time, I have never seen the right of human beings to think so challenged and denied as it is today.

The day after I was born, Andrew Johnson was impeached. He deserved punishment as a traitor to the poor Southern whites and poorer freedmen. Yet during his life, no one denied him the right to defend himself. A quarter of a century ago, I tried to state and carry into realization unpopular ideas against a powerful opposition -- in the white South, in the reactionary North, and even among my own people. I found my thought being misconstrued and I planned an organ of propaganda -- The Crisis -- where I would be free to say what I believed. This was no easy sailing. My magazine reached but a fraction of the nation. It was bitterly attacked and once the government suppressed it. But in the end I maintained a platform of radical thinking on the Negro question which influenced many minds. War and depression ended my independence of thought and forced me to return to teaching, but with the certainty that I had at least started a new line of belief and action. Then they stopped my teaching.

As a result of my work and that of others, the Supreme Court began to restore democracy in the South and finally outlawed discrimination in public services based on color. This caused rebellion in the South which the nation is afraid to meet. The Negro stands bewildered and attempt is made by appointments to unimportant offices and trips abroad to bribe him into silence. His art and literature cease to function. Only the children like those at Little Rock stand and fight.

The Yale sophomore who replaced a periodical of brains by a book of pictures concealed in advertisements, proposed that America rule the world. This failed because we could not rule ourselves. But Texas to the rescue, as Johnson proposes that America take over outer space. Somewhere beyond the Moon there must be sentient creatures rolling in inextinguishable laughter at the antics of our Earth.

39-3-180

We tax ourselves into poverty and crime so as to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and more evil. We know the cause of this: it is to permit our rich business interests to stop socialism and to prevent the ideals of Communism from ever triumphing on earth. The aim is impossible. Socialism progresses and will progress. All we can do is to silence and jail its promoters and make world war on Cpmmunism. I believe in socialism. I seek a world where the ideals of Communism will triumph -- to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. And I still live!

I just live. I plan my work, but plan less for shorter periods. I live from year to year and day to day. I expect snatches of pain and discomfort to come and go. And then reaching back to my archives, I whisper to the great Majority: To the Almighty Dead, into whose pale approaching faces, I stand and stare; you whose thoughts, deeds and dreams have made men wise with all wisdom and stupid with utter evil. In every name of God, bend out and down, you who are the infinite majority of all mankind and with your thoughts, deeds, dreams and memories, overwhelm, outvote, and coerce this remnant of human life which lingers on, imagining themselves wisest of all who have lived just because they still survive. Whither with wide revelation will they go with their stinking pride and empty boasting, whose ever recurring lies only you the Dead have known all too well. Teach living man to jeer at this last civilization which seeks to build heaven on Want and Ill of most men and vainly builds on color and hair rather than on decency of hand and heart. Let your memories teach these wilful fools all which you have forgotten and ruined and done to death.

You are not and yet you are: your thoughts, your deeds, above all your dreams still live. So too, your deeds and what you forgot -- these lived as your bodies died. With these we also live and die, realize and kill. Our dreams seek Heaven, our deeds plumb Hell. Hell lies about us in our Age; blithely we push into its

39-3-181

stench and flame. Suffer us not, Eternal Dead to stew in this Evil -- the Evil of South Africa, the Evil of Mississippi; the Evil of Evils which is what we hope to hold in Asia and Africa, in the southern Americas and islands of the Seven Seas. Reveal, Ancient of Days, the Present in the Past and prophesy the End in the Beginning. For this is a beautiful world; this is a wonderful America, which the founding fathers dreamed until their sons drowned it in the blood of slavery and devoured it in greed. Our children must rebuild it. Let then the Dreams of the Dead rebuke the Blind who think that what is will be forever and teach them that what was worth living for must live again and that which merited death must stay dead. Teach us, Forever Dead there is no Dream but Deed, there is no Deed but Memory.

A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY (THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W. E. B. DU BOIS)

Draft manuscript, with editorial changes

original MS
as brought back
from Ghana --
some with his markings
& others of mine -- preliminary
prior to re-typing &
final editing H.A.

A SOLILOQUY

ON VIEWING MY LIFE

FROM THE LAST DECADE

OF ITS FIRST CENTURY

by

W. E. B. Du BOIS

49-9-1

DEDICATED TO

MY GREATGRANDFATHER: JAMES Du BOIS

MY GRANDFATHER: ALEXANDER Du BOIS

MY PARENTS: ALFRED Du BOIS and MARY BURGHARDT

MY CHILDREN: BURGHARDT GOMER Du BOIS, YOLANDE Du BOIS
DAVID GRAHAM Du BOIS

MY GRANDDAUGHTER: Du BOIS McFARLANE

49-9-2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Original	Series Pages
PRELUDE			
CHAPTER I	MY FIFTEENTH TRIP ABROAD	pg 1 - ~~3~~ 4	1-4
CHAPTER II	WESTERN EUROPE	pg ~~4 - 10~~ 5-12	5-12
CHAPTER III	THE PAWNED PEOPLES	pg ~~11 - 17~~	13-20
CHAPTER IV	THE SOVIET UNION	pg ~~18 - 31~~	21-36
CHAPTER V	CHINA	pg ~~32 - 42~~	37-46
INTERLUDE			47-48
CHAPTER VI	MY BIRTH AND FAMILY	pg ~~43 - 58~~	49-66
CHAPTER VII	BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON	pg ~~59 - 79~~	67-96
CHAPTER VIII	I GO SOUTH	pg 80 - 108	
CHAPTER IX	HARVARD, 1888-1892	pg 109 - 129	
CHAPTER X	EUROPE, 1892-1894	pg 130 - 155	
CHAPTER XI	WILBERFORCE, 1894-'96	pg 156 - 166	
CHAPTER XII	THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1896	pg 167 - 178	
CHAPTER XIII	ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, 1897-1910	pg 179 - 210	
CHAPTER XIV	THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT	pg 211 - 229	
CHAPTER XV	THE NAACP, 1910-1933	pg 230 - 252	
CHAPTER XVI	MY CHARACTER	pg 253 - 264	
CHAPTER XVII	THE DEPRESSION, 1933-1944	pg 265 - 283	
CHAPTER XVIII	NEW DEAL FOR NEGROES	pg 284 - 302	
CHAPTER XIX	RETURN TO THE NAACP, 1944-1948	pg 303 - 318	
CHAPTER XX	WORK FOR PEACE	pg 319 - 337	
CHAPTER XXI	INDICTED CRIMINAL	pg 338 - 358	
CHAPTER XXII	THE TRIAL	pg 359 - 376	
CHAPTER XXIII	MY TENTH DECADE	pg 377 - 395	
POSTLUDE		pg 396 - 410	

A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY

by W. E. B. DU BOIS

CHAPTER I

MY FIFTEENTH TRIP ABROAD

August 8th was a day of warm and beautiful sunshine, and many friends with flowers and wine were at the dock to bid me and my wife goodbye. For the fifteenth time I was going abroad. I felt like a released prisoner, because since 1951, I had been refused a passport by my government, on the excuse that it was not considered to be " to the best interests of the United States" that I go abroad. It assumed that if I did, I would probably criticize the United States for its attitude toward American Negroes. This was certainly true.

49-9-4

Later the State Department changed its reasons, and refused to issue a passport unless I declared in writing that I was not a member of the Communist party. As a matter of fact, I was not a member of that party. Yet I refused to make any statement on the ground that the government had no legal right to question me concerning my political beliefs.

Then unexpectedly the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision in 1958 which said that "Congress had never given the Department of State any authority to demand a political affidavit as prerequisite to issuing a passport." The Department of State in July issued passports to several persons who previously had been denied the right to travel, including Paul Robeson and his wife, and me and my wife, Shirley Graham. Paul and his wife went abroad immediately, and we prepared to follow in September, but since the President of the United States rushed a special message to Congress asking for new legislation, we hurried and sailed early in August.

The sea was calm throughout the trip. The ship was well arranged ; although

the air conditioning on our inside cabin did not function well. The passengers were rather more courteous than I expect Americans to be, and we had pleasant social relationships with the Rumanian ambassador to the United Nations and his family.

On arriving in London, our luggage was subjected to more careful examination than we have ever been used to, but finally we were courteously released, and with our good friend Cedric Belfrage drove us from Southampton up to London, through New Forest, and near Bedales, where my daughter attended high school. We stopped three weeks in Paul Robeson's apartment while he was singing in Moscow.

During August and September, I saw something of Britain, Holland and France; then in the Fall and early Winter, I lived in the Soviet Union, resting a part of the time in a sanatorium. In the winter and spring I was three months in China, and then returned to Moscow for May Day. I visited the tenth session of the World Council of Peace in Stockholm, and finally stayed a month in England. On July 1st, 1959, I came home.

49-9-5

I mention this trip in some detail because it was one of the most important trips that I had ever taken, and had wide influence on my thought. To explain this influence, my soliloquy becomes an autobiography. Autobiographies do not form indisputable authorities. They are always incomplete, and often unreliable. Eager as I am to put down the truth, there are difficulties; memory fails especially in small details, so that it becomes finally but a theory of my life, with much forgotten and misconceived, with valuable testimony but often less than absolutely true, despite my intention to be frank and fair.

Who and what is this I, which in the last year looked on a torn world and tried to judge it? Prejudiced I certainly am by my twisted life; by the way in which I have been treated by my fellows; by what I myself have thought and done. I have passed through changes by reason of my growth and willing; by my surroundings without; by knowledge and ignorance. What I think of myself, now and in the past, furnishes no certain document proving what I really am. Mostly my life today is a mass of memories with vast omissions, matters which are forgotten accidently or by deep design.

Forty year ago when at the age of fifty, I first essayed a brief autobiography, my memories furnished many details and conclusions which now disappear or return as quite strange. There are of course some fixed documents, like that memorandum on my twenty-fifth birthday, some letters to my mother, and that priceless letter to former President Hayes. In "DUSK OF DAWN" I wrote much about my life as I saw it at the age of seventy, which differs much from what I think at the age of ninety-one. One must then see these varying views as contradictions to truth, and not as final and complete authority.

This book then is the Soliloquy of an old man on what he dreams his life has been as he sees it slowly drifting away; and what he would like others to believe.

The century in which was mine to live, is now in its last decade. In all probability I shall not finish it, since life seldom goes by logical completeness, but I shall be near enough its end to speak with a certain sense of unity. In all my plans and dreaming, I do not remember ever thinking of a long life. The people of my family on both sides usually reached the seventies, but I know none of ninety; and my immediate parents died in their fifties. I remember writing a sort of semi-biography on my fiftieth birthday in my book called "DARKWATER." I was not thinking of immediate death, but I was sure that by far the largest part of my life had passed. Indeed, it characterised my day that most men thought their work would be about done at sixty and they would be dead or practically dead at seventy. Yet, I had no thought of dying. At sixty-five I had accepted a life-time job at Atlanta University without a moment's pause to ask what was to happen when I was judged too old to work. That neglect to worry about my old age was peculiar and contradicted my complete surroundings. In my own family old folk found a home with relatives; but in the surrounding community the first worry of the average citizen was for provision for his old age. Personally this problem never bothered me until suddenly at seventy-five I was retired from work with practically no savings, and no pension in view sufficient to support me. Failure to give attention to this part of my future was due to no laziness nor neglect. I was eager to work and work continuously.

49-9-6

CHAPTER XI

WESTERN EUROPE

I know Western Europe through a repeated series of visits covering the years 1892 until the present. I knew Germany as a student and traveler before the world wars, and as a traveler since. I had lived at times in various places in England and Scotland, in France, and in Holland and Belgium. I have been more briefly in Switzerland, Italy, Spain and Portugal; in Greece, Turkey, and in the old Austro-Hungarian empire. During my earlier visits, Europe seemed very much like America, but older, with a longer history, and with inspiring memories of the past, in buildings and monuments, and in cultural differences.

This time I noticed more because here was a group of countries which had been through the terrible experiences of world war. Revolution had shaken the world, and now mankind in this center of Western civilization was trying to rebuild itself into something new. I, on the other hand, represented something old which had projected itself into a new America, and clothed in slavery and poverty, had begun a modern race problem. I looked therefore upon this world, as I had looked before, as a member of the darker race, which had suffered from the oppression of the white European world.

As a student, I had learned of the struggle between races; of the way in which the slave trade had been stopped, slavery abolished, Colonial Imperialism begun, until finally in the twentieth century the nations of Europe had fallen to fighting each other over the problem as to who should control the domination of Asia and Africa. I came to Europe now to learn if new European Imperialism was about to disappear, and what hope we had of a future. Was a world of peace and racial equality about to emerge?

I was disappointed. London was a clean and comfortable city, with parks, trees and flowers. England was still a leading nation. Holland was clean and respectable; yet both these nations frightened me. I knew the restraint and correct manners of the British; their excellent newspapers, studious magazines,

44-9-4

and thoughtful books. But today, in streets and gatherings, in shops and factories, there lurked a great fear. The British empire was falling. The domination which Englishmen had so long exercised over the world was approaching and end, and nothing could stop it; and this the British knew. They were leaning with increased dependance on the wealth and technique of the United States, which could be seen in the vast American investment in buildings and business, and in the increasing, even if sullen, respect for American manners and opinion.

I knew that in the past, to put the matter bluntly and simply, the British empire had built its prosperity on cheap labor, which the colored peoples of the world were forced to do, and on lands and materials which had been seized without just compensation, by the British throughout the world. Granted that in the past the British had been morally no worse in their exploitation of labor and wealth than other peoples, and had even worked more efficiently and scientifically than most, and thus had become more wealthy and powerful; nevertheless the terrible result of all this had been world war; universal murder and destruction, maiming and disease to an extent that made many men despair of its future.

I came therefore to Europe in 1959, to try to learn if possible how far the lessons of the past were guiding the future, and what the hope of that future was. I came to the conclusion that the people of Britain were determined to proceed on the whole along the same paths which they had followed in the past. That they were determined to maintain their comforts and civilization by using cheap labor and raw materials, seized without rightful compensation, and to change their treatment of other people only if this required no essential yielding of comfort or even luxury.

This system had been in use during the last half of the nineteenth century. It worked so well that in the twentieth century Britain and France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Spain, the Netherlands and Belgium fought each other in two terrible wars for a redivision of the spoils of colonial exploitation. This fighting

8-6-49

complicated the situation by increasing the demands of home labor for higher wages and by arousing the consciousness of the colonial peoples who were brought in to assist in the fighting, and who began to demand increased income for work, larger use of land, and even political power. The second half of the century faced a free India and China; a struggling Indonesia; growing demand for autonomy all over the rest of Asia and Africa; with repercussions in South and Central America, and the islands of the sea.

Leading and encouraging this revolt and unrest, is Russia, transformed into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which denies the right of private ownership of capital, the profit motive in industry and colonial imperialism.

Girding itself against this is the United States of America, which arose two hundred years ago as a free-thinking democracy, with limitless land and resources; but which sank into dependance on slave labor, transformed itself into a vast center of capital monopolized by closed corporations, and now seeks to replace the British empire by stopping Socialism with force, and ruling the world by private capital and newly invented technique.

Western Europe views this duel with frightened amazement. I see in Britain, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, the utter and desparately-held belief of the ruling classes in these lands that their culture and comfort depend absolutely on cheap labor, seized land and materials belonging to defenseless peoples; some of these workers are their own "lower classes", most of whom are the "lesser breeds without the law." Western Europe hopes that without essential alteration in its way of life an accomodation can be made between their demands and the upsurging of the lower classes and peoples. They see this chance in four ways: home labor appeased by elementary education and some political power; with higher wage paid out of profit from investment in foreign lands, which the home labor makes sure by fighting in world wars. They hope to make the alteration in their way of life small, by the rise of a small class among the backward peoples, who will join them in exploiting their own people for the profit of both themselves and the imperialists. Their home labor may through trade union activity win increasing

49-9-9

wages out of the large profit of the employers; their taxes and military service abroad will make such grants agreeable to investors. If the colonial peoples grow impatient revolt may ensue and war start; this imperialists with atom bombs can win unless the Communist countries join in fighting, and if neutrals like India and Egypt stand aside.

On the other hand, what seemed to me absolutely certain was that if the majority of the worlds people who are unsheltered, with starvation and poverty, can in reasonable time obtain a minimum supply of food, clothing and shelter, and the beginning of modern culture, Imperialism cannot maintain itself unless Western acquisitive society pays for it with less comfort, less luxury, and goods and privileges more equally divided. This price, as it seems to me, Britain, France, Holland and Belgium, refuse to pay, and here lies the problem of the modern world. No country of Western Europe is ready for such sacrifice. No labor party will risk lower wages in order to improve the condition of colonial labor.

I realized this most startlingly in Holland. It was a Dutchman who in the early seventeenth century, kidnapped my great grandfather on the coast of West Africa, and sold him into slavery in the valley of the Hudson. This was the century in which the Dutch began to take part in that stealing of labor in Africa, started by Portugal and Spain. The British in the eighteenth century succeeded in displacing them as the world's greatest slave traders, and established slavery in their American colonies. This commercial rivalry between the Dutch and British, resulted finally in a system of Dutch colonies which covered South East Asia.

The center of this colonial empire, was Indonesia, whose land, materials and cheap labor, made the Dutch people rich and comfortable, and their land became famous for cleanliness and beautiful flowers. Then the Indonesians revolted, and I visited Holland just at the time, when the full realization of the meaning of this blow was being felt. Colored people of mixed Dutch and Indonesian blood had begun to pour into Holland, bringing problems of race and class. Incomes of the well-to-do were being reduced. The impact of the second world war was now being realized, ~~with the humiliation of conquest and problems of the Jews.~~

I made the mistake of speaking on peace at a Hague Cultural club, composed of teachers and professional men, social workers and the white collar class. They did not want to hear about peace, and least of all, about peace between America and the Soviet Union, because it was the Soviet Union that kept Holland from regaining Indonesia, and it was America which was the Soviet Union's great rival for domination of the world.

Therefore in a Europe which had suffered greviously from war and destruction, a prosperous and intelligent people did not want to hear about peace. To me this was a surprise and disappointment; to those who listened to me the occasion was a disappointment and an insult. They wanted comfort and civilization even if that involved the same imperial control of land and labor on which the civilization of the Dutch had long been based.

I turned from Holland and went swiftly to France, passing by Belgium and its current exposition. I had a feeling that what I might say in Brussels concerning the Belgian Congo would not be pleasant for the Belgians to hear. I came to France at the time when De Gaulle was making his great bid for domination. I had seen France first in 1892, and last in 1950. I sensed the crucifixion through which the French people had lived. All my life, France had been close to me. My name was French, my blood was part French. I knew Paris better than any city in the world outside America. I spoke a little of "The most beautiful language in the world." I had experienced on French soil less prejudice of color and race than anywhere else in the world. I would have gladly made France my home, if that had seemed consonant with my duty to American Negroes.

Here in 1949, I had seen the greatest demonstration for peace, for the total abolition of war that I had ever imagined possible. Now ten years later all this was being overthrown. France again was at war and preparing for war. France under a great but strangely mistaken idealist was searching for a glory that could never be regained. There was death in her eyes, in her speech, and in her gestures. The gates of my most loved of public parks, the Luxembourg Gardens, were guarded by police armed with machine guns. I saw Algerian boys searched on the public streets.

11-6-49

Fear, hate and despair rode the streets of Paris.

I have looked upon this quivering of France; the dark death which shadows its life today. I have seen the sting of new grim poverty, and the concentrated power of its great wealth. ~~Even French Communists were unwilling to free Algerians.~~ Here loom French genius and taste along with ruthless will and drunken beauty. The beautiful wine of France has in its way been its undoing. I remember my friend Hope, somewhat naive and unsophisticated in the ways of the wicked world, once said to me in France, as he was working for the Young Mens' Christian Association, "Du Bois, the French do not get drunk, they stay drunk!" When the French went to Algeria and the blight came to French vineyards, the colonies stopped planting the wheat, which fed the Algerian people, and planted grapes instead. Cheap Algerian wine poured into France, and undersold French wines, while the people of Algeria starved. Then came more drunkenness, revolt and war. There is the eternal struggle and endless contradiction within a people who can never die, so long as men remember Roland, the kings called Louis, Napoleon and Alexander Dumas.

Sweden was a sort of last glimpse of Western Europe before I returned home. I had long known of the Scandinavian nations. Socialists called them the "Middle Way" between private capitalism and Communism. They saw the increase of social control of the welfare state over the anarchy of individual profit. The new housing intrigued me; the pension system, the schools. This was the way Socialists hoped to ward off revolution and save rugged individualism. My recent visit was symbolic. Ten years ago in 1949, I had sat in on the formation of the World Council of Peace after that marvelous Paris meeting. Then for nine years I missed the meetings for lack of a passport. I could not attend that meeting which adopted the great "Stockholm Appeal", which America called a "Communist trick" to disarm the West. The meetings continued, and most of the world joined, but I was not present. Then came 1959, and I could attend. I gave up visits to Hungary and the Balkans, which I would have loved to make. I saw Sweden, that beautiful Northern light nesting on its fourteen islands. I saw what is perhaps the finest

H9-9-12

popular housing in the world.

Sweden had avoided war, but she was not welcoming World Peace. I was amazed as I realised this. She did not want this World Council of Peace to meet in Stockholm. She would not repulse it, but she gave it no welcome. Her Press and Pulpit ignored it. Her homes, with a few exceptions, closed their doors in the face of many men and women of world leadership, because they met to promote World Peace, and because they met together with nations who did not believe in private capitalism, but did hate war. It was astonishing. Was Sweden afraid, and if so, of what? Did Peace encourage Communism, and if so, what an admission! Was Sweden frightened of America and Britain? If so, what an accusation! I saw an Indian author, whose books, never printed in the United States, I was just reading. He looked a bit upset; he said," My Swedish publisher asks me not to call on him until this Council meeting is over." Only a few citizens of Stockholm attended the service in honor of Juliot-Curie. Few met Eugenie Cotton, the white-haired leader of the women of France, and Madame Elisabeth Blum of Belgium, who kept me out of an American jail.

Today in my mind, Western Europe is not prepared to surrender Colonial Imperialism. It clings desperately to the wealth and power which comes from cheap colonial labor, held in serfdom by modern technique. There is no European labor Party ready to help emancipate the workers of Asia and Africa. On the contrary, all are willing to take higher wages based on colonial profits; and to fight wars waged to defend these profits. Back of this attitude of Western Europe is the United States: ready with funds to help Europe; ready to assist any European power to keep control of colonial peoples, or to supplant it as colonial ruler.

49-9-13

CHAPTER XII

THE PAWNED PEOPLES

In the center of Europe lies Germany, long a pawn of France, then a plaything of Napoleon; but under the Hohenzollerns, a mighty empire seeking European leadership. Overreaching itself, it was overthrown in the First World War, grovelled in bankruptcy and distress until Hitler roused it to frenzy and drove it to attempt world domination on a scale that frightened humanity. The Soviet Union and the allies overthrew him but, refusing further alliance after the war, the allies tore Germany in two. The United Stated led. France eagerly cooperated and Britain could not hesitate for fear of offending the United States. But center and spark of the whole scheme was Big Business: the German cartels, the great French manufacturing and mining corporations and the interlocked banks of Britain and America were united in imperial enterprise and determined to make a new Germany which would restore the plan to dominate the world under Western control. To these great corporations were added the trade unions of Britain and the United States who knew that their high wage depended on the profits of Big Business from exploitation of labor and seizure of materials in colonies. They tried to take control of the new colonial unions at the Paris meeting of Trade Unions in 1964, but failed. Eventually, however, they split the unions into two groups of capitalistic and communistic organizations, while the African unions called a fifth Pan-African Congress in England. This meeting I attended and presided over.

The British unions and the American Federation of Labor united to divide Germany and to restore the Nazis to power in West Germany. Naturally, the military joined the movement led by General Clay, who was the head of corporations making immense profits in North and South Africa, and collecting money in America for a "Crusade for Freedom" to overthrow Communism. A former president of Harvard became High Commissioner of West Germany, representing not only American intellectuals but also the corporate wealth which was supporting the great universities of the

49-9-14

United States. The Marshall Plan furnished new capital to Europe, owned by America, and strengthening the fight against labor. Thus the same forces which at one time sought to overthrow the Soviet Union, now were united to build a great capitalist state in West Germany and, by-passing the United Nations, formed Nato with military might led by the officers who once followed Hitler. The mass of the West German people were the social-democrats who once fought the Hohenzollern monarchy.

East Germany, known as the German Democratic Republic, was led by this social democracy and manned by socialist workers. It is developing the faith of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and becoming a Socialist state, after the pattern of the Soviet Union. This was the Germany where I attended the University in 1892, and here I went in 1959. It looked familiar. It had dropped its old name "Friederich Wilhelm" and was now the Humboldt University of Berlin, named after its great scholars. I walked down the Unter den Linden to the Brandenburger Thor. There I stopped. I could not visit again my old lodging on the Schoneberger Ufer. That lay in "West" Berlin, and if I had entered, American soldiers might arrest me on any pretext they invented. I turned back and traversed a city with new building and enterprises, along with ghosts of war and destruction. In the great hall of the University, with women students now common but in 1892 never admitted, I sat in the office where in my day Rudolph Virchow had presided as Rector Magnificus. A group played the soft music of Sebastian Bach, and the faculty of economics bestowed on me the honorary degree of Doctor of Economics. I had coveted this degree sixty-five years before, but then the University of Berlin would not recognize my graduate study at Harvard, and I was not allowed to take the examination.

49-9-15

Between Western Europe and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, lie a number of nations: the Baltic states; Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and to the southwest, the Balkan states of Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania. These peoples differ in race and composition, but have had a history with many resemblances. Most of their territory has long been ruled by a hereditary aristocracy of conquerors, invaders and great land holders. They have been

annexed by neighbors, and have fought each other. During the world wars, most of this territory came to be looked upon as a "Cordon Sanitaire"; nations which would be used eventually by the West to reconquer Russia, or at least to recover lost investments; and by the new Soviet Union, it was looked on as territory which it must control in sheer self-defense against expanding Western Capitalism.

These are the folk whom the Americans call "The Captive Peoples", and they include the Baltic states of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania; Poland, which for centuries has been raped and torn by Europe; and Bohemia and Slovakia, long a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire; and the Hungarian part of that alliance. Many of these lands have been the center of the political ambitions of the Roman Catholic church. Beyond these lie the Balkans, including today Bulgaria and Rumania, and portions of what once belonged to Turkey and Greece.

I have seen some of these countries on this trip and during former journeys. I was in Poland in 1893 and 1950. I was in Czechoslovakia in 1893, 1950, and 1951. Save my sojurn in Germany, none of these trips were long enough for intensive study and observation, but taken together, they tell an interesting story. For one thing, there is no doubt in my mind but that the people in these lands are far better off in 1950 than in 1893 or in 1950. They are better fed and better dressed, and they look more content. I shall never forget the abject grovelling of the Polish church worshippers in 1893; and how that year my Berlin classmate, Stanislaus Ritter von Estreicher, begged me to visit him in Krakow, so as to show me how much more Poles were oppressed than Negroes in the United States. His father, librarian of the University, opened my doubting eyes. In 1950, Poland showed the horrible crucifixion which she had suffered under Hitler, but she showed also the beginnings of mighty ressurrection.

Czechoslovakia is a prosperous nation. The people are busy and decidedly more hopeful than when I had previously seen the nation. Prague has spilled over into the neighboring valleys, and is growing. Socialism is making a normal growth out of private capitalism; even Slovakia, which when I had spoken there in

49-9-16

1950, seemed sullen if not discontent, is now humming with new hope and housing. I remember my lovely girl guide and interpreter of 1951, and her enthusiam for Socialism.

In Prague I had one surprise which lifted my spirits. Charles University was founded a hundred years before Columbus discovered America. It was a great center of learning in the Middle Ages, and after the First World War, many persons in the West hoped that Charles University would lead the resistance against Communism. It did not. It accepted Communism, and now in addition it honored me in the face of the known attitude of the United States toward Negroes. No American University (except Negro Institutions in understandable self-defense) has ever recognised that I had any claim to scholarship. I had no reason to think that Charles University even knew my name. But I was summoned to the restored beauty of the old Carolseum, and amid the fanfare of medieval trumpets, marched in procession with rector and faculties of the University to the high rostrum. I was given the degree of Doctor of the Science of History, "honoris causa", while the "Star-Spangled Banner" was played in honor of my American citizenship. This gesture of a Communist nation doubtless prejudiced me in favor of Socialism. But I do not think it was alone decisive.

In neighboring Hungary I sensed the age-old strife between the Roman Catholic Church and land-holding aristocracy in one group; the rising Bourgeoisie supported by Western enterprise and capital in another group; and the great mass of degraded peasants who, as I saw them in 1893, were distinctly below the level of American Negro serfs. I was not surprised when the pushing business men and artisans, calling themselves "Commons" and despising laborers and serfs, rebelled against Communism in 1956. I was glad when the Soviet Union intervened and thus served notice on all reactionaries that the Russian revolution was still unwilling to yield its gains before a show of force. The Hungarian Academy made me a corresponding member.

I did not see the Balkans in 1959, but I met many of their folk. I knew what their petty aristocrats, joined with American money, had made their masses

49-9-17
49-9-16

endure in the last century. I cannot imagine that the people of the Balkans are worse off today then they were in the nineteenth century. I think they are much better off. The University of Sofia gave me a degree, before I left America.

Today the majority of intelligent people who work for a living in the Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkans seem to me quite evidently to want Communism. It was quite true a generation ago that most of the landholders, capitalists and aristocracy in these lands opposed Communism, and being the only ones with political power could truly say that their countries, as they represented them, did not want to be socialized. But these classes did not represent the mass of people, and when this mass obtained political power, they built and hold Communist States.

Between the first and second world wars, Western Capitalism and Soviet Socialism sought to increase their influence in these states. The First World War broke up the anomalous Austro-Hungarian empire with the vast political backing of the Roman Catholic church. Germany seized Austria. Poland became independent, with the landlords in control and a dictatorship under Pilsudsky from 1926 to 1935. In Czechoslovakia, land was distributed widely among the peasants, and a bourgeoisie under Marsaryk and Benes took control, helped by Western investors. The First World War left the rich Ukraine independent, but it was later invaded by the Soviets, then Germans and by the bandit Denikin, backed by the West. By 1920 the Soviets were in control.

To call these peoples "Captive" is misleading. The great mass of them were the pawns of privilege and exploitation. They reeled helplessly under the blows and beckonings of their masters. Their upper classes represented the rich and privileged among them who called the nations their property, and sought to dominate it for their own personal advantage, assuming that what was good for the ruling classes was best for all. On the other hand, there was the doctrine of Communism being tried out under great difficulties in the Soviet Union. This system would be in continual danger and attack, partly because they believed that the masses of people in the Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans needed for

81-6-44

their own good, just the system which the Soviet Union was trying with much success to install.

Then came the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, threatening war with the West, in order to redistribute not only the colonies of Asia, Africa, South and Central America, but to add to this exploited area, Eastern Europe, which the West had hitherto monopolised. A series of political moves ensued. Hitler threatened the Soviet Union. Stalin sought alliance with the West against Hitler, and was repulsed. The West, ignoring the Soviet Union, joined with Hitler at Munich in opposition to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in counter movement accepted alliance with Hitler against the West. Dropping his mask suddenly, Hitler now attacked the Soviet Union, and the West, certain that the vast German war power would wipe out Communism, stood aside. Let Nazis and Communists kill each other off, said Truman. Help either when the other weakens.

The world watched with baited breath. The United States and Britain helped the struggling Soviet Union as it tottered; but the help was slow, and at no time did it form a decisive part of what this sorely beset nation needed. Finally, to the surprise of mankind, David overpowered Goliath, and the Soviet Union won the war over Germany at Stalingrad. Western capitalism instead of seeing Communism destroyed, found itself in 1945 allied with triumphant Communism.

The Pawned People whose future depended so absolutely on the outcome of this war were in a curious situation. Poland was at various times on both sides; now fighting the Soviet Union; now fighting the Germans; but to the very end refusing to treat the Soviets as trusted allies. When at last the Poles led a premature attack on Warsaw, the Soviet army suspicious of where the Poles stood, refused to take part. The end of the war left Poland in doubt between the Soviet Union and Germany, which was backed by Britain, France and America. The political power of Roman Catholicism tried to compel a decision, but Communism held . It was the Soviet armies in the end that rescued Poland from their cruel captors. Hungary fought with the allies but was punished by the wretched treaty of 1947. Frustrated land reforms, false democracy, foreign investors and anti-Communist revolt led to the effort to

overthrew Communism which was stopped by the intervention of the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia fought with the Allies, but her bourgeois leaders bitterly opposed Communism, until the rising political power of the workers proved that further opposition was useless.

Thus the peoples of these states whose former rulers wished to ally themselves with the West, were opposed by the mass of their people who had long suffered from exploitation and disfranchisement. To the disgust of the ruling classes the working classes and peasants gradually gained control and introduced Socialism on the Soviet model. The Baltic, Polish and Slav immigrants to the United States had left for the most part before the success of Socialism in the Soviet Union and were led by American propaganda to oppose socialism in their native countries. They used their political power against the socialist regimes and gave money and refuge to agitators. There is no doubt that the present condition of the peoples of these countries is improving and is far better than fifty years ago. They have the support of the overwhelming mass of their inhabitants.

49-5-20

CHAPTER XV

THE SOVIET UNION

I have in a sense seen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics grow, not as a casual visitor, nor hurried tourist. In 1926, I saw a Russia just emerging from war with the world. The people were poor and ill-clothed; food was scarce, and long lines stood hours to get their share. Orphan children, ragged and dirty, crawled in and out of sewers. The nation faced foreign force, and Russian traitors. Yet, despite this, I saw a land of hope and hard work. Schools were multiplying; books were being printed and widely read; workers were being protected with a living wage, nurseries for children, night schools, trade unions and wide discussion.

Indeed this wide discussion and criticism intrigued me. Never had I seen such public interest in social matters on the part of men, women and children. Here was a people seeking a new way of life through learning the truth, and cooperating with each other and by willing sacrifice. Not everybody was happy, but most Russians saw a bitter past being succeeded by a great future, not swiftly, but surely. I visited Kronstad, Leningrad, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod, Kiev, and Odessa. There were no signs of prostitution or unusual crime. There was some drunkenness, but little gambling. Priests were plentiful, and tarnished gold-domed churches abounded, but dogma was being driven from the schools. Above all, the spirit of the people was high, the officials were working desperately hard and with efficiency.

I had known that Tsarist Russia naturally resisted the revolution. But of the extent of that counter-revolution and of the active help in manpower, material and arms supplied by the civilized world; of the spying and intrigue from all Europe, which had accompanied and inspired this war of reaction, I had but the vaguest information. Indeed I did not learn the whole story until Sayers and Kahn published their "Great Conspiracy" in 1946.*

What amazed and uplifted me in 1926, was to see a nation stoutly facing a problem which most other modern nations did not dare even to admit was real; the abolition of poverty.

49-9-21

* _____

Taking inspiration directly out of the mouths and dreams of the world's savants and prophets, who had inveighed against modern industrial methods and against the co-existance of progress and poverty; this new Russia led by Lenin and inspired by Marx and Engels, proposed to build a socialist state with production for use and not for private profit; with ownership of land and capital goods by the state, and with state control of public services, including education and health. It was enough for me to see this mighty attempt. It might fail, I knew, but the effort in itself was social progress and neither foolishness nor crime.

Russia was handicapped by 90% illiteracy among her peasants, and nearly as much among her working classes; by a religion led by a largely immoral priesthood, dealing in superstition and deception, and rich with the loot of grovelling followers. Most of her industrial capital was owned by foreigners, whose only interest was the fifty or seventy-five percent profit which they reaped from merciless exploitation. Her government had long been shot through with dishonesty and graft under dissolute nobles and fawning lackeys. Her punishment of crime and independent thought had long affronted the civilized world. Yet the best people of Europe and America seldom raised a finger of protest, but fawned on Russian royalty and aristocracy, receiving them with open arms and expressing loud sympathy when they were repudiated.

There is no question but that governments can carry on business. Every government does. Whether governmental industry compares in efficiency with private industry depends entirely upon what we call efficiency. And here it is and not elsewhere that the Russian experiment is astonishing and new, and of fateful importance to the future of civilization. What we call efficiency in America is judged primarily by the resultant profit to the rich and only secondarily by the results to the workers. The face of industrial Europe and America is set toward increase of private wealth; that is, toward the people who have large incomes. We recognize the economic value of small incomes mainly as a means of profit for great incomes. Russia seeks another psychology. The Soviet Union is trying to make the workingman the main object of industry. His well-being and his income are

deliberately set as the chief ends of organized industry, directed by the State.

It is by its economic progress that the Soviet Union must primarily be judged. Russia had established a socialistic state. The world had long been veering toward Socialism. We had made essays toward Socialism; but when the Socialistic state appeared full-fledged, most of us called it by other names and refused to judge it by its socialism; but rather we insisted on investigating the ethics of the methods accompanying its establishment.

What had the Soviet Union done in 1926, to establish a Socialistic State? First, it had nationalized the land. Every inch of land in Russia — the air above it and the resources beneath — belong to the Soviet State. Persons who wished to till the soil could have as much land as they might successfully till with the labor of their own family. The mineral and oil rights at that time could be farmed out by the government for a term of years, but the government retained ownership of mines and wells and the terms of the leases were limited.

Ten years later in 1936, I rode across the Soviet Union on the Trans-Siberian railway from Moscow to Otpur, Manchuria. The trip of four thousand miles was slow and took ten days and nights. But it traversed the main part of the Soviet Union. It went through cities, climbed the Urals and crossed lakes and rivers. The change in ten years was remarkable. This was no longer a people struggling for survival, it was a nation sure of itself. In Moscow the streets were widening and the city had crossed the river. Old buildings remained, but great new buildings were crowding them. The golden domes of churches were not so numerous, and tall office buildings were taking their place. Few priests were visible, and few beggars. The folk were better dressed and food was much more plentiful. There were no unemployed, and all children were in school; factories, shops and libraries had multiplied, and there was evidence of law and order everywhere. Industry was moving west and crossing the Urals.

Military might was evident and we saw the massing of soldiers toward the East to meet the threat of Japan. Great dams, canals and water works were building. The peasant was in close cooperation with, and not in revolt against, the factory

49-9-23

worker. Here was a self-confident nation ready to fight for existence. The people of the nation did not have all they wanted or planned to have, but much more than ever before. They did not fear poverty nor old age; they were not slaves, not ready for revolt.

Thirteen years later in 1949, after the Peace Congress in Paris, twenty-five Americans were invited to attend a Peace Congress in the Soviet Union. I was the only one who accepted the invitation. In the Hall of the Nobles, Moscow, where the Russian aristocrats used to gamble, I met a cross-section of the Soviet people - workers, writers, officials, and visitors from neighboring lands. It was an inspiring body and I tried to convince them that most Americans did not desire war with them, but strove for peace. I saw the continued growth of Moscow, and the increased confidence of the Soviet Union in itself, and in Socialism as a path to a Communist state. I was shown where on Lenin Hills a new University would be built.

Ten more years passed. I was not allowed to visit Europe until 1959, when I again saw the Soviet Union and spent five months in its borders. Its growth in size and building, in industry and trade, in science and education, was marvellous. In November of 1959, as I rode into Moscow, I saw above the city the great Sickle and Star which crowns the University and blesses the city. Later this Lomonosov State University, "Member of the Order of Lenin" and of the "Workers Order of the Red Star", called me to its halls and made me honorary doctor of historical science.

I was on Red Square at the great Seventh of November celebration with a half-million spectators. A uniformed major escorted me to the hotel, and on the way we stopped and saluted Khrushchev and the government, and Khrushchev raised his hat.

Next I went to a Sanitarium. I was weary from travel. It is a great solemn place with tall pines and snow. We had servants for every wish, and all were as kind as can be. I was here a month, and had every probe and test possible. My heart was measured a dozen times, my blood tested, my blood pressure taken, and I was poked inside and out.

Today I was granted an interview with Prime Minister Khrushchev at my request.

49-9-24

For about two hours, I and my wife, Shirley Graham, discussed with him the Peace movement in the United States, and the Pan-African movement.

I told him of my indictment and acquital in 1951 of the charge of not registering as a foreign agent, because I secured signers for the Stockholm appeal. We discussed the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Council. I talked about African independence and unity, and of establishing in Moscow an Institute under the Academy of Sciences, to study African history and culture.

I said Africa has just taken a decisive step at the conference at Accra toward independence, union and free cultural development. The first effort of Africans will be in political lines and then for industrial progress and economic organisation, I said; Education will receive attention, but resources will be limited, and teachers scarce. I believe said that here the Soviet Union can be of great assistance to new Africa. The Scientific study of Africans and their sentiment was is necessary for the guidance of their education and the organization of their culture. This was one of the ways in which the progressive world could can help its lagging parts and one in which there are were fewest causes for friction and diversity of interest.

I suggested, therefore, that the Soviet Academy of Sciences establish an Institute for the study of Pan-African history, sociology, ethnography, anthropology and all cognate studies. This Institute of the Academy would aim at promotion of scientific research into all the activities, past and present, of the peoples of Africa, together with a study of their physical, and biological environment. This series of studies would be carried on with the central idea of the unity of the whole subject and the conviction that history is not separate from sociology, or culture from biology, but that all research in such related fields seek the one end of unified scientific knowledge. While this enterprise would start and center in the Soviet Union, its object would be the welfare and progress of Africa, and from the first, it should seek cooperation wherever it could be found, and especially among Africans.

The Institute should by offer of scholarships to Africans, and by cooperation with African students and institutions of learning, try eventually to build within

49-9-25

Africa, a center of scientific study, which would lead in world study, and the promotion of world peace.

Realising how in modern history the exploitation and almost universal underestimation of Africans have led to wide denial of the very existence of their history and culture, it would be a first duty of this Institute to make known the history of the African peoples, and to distribute knowledge of this in libraries and museums, in text-books and university studies, and as common knowledge. No greater work for world peace can be conceived, no quicker way to convince mankind that no part of it must exist for the exploitation and comfort of the rest at the cost of suffering black folk. Already this Institute has been established, with many

The Soviets are making a new people, a disciplined people. This is not a matter of police; few police are in evidence, and there is little giving of orders. Secret dread? I sense none. But let me illustrate: Out from my hotel window I look on two great squares; the furtherest is Red Square with the towers of the Kremlin walls and the brown tomb where Lenin and Stalin sleep their last long sleep. Across these squares yesterday a half million people marched, walked, and danced; they ate and sang, they laughed and cheered. This morning when I arose and looked out, there was not a scrap of paper or sign of dirt. That meant work in the night I'm sure, but it meant much more than this; it meant that most of this half million people dropped no dirt and threw away no paper, and they did this not under orders, but because they felt these squares were theirs, and they must not soil their own. These people feel a vested interest in this nation such as few Americans feel for the United States.

Why? I do not know, and yet it may be because they are consulted about it. They are asked, continually asked; they sit and sit and talk and talk, and vote and vote; if this is all a mirage, it is a perfect one. They believe it as I used to believe in the Spring Town Meeting in my village. There is power rivalry and personal jealousy; all things in the Soviet Union are not perfect. Mails miscarry, cables come a day late, styles are often funny; the world problem of domestic service has not been settled. The question of life careers and the decision

between what one wants to do and what one is fitted to do, and what efforts are needed-- these matters have not yet found final answers; but they are being frankly faced, and experiments are making.

The Soviet Union is great and growing greater, and, as it seems to believe, it belongs to this two hundred million folk about me. I am strongly inclined to agree with them.

Nowhere are public questions so throughly and exhaustively discussed. Russians sit and listen long to talks, lectures, expositions; they read books, magazines and newspapers, not just picture books. Each problem of existance is discussed in village and factory. Comments, spoken and written, are welcomed, until every aspect, every opinion has been expressed and listened to, and the matter rises to higher echelons, and is discussed again. Gradually agreement is approached, until when the thrashed-out result reaches the All-Soviet height, there is usually but one opinion and decision.

This is not unexpected. How many right answers to each of our problems are there? This is a sifting of democracy which the West has lost. In America there is little real political discussion. It is discouraged in every way: by stopping meetings, refusing use of halls, closing columns of newspapers, refusing radio time, and even by police interference and jail. In Britain there is freeer discussion, but it is limited by convention and prestige; by aristocratic influence and the money and leisure of the dominant class. In France, parliamentary debate is directed by the powerful interests who work the puppets and pull the strings. In Italy, the church stands always in the shadow, keeping watch above its own. The church represents wealth, and wealth rules.

In the Soviet Union the overwhelming power of the working class as representing the nation is always decisive. Above this and rising out of it and expressing its thoughts and ideals, rises the real aristocracy of the Soviet Union, the writers and scientists. They get the highest wage, they enjoy such privileges as the law and public opinion allow. How free are they? Science is free from religious dogma and vested interests. The writer has a wide leeway and rich

46-6-24

applause, but he is limited by the aims of Socialism, to serve all and not a few, and by the fear of foreign attack, which in the past has nearly ruined the Soviet Union. The recalcitrant writer, the idealists and dreamers disagree, but variety of opinion is becoming reassuringly common and open. As the Soviet Union becomes stronger and more self-confident, and less sensitive to that Western opinion, which has so long ruled the world with a rod of gold, it will become freer. Never, I hope, so free as to betray the ideals of the land as French writers have betrayed France, and as American writers distort truth today.

For years most American leaders regarded the figures as to Russian progress as exaggerations or lies. The Teachers' Union once begged me not to say in answer to a citation that the schools of Moscow were better than those of New York. Ex-President Conant of Harvard declared that the Communist Party would not allow promotion to higher schools by examination; presumably only by favor. Then came "Sputnik". Then followed unanswerable proof of Soviet superiority in Science. There were revealed the startling figures as to education in schools and colleges.

What I saw in the Soviet Union was more than triumph in physics, it was the growth of a nations soul; the confidence of a great people in its plan and future. And beyond that the realization around the world that the Seven-Year Plan was not boasting, but knowledge shared by two hundred million people. Around these millions were gathered even greater millions in China, Vietnam and Korea, who believed in Socialism, and sought Communism.

Is it possible to conduct a great modern government without autocratic leadership of the right? The answer is: this is exactly what the Soviet Union is doing today. But can she continue to do this? This is not a question of ethics or economics; it is a question of psychology. Can Russia continue to think of the State in terms of the workers? This can happen only if the Russian people believe and idealize the workingman as the chief citizen. In America we do not. The ideal of every American is the millionaire-- or at least the man of "independent" means of income. We regard the laborers as the unfortunate part of the community, and even liberal thought is directed toward "emancipating" the workingman by

relieving him in part, if not entirely, of the necessity for work. Russia, on the contrary, is seeking to make a nation believe that work, and work that is hard and in some respects even disagreeable, and to a large extent physical, is a necessity of human life at present and likely to be in any conceivable future world; that the people who do this work are the ones who should determine how the national income from their combined efforts should be distributed; in fine, that the workingman is the State; that he makes civilization possible and should determine what civilization is to be.

For this purpose he must be a workingman of skill and intelligence, and to this, Russian education is being organized. This is what the Dictatorship of the Proletariat means. This dictatorship does not stop there. As the workingman is today neither skilled nor intelligent to any such extent as his responsibilities demand, there is within his ranks the Communist Party directing the Proletariat toward their future duties. This is nothing new. In the governments "of the people", we have elaborate and many-sided arrangements for guiding the rulers. The test is, are we and Russia really preparing future rulers? Insofar as I could see in the Soviet Union, in shop and school, in the press and on the radio, in books and lectures, in trade unions and national congressmen, Russia is; we are not.

the Soviet Union

It is the organized private capital of America, England, France and Germany which is chiefly instrumental in preventing the realization of the Russian workingman's psychology. It has used every modern weapon to crush Russia. It sent against Russia every scoundrel who could lead a mob, and has given him money, guns and praise; and when Russia nearly committed suicide in crushing this civil war, modern industry began the industrial boycott, the refusal of capital and credit, which is being carried on today just as far as international jealousy and greed will allow. And can we wonder? If modern capital is owned by the rich and handled for their power and benefit, can the rich be expected to hand it over to their avowed and actual enemies? On the contrary, if modern industry is really for the benefit of the people, and if there is an effort to make the people the chief

49-9-29

beneficiaries of industry, why is it that this same people is powerless today to help this experiment, or at least give it a clear way? On the other hand, so long as the most powerful nations in the world are determined that the Soviet Union must fall, there can be but a minimum of free discussion and democratic difference of opinion in Russia. the Soviet Union.

There is world struggle then in and about Russia; but it is not simply an ethical problem, as to whether or not Russia can conduct industry on a national scale. She is doing it today and in so doing she differs only in quantity, not in quality, from every other modern country. It is not a question merely of "dictatorship"? We are all subject to this form of government.

There is under Communism a use of women for more than pleasure and physical reproduction; but primarily for their talent in work and thought. This has made possible the increase of medical facilities, since sixty percent of the Soviet women are today physicians. With this goes a socialisation of the family group. It is no longer customary to regard babies as playthings or nursery jobs; or as means of prolonging the father's cultural patterns, or to inherit his wealth or privileges. The child is becoming a recognized ward of the state to be raised and educated for the welfare of the people of the state and not merely for the privilege of a family group or of a special class. For this purpose nurseries, kindergartens and schools are provided; cooperative kitchens and dining rooms. The masses of Communist women are being released from household drudgery, and the state has a tremendously widened reservoir of ability to serve its needs.

The Soviet Union which I see in 1959 is Power and Faith and not simply Hope. When the Seven-Year Plan was announced, not only Soviet citizens but the world knew that this nation could do what it planned, and barring no unexpected difficulties would reach these enormous goals. It is only a matter of time and a comparatively short time when the Soviet Union will lead the world in industry.

The Russian question is: Can you make the worker and not the millionaire the center of modern power and culture? If you can, the Russian Revolution will sweep the world. One can stand on the streets of Moscow and Kiev and see clearly that

49-9-299

Russia has struck at the citadels of power that rules modern countries. Not manhood suffrage, women's suffrage, state regulation of industry, social reforms, nor religious and moral teaching in any modern country have shorn organized wealth of its power, as the Bolshevik Revolution has done in Russia. The Soviet Union seems to me the only ~~modern~~ European country where people are not more or less taught and encouraged to despise and look down on some class group or race. I know countries where race and color prejudice show only slight manifestations, but no white country where race and color prejudice seems so absolutely absent. In Paris, I attract some attention; in London I meet elaborate blankness; anywhere in America I get anything from complete ignoring to curiosity, and often insult. In Moscow, I pass unheeded. Russians quite naturally ask me information; women sit beside me quite confidentially and unconsciously. Children are uniformly ~~polite~~ courteous.

We had just finished our trip through Western Europe, when a cable came inviting us to a conference of Asiatic and African writers at Tashkent. I had heard nothing of this meeting, but had wanted very much to attend the conference at Bandung in 1955. Again ~~the~~ my government had prevented me, and the message which I had sent by an American Negro reporter, reached nobody. Further correspondence made our attendance upon this Congress at Tashkent seem of real importance. It was two thousand miles south east of Moscow, with five hours difference in time. The passage branched from my trip in 1936, veering toward the south. We heard the blood of Stalingrad far to the West, where Stalin conquered Hitler and saved Europe. After leaving Kazan, we crossed the Kazakh istan Province, and entered ~~the province of~~ Uzbek istan. We were near the storied Samarkand; where:

6 ft ¾ —×

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan,
A stately pleasure dome decree
Where Alph the sacred river ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.

6 ft ¾ —×

Tw Poetry cards

49-9-30

But today there is sunshine over the 150,000 square miles of the Usbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Over seven million brunette and curly-haired folk of Asiatic descent live here speaking a dialect differing from the Russian language, and inheriting an old culture. Tashkent a city of 600,000, founded in the seventh century on the trade route between Samarkand and Peking, welcomed its guests with banners and applause. They filled the festooned streets. Their fields were growing tall long-staple cotton, which an American Negro from Tuskegee first planted. New housing was replacing the old compounds, and schools were spreading.

The huge square with its fountain, had a new modern hotel on one side, and on the other a great conference hall with facilities for translating into Russian, Arabic, Chinese and English. This choice of languages was significant. The city was festooned, and the square filled with people greeting the visitors, and besieging the stalls, where books were on sale, and not chewing gum and hot dogs. One stall sold in a day ten thousand rubles worth of books in the Tartar language alone.

One hundred and forty writers from thirty-six countries, and forty-five writers from the Soviet Republics were present. We saw and heard of men whose works are read by millions, and yet whose names most of us Westerners had never heard. I was surprised to find my work known to many of the delegates, and the Congress gave me a standing ovation when I entered. I was shown to the platform, where I sat as a member of the directing committee. The discussion and the papers were mainly on cultural matters, although politics, and especially Colonialism continually forced themselves to the front. The inter-relation of all cultures was stressed, and the contribution of the West, despite its aggression against Asia and Africa. As one poet from the mountains of Daghestan said, "We must not confuse Colonialism with culture, nor Dreiser with Dulles." Efua Sutherland, a black woman from Ghana, called the conference "A step toward unification of the disrupted soul of man." A permanent Afro-Asian writers bureau was set up, with head quarters in Ceylon, to publish books, a journal, and an encyclopedia, and to promote translations.

49-8-31

I leave one subject to the last, as I leave the Soviet Union--religion. I lived two months opposite the inscription on the Second House of the Soviets, written by Lenin:

"Religion is the opium of the people!"

Whatever was true of other lands, this was certainly true in Russia in 1926 and before. Symbols of religion dominated the city, from the vast five domes of the Cathedral of Christ, the 350 other churches of the city dominated the landscape, as they loomed and glowed. There were gems of beautiful bejewelled churches; hordes of priests intoning litanies, begging alms, forgiving sins. There were thousands of shrines. Only one who has heard the chant of a Russian service, seen its color and genuflections; only those who know the gorgeous litany and the beauty of Russian churches can realize what Lenin meant when he called the Russian religion "opium".

But it was worse than opium. It was a Russian Priest, Father Petrov, who said in 1908, " There is no Christian Czar and no Christian government. Conditions of life are not Christian. The upper classes rule the lower classes. A little group keeps the rest of the population enslaved. This little group has robbed the working people of wealth, power, science, art and even religion, which they have also subjected; they have left them only ignorance and misery. In the place of pleasure they have given the people drunkenness; in the place of religion, gross superstition; and beside, the work of a convict, a work without rest or reward. The ruling clergy with its cold, heartless bony fingers, has stifled the Russian church, killed its creative spirit, chained the Gospel itself, and "sold" the church to the government. There is not an outrage, no crime, no perfidy of the State authorities, which the Monks who rule the church would not cover with the mantle of the church, would not bless, would not seal with their own hands."

The British Trade Union report of 1925 said: " A very strong propaganda in the Press, the schools, colleges, and Trade Union clubs is, however, carried on against religion generally, and especially as practised by the old Orthodox Church.

49-9-32

"The former Government-controlled licensed houses of prostitution where girls were exposed for hire at recognised fee, have been closed. In Tsarist days these houses were a recognized government institution; the opening ceremony was undertaken by a police officer and the premises blessed by Russian Orthodox Priests."

All this has gone and none regrets that the Russian Orthodox religion has been dethroned. But the Russian church remains and other churches still carry on in the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union does not allow any church of any kind to interfere with education, and religion is not taught in the public schools. It seems to me that this is the greatest gift of the Russian Revolution to the modern world. Most educated modern men no longer believe in religious dogma. If questioned they will usually resort to double-talk before admitting the fact. But who today actually believes that this world is ruled and directed by a benevolent person of great power, who on humble appeal will change the course of events at our request? Who believes in miracles? Many folk follow religious ceremonies and services; and allow their children to learn fairy tales and so-called religious truth, which in time the children come to recognise as conventional lies told by their parents and teachers. One can hardly exaggerate the moral disaster of this custom. We have to thank the Soviet Union for the courage to stop it.

The United States has moved from the hysteria of calling all Russian women prostitutes, all Russian workers slaves and the whole Russian people ready for revolt, of regarding all Russian rulers as criminals conspiring to conquer the United States and rule the world; of breaking every treaty that they made. From this false and utterly ridiculous position, we have begun to recognize the Soviet Socialist Republic as giving its people the best education of any in the world, of excelling in science, and organizing industry to its highest levels. Our increasing number of visitors to Russia, see a contented people who do not hate the United States, but fear its war-making, and are eager to cooperate with us. From such a nation we can learn. This the courageous visit of Khrushchev, in the face of threat, calumny and insult, has taught us.

CHAPTER V

CHINA

I saw China first in 1926, on my trip from the Soviet Union to Japan. I was struck by its myriads of people. This amorphous mass of men, with age-old monuments of human power, beauty, and glory; with its helpless, undefended welter of misery and toil, has an organization of life and impenetrable will to survive that neither imperial tyranny, nor industrial exploitation, nor famine, starvation, and pestilence can kill— it is eternal life, facing disaster and triumphing imperturbably.

There passed a glory from the earth when Imperial China fell. Built as it was on skulls, it was bravely built and the remains are magnificent. In all essential respects they surpass the Stones of Europe. Where Europe counts its years in hundreds, Asia counts its in thousands. There is absent that all too apparent European effort to dramatize and exaggerate the past; to emphasize war and personal glory. China shows a finer effort to let the past stand silent, frank, and unadorned; to tell the truth simply about men and fully; and to record the triumphs of education, family life and literature far more than murder.

I write this standing on the Great Wall of China, with twenty-three centuries beneath my feet. The purple crags of Manchuria lie beyond the valley, while behind are the yellow and brown mountains of China. For seventy cents I have been carried up on the shoulders of four men and down again. And here I stand on what has been called the only work of man visible from Mars. It is no mud fence or pile of cobbles. It surpasses that mighty bastion of Constantinople, which for so many centuries saved Mediterranean civilization from German barbarism. This is a wall of carefully cut stone, fitted and laid with perfect matching and eternal mortar, from twenty to fifty feet high and 2,500 miles long; built by a million men, castellated with perfect brick, and standing mute and immutable for more than two thousand years. Such is China.

Shanghai was an epitome of the racial strife, the economic struggle, the human paradox of modern life. Here is the greatest city of the most populous nation on earth, with the large part of it owned, governed and policed by foreign nations.

49-9-34

With Europe largely controlling its capital, commerce, mines, rivers and manufactures; with a vast welter of the greatest working class in the world, paid less than an average of twenty-five cents a day; with a glittering modern life of skyscrapers, majestic hotels, theatres and night clubs. In this city of nations are 19,000 Japanese, 11,000 British, 10,000 Russians, 4,000 Americans, and 10,000 foreigners of other nationality living in the midst of 3,000,000 Chinese. The city is divided openly by nations; black-bearded Sikhs under British orders police its streets, foreign warships sit calmly at her wharfs; foreigners tell this city what it may and may not do.

Even at that, matters are not as bad as they once were. In 1936, foreigners acknowledge that Chinese have some rights in China. Chinese who can afford it may even visit the city race track from which they and dogs were long excluded. It is not common now to kick a coolie or throw a rickshaw's fare on the ground. Yet, yesterday afternoon I saw a little English boy of perhaps four years, order three Chinese children out of his imperial way on the sidewalk of the Bund; and they meekly obeyed and walked in the gutter. It looked quite like Mississippi. And, too, I met a "missionary" from Mississippi, teaching in the Baptist University of Shanghai!

I went by invitation to the American-supported University of Shanghai and I said to the President that I should like to talk to a group of Chinese and discuss frankly racial and social matters. He arranged a luncheon at the Chinese Banker's Club. There were present one of the editors of the China press, the Secretary-General of the Bank of China, the General Manager of the China Publishing Company, the Director of the Chinese Schools for Shanghai, and the Executive Secretary of the China Institute of International Relations.

We talked nearly three hours. I plunged in recklessly. I told them of my slave ancestors, of my education and travels. Of the Negro problem. Then I turned on them and said," How far do you think Europe can continue to dominate the world, or how far do you envisage a world whose spiritual center is Asia and the colored races?

You have escaped from the domination of Europe politically since the World War-- at least in part; but how do you propose to escape from the domination of European capital? How are your working classes progressing? Why is it that you hate Japan more than Europe when you have suffered more from England, France, and Germany than from Japan?"

There ensued a considerable silence, in which I joined. Then we talked. They said, "Asia is still under the spell of Europe, although not as completely as a while back. It is not our ideal simply to ape Europe. We know little of India or Africa, or Africa in America. We see the danger of European capital and are slowly extricating ourselves, by seeking to establish control of capital by the political power of taxation and regulation. We have stabilised our currency-- no longer do English Hong Kong notes form our chief circulating medium. Our wages are too low but slowly rising; labor legislation is appearing; we have 16,000,000 million children in school with short terms and inadequate equipment, but a beginning of the fight against our ninety percent illiteracy."

We talked three hours but it was near a quarter of a century before I realised how much we did not say. The Soviet Union was scarcely mentioned, although I knew how the Soviet Union was teaching the Chinese in 1926. Nothing was said of the Long March which had just ended its 6000 miles from Kiangsi to Yunnan, led by Mao Tse-Tung and Chu Teh. We mentioned America only for its benefactions and scarcely for its exploitation. Of the Kuo ming tang and Chiang Kai-Shek, almost nothing was said, but hatred of Japan for its betrayal of Asia was amply pointed out.

In 1939 I came again to China. I wanted to re-visit China because it is a land of colored people; and again because in 1946 China had officially invited me to visit and lecture, but the United States had refused to permit me. The passport which I received in 1939, stated that it was " not good for travel to China." It was a fair conclusion that if I did not use this passport to secure entrance to China and made no claim on the United States for protection, the State Department

49-9-36

had no legal right to forbid me to visit China. Certainly the United States could give me no less protection in China than it could in Mississippi. On the other hand by legal fiction, the United States was still "at war" with China, since the Korean War had never been legally finished. It was possible then if I went to China, to jail me for "Trading with the Enemy". This risk I thought it my duty to take, since my invitation to visit had been renewed by the cultural minister, Kuo Mo-jo and by Madame Soong Ching-ling.

I left Moscow February ninth and returned April sixth. It was the most fascinating ten weeks of travel and sight-seeing I have ever experienced. We remember Peking; a city of six million; its hard workers, its building and re-building; that great avenue which passes the former forbidden city, and is as wide as Central Park; the bicycles and pedicycles, the carts and barrows. There was the University where I lectured on Africa, and a college of the fifty or more races of China. We looked out from our hotel window at the workers. They all were raincoats beneath the drizzle. We saw the planning of a nation and a system of work rising over the entrails of dead empire.

I have traveled widely on this earth since my first trip to Europe 67 years ago. Save South America and India, I have seen most of the civilized world and much of its backward regions. Many leading nations I have visited repeatedly. But I have never seen a nation which so amazed and touched me as China in 1959.

I travelled 5,000 miles, by railway, boat, plane and auto. I saw all the great cities: Peking, Shanghai, Hankow and its sisters; Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming and Nanking. I rode its vast rivers, passed through its villages and sat in its communes. I visited its schools and colleges, lectured and broadcast to the world. I visited its minority groups. I spent four hours with Mao Tse-tung and dined twice with Chou En-lai, the tireless Prime Minister of this Nation of 680 million souls.

We came to Chang-Ta. We ride about this farthest Western stopping place, close to the crowds and the workers and the homes, old and new. We visit a commune

of 60,000 members. We climb the mountain to see irrigation being widened today, yet started two thousand two hundred years ago. There is a glorious temple on its summit, and below a wide lake between winding roads. Four rivers roll down from the Himalayas, out of Tibet into the Yangtze.

Then we fly to Kunming, the end of the American Burma road. It is warm and quiet, and at the state school, the minorities dance and sing welcome, and among them are Tibetans. There are more Tibetans in China, than in Tibet. In Tibet while we were on its border in Szechwan, the landholders and slave drivers and the religious fanatics revolted against the Chinese, and failed as they deserved to. Tibet has belonged to China for centuries. The Communists linked the two by roads and began reforms in land holding, schools and trade, which now move quickly. At Kunming we were at the end of the Burma road and near the great Mekong river. Below lay Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. The nest of grafters, whoremongers and gamblers at Saigon, helped by Americans, have broken the Geneva treaty which closed the French Indo-Chinese War, and are attacking the Communists. That is called "Communist Aggression." It is the attempt of American business and the American navy to supplant France as colonial ruler in Southeast Asia.

There is at Canton a marble commercial building where the import and export exposition was recently opened. There are five floors of exhibits. I am convinced that America cannot make anything which is not today being made by China, or which cannot be made cheaper, and for the most part made quite as well; for out of the things that China makes comes no profits for private exploiters. Most nations of the world are beginning to buy China's goods, except the United States. China sells increasingly to Europe, to Asia and South America; to India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and Malaya; to Africa and the West Indies; to Australia and New Zealand. And such goods; silk and woolen clothing, watches, clocks, radios and television sets; locos, machinery and lamps, shoes and hats, pottery and dishes. All Chinese seem to be at work, and not afraid of unemployment, and welcoming every suggestion that displaces muscle with machinery.

49-9-38

In every town and city, we went to the opera, and can never forget the assault of the Monkey King on the hosts of Heaven, facing God and the angels. A night sleeping train took us over the thirty-hour trip from Peking to Hankow. There I saw the bridge that had been miraculously thrown across the Yangtse. We rested in a little hotel adorned with flowering cabbages. We visited the great steel mills and shook hands with welcoming workers. The colored American prisoner of war who stayed in China rather than return to America and is happy with his wife and baby, came to visit us.

My birthday was given National notice in China, and celebrated as never before; and we whom all our lives have been liable to insult and discrimination on account of our race and color, in China have met universal good will and love, such as we never expected. As we leave may we thank them humbly for all they have done for us, and for teaching us what Communism means.

The people of the land I saw: the workers, the factory hands, the farmers and laborers, scrubwomen and servants. I went to parks and restaurants, sat in the homes of the high and the low; and always I saw a happy people; people with faith that needs no church nor priest, and who laughs gaily when the Monkey King overthrows the angels.

In all my wandering, I never felt the touch or breath of insult or even dislike -- I who for 90 years in America scarcely ever saw a day without some expression of hate for "niggers."

What is the secret of China in the second half of the 20th century? It is that the vast majority of a billion human beings have been convinced that human nature in some of its darkest recesses can be changed, if change is necessary. China knows, as no other people know, to what depths human meanness can go. I used to weep for American Negroes, as I saw what indignities and repressions and cruelties they had passed; but as I read Chinese history in these last months and had it explained to me stripped of Anglo-Saxon lies, I knew that no depths of Negro slavery in America have plumbed such abysses as the Chinese have seen for 2,000 years and more. They have seen starvation and murder; rape and prostitution;

49-9-39

sale and slavery of children; and religion cloaked in opium and gin, for converting the "heathen". This opression and contempt came not only from Tartars, Mongolians, British, French, Germans and Americans, but from the Chinese themselves: Mandarins and warlords, capitalists and murdering thieves like Chiang Kai-shek; Kuomintang socialists and intellectuals educated abroad.

Despite all this, China lives, and has been transformed and marches on. She is not ignored by the United States. She ignores the United States and leaps forward. What did it? What furnished the motive power and how was it applied? First it was the belief in himself and in his people by a man like Sun Yat-sen. He plunged on blind and unaided, repulsed by Britain and America, but welcomed by Russia. Then efforts toward socialism, which wobbled forward, erred and lost, and at last was bribed by America and Britain and betrayed by Chiang Kai-shek, with its leaders murdered and its aims misunderstood, when not deliberately lied about.

Then came the Long March from feudalism, past capitalism and socialism to communism in our day. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and a half dozen others undertook to lead a nation by example, by starving and fighting; by infinite patience and above all by making a nation believe that the people and not merely the elite-- that on the contrary the workers in factory, street and field, composed the real nation. Others have said this often, but no nation has tried it like the Soviet Union and China. And on the staggering and bitter effort of the Soviets, beleagured by all Western civilization, and yet far-seeing enough to help weaker China even before a still weak Russia was safe-- on this vast pyramid has arisen the saving nation of this stumbling, murdering, hating world.

In China the people -- the laboring people, the people who in most lands are the doormats on which the reigning thieves and murdering rulers walk, leading their painted and jeweled prostitutes-- the people walk and toast. These people of the slums and gutters and kitchens are the Chinese nation today. This the Chinese believe and on this belief they toil and sweat and cheer.

They believe this and for the last ten years their belief has been strengthened until today they follow their leaders because these leaders have never deceived them.

49-9-40

Their officials are incorruptible, their merchants are honest, their artisans are reliable, their workers who dig and haul and lift do an honest days work and even work overtime if their state asks it, for they are the State; they are China.

A kindergarten, meeting in the once Forbidden City, was shown the magnificence of this palace and told: "Your fathers built this, but did not enjoy it; but now it is yours; preserve it." And then, pointing across the Tien ah Men square to the vast building of the new Halls of Assembly, the speaker added: "Your fathers are building new palaces for you; enjoy them and guard them for yourselves and your children. They belong to you!"

China has no rank nor classes; her universities grant no degrees; her government awards no medals. She has no blue book of "society". But she has leaders of learning and genius, scientists of renown, artisans of skill and millions who know and believe this and follow where these men lead. This is the joy of this nation, its high belief and its unfaltering hope.

China is no utopia. Fifth Avenue has better shops where the rich can buy and the whores parade. Detroit has more and better cars. The best American housing outstrips the Chinese, and Chinese women are not nearly as well-dressed as the guests of the Waldorf-Astoria. But the Chinese worker is happy. He has exorcised the Great Fear that haunts the West; the fear of losing his job; the fear of falling sick; the fear of accident; the fear of inability to educate his children; the fear of daring to take a vacation. To guard against such catastrophe Americans skimp and save, cheat and steal, gamble and arm for murder. The Soviet citizen, the Czech, the Pole, the Hungarian have kicked out the stooges of America and the hoodlums set to exploit the peasants. They and the East Germans no longer fear these disasters; and above all the Chinese sit high above these fears and laugh with joy. They will not be rich in old age, but they will eat. They will not enjoy sickness but they will be given care. They will not starve as thousands of Chinese did only a generation ago. They fear neither flood nor epidemic. They do not even fear war, as Mao Tse-tung told me, war for China is a "Paper Tiger." China can defend itself and back of China stands the unassailable might of the Soviet Union.

Envy and class hate are disappearing in China. Does your neighbor have better pay and higher position than you? He has this because of greater ability or better education, and more education is open to you and compulsory for your children. The young married couple do not fear children. The mother has pre-natal care. Her wage and job are safe. Nursery and kindergarten take care of the child and it is welcome, not to pampered luxury but to good food, constant medical care and education for his highest ability. All this is not yet perfect. Here and there it fails, falls short and falters; but it is so often and so widely true, that China believes, lives on realized hope, follows its leaders and sings:

"O, Mourner, get up offa your knees."

The women of China are becoming free. They wear pants so that they can walk, climb and dig; and climb and dig they do. They are not dressed simply for sex indulgence or beauty parades. They occupy positions from ministers of state to locomotive engineers, lawyers, doctors, clerks, and laborers. They are escaping "household drudgery"; they are strong and healthy and beautiful not simply of leg and false bosom, but of brain, brawn, and rich emotion. In Wuhan I stood in one of the greatest steelworks of the world. A crane which moved a hundred tons loomed above. I said, "My God, Shirley, look up there!" Alone in the engine-room sat a girl with ribboned braids, running the vast machine.

You won't believe this, because you never saw anything like it; and if the State Department has its way, you never will. Let "Life" lie about communes; and the State Department shed crocodile tears over ancestral tombs. Let Hong Kong wire its lies abroad. Let "Divine Slavery" persist in Tibet until China kills it. The truth is there and I saw it.

Fifteen times I have crossed the Atlantic and once the Pacific. I have seen the world. But never so vast and glorious a miracle as China. This monster is a nation with a dark-tinted billion born at the beginning of time, and facing its end; this struggle from starved degradation and murder and suffering to the triumph of that Long March to world leadership. Oh beautiful, patient, self sacrificing China, despised and unforgettable, victorious and forgiving, crucified and risen from the dead.

24-6-64

49-9-43

COMMUNISM

I HAVE STUDIED SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM LONG AND CAREFULLY IN LANDS WHERE THEY ARE PRACTICED: IN CONVERSATION WITH THEIR ADHERENTS, AND WITH WIDE READING. I NOW STATE MY CONCLUSION FRANKLY AND CLEARLY: I BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM. I MEAN BY COMMUNISM, A PLANNED WAY OF LIFE IN THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH AND WORK DESIGNED FOR BUILDING A STATE WHOSE OBJECT IS THE HIGHEST WELFARE OF ITS PEOPLE AND NOT MERELY THE PROFIT OF A PART. I BELIEVE THAT ALL MEN SHOULD BE EMPLOYED ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY AND THAT WEALTH AND SERVICES SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO NEED. ONCE I THOUGHT THAT THESE ENDS COULD BE ATTAINED UNDER CAPITALISM, PRIVATELY OWNED, AND USED IN ACCORD WITH FREE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE. AFTER EARNEST OBSERVATION I NOW BELIEVE THAT PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL AND FREE ENTERPRISE ARE LEADING THE WORLD TO DISASTER. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SO-CALLED "PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM" HAS IN THE UNITED STATES OR ANYWHERE REPLACED THE ILLS OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM AND SHOWN AN ANSWER TO SOCIALISM. THE CORPORATION IS BUT THE LEGAL MASK BEHIND WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL OWNER OF WEALTH HIDES. THE LABOR UNION TODAY REPRESENTS CAPITAL AS OFTEN AS LABOR AND USUALLY SHARES THE PROFITS OF EXPLOITATION. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES HAS ALMOST CEASED TO FUNCTION. A FOURTH OF THE ADULTS ARE DISFRANCHISED, HALF THE LEGAL VOTERS DO NOT GO TO THE POLLS. WE ARE RULED BY THOSE WHO CONTROL WEALTH AND WHO BY THAT POWER BUY OR COERCE PUBLIC OPINION.

I RESENT THE CHARGE THAT COMMUNISM IS A CONSPIRACY: COMMUNISM OFTEN CONSPIRES AS DO CAPITALISTS: BUT IT IS FALSE THAT ALL COMMUNISTS ARE CRIMINALS AND THAT COMMUNISM SPEAKS AND EXISTS MAINLY BY MEANS OF FORCE AND FRAUD.. I SHALL THEREFORE HEREAFTER HELP THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM IN EVERY HONEST WAY THAT I CAN: WITHOUT DECEIT OR HURT: AND IF ANY WAY POSSIBLE, WITHOUT WAR; AND WITH GOODWILL TO ALL MEN OF ALL COLORS, CLASSES, AND CREEDS. IF BECAUSE OF THIS BELIEF AND SUCH ACTION, I BECOME THE VICTIM OF ATTACK AND CALUMNY, I WILL REACT IN THE WAY THAT SEEMS TO ME BEST FOR THE WORLD IN WHICH I LIVE AND

49-9-44

~~LIVE AND~~ WHICH I HAVE TRIED EARNESTLY TO SERVE. I KNOW WELL THAT THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM WILL BE A SLOW AND DIFFICULT TASK, INVOLVING MISTAKES OF EVERY SORT. IT WILL CALL FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE IN HUMAN NATURE AND A BETTER TYPE OF MANHOOD THAN IS COMMON TODAY. I BELIEVE THIS POSSIBLE, OR OTHERWISE WE WILL CONTINUE TO LIE, STEAL AND KILL AS WE ARE DOING TODAY.

WHO NOW AM I WHO HAVE COME TO THESE CONCLUSIONS? AND OF WHAT IF ANY SIGNIFICANCE ARE MY DEDUCTIONS? WHAT HAS BEEN MY LIFE AND WORK AND OF WHAT MEANING TO MANKIND? THE FINAL ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS, TIME AND POSTERITY MUST MAKE. BUT PERHAPS IT IS MY DUTY TO CONTRIBUTE WHATEVER ENLIGHTENMENT I CAN. THIS IS THE EXCUSE FOR THIS WRITING WHICH I CALL A SOLILOQUY.

A MAN'S MEMORY AND EXPLANATION OF HIMSELF IS NEVER FINAL AUTHORITY: NOR ABOUT OTHER PERSONS, WHAT THEY THINK AND FEEL: AND ABOUT WHICH ONE OFTEN HAS NEITHER HEARD NOR UNDERSTOOD. AMID SUCH INEVITABLE DIFFICULTIES I WILL ATTEMPT TO REVIEW MY LIFE AS FRANKLY AND FAIRLY AS I CAN.

49-9-45

CHAPTER VI

MY BIRTH AND FAMILY

I was born by a golden river and in the shadow of two great hills, five years after the Emancipation Proclamation, which began the freeing of American Negro slaves. The valley was wreathed in grass and trees and crowned to the eastward by the huge bulk of East Mountain, with crag and cave and dark forests. Westward the hill was gentler, rolling up to gorgeous sunsets and cloud-swept storms. The town of Great Barrington, which lay between these mountains (in Berkshire County, western Massachusetts), had a broad Main street, lined with maples and elms, with white picket fences before the homes. The climate was to our thought quite perfect.

In 1868 on the day after the birth of George Washington was celebrated, I was born on Church street, which branched east from Main in midtown. The year of my birth was the year that the freedmen of the South were enfranchised, and for the first time as a mass took part in government. Conventions with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South, and two groups of laborers—— freed slaves and poor whites —— dominated the former slave states. It was an extraordinary experiment in democracy. Thaddeus Stevens, the clearest-headed leader of this attempt at industrial democracy, made his last speech, impeaching Andrew Johnson on February 16, and on February 23rd, I was born.

The house of my birth was quaint, with clapboards running up and down, neatly trimmed; there were five rooms, a tiny porch, a rosy front yard, and unbelievably delicious strawberries in the rear. A South Carolinian, lately come to the Berkshire Hills, owned all this—— tall, thin and black, with golden earrings, and given to religious trances. Here my mother, Mary Burghardt, and my father, Alfred Du Bois, came to live temporarily after their marriage ceremony in the village of Housatonic, which adjoined Great Barrington on the north. Then after a few years my father went east into Connecticut to build a life and home for mother and me. We meantime went to live on the lands of my mother's clan on South Egremont plain in the southern part of our town.

49-9-46

The black Burghardts were a group of African Negroes descended from Tom, who was born in West Africa about 1780. He was stolen by Dutch slave traders and brought to the Valley of the Hudson as a small child. Legally, Tom was not a slave, but practically, by the custom of the day, he grew up as either slave or serf, and in the service of the Burghardts, a white family of Dutch descent. Early in the Eighteenth century, "Coonraet Borghardt" and Tom came east from the Hudson Valley and settled in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, which was described as a "howling wilderness". When the Revolutionary War broke out, Tom Burghardt "appears with the rank of private on the muster and payroll of Captain John Speers company, Colonel John Ashley's Berkshire county regiment."

Tom "was reported a Negro". He enlisted to serve for three years; but how long or where he served the records do not show. At any rate this war service definitely freed him and his family from slavery; and later the Bill of Rights of 1780 declared all slaves in Massachusetts free.

Tom's mother or wife was a little black Bantu woman, who never became reconciled to this strange land; she clasped her knees and rocked and crooned:

"Do bama coba— gene me, gene me;
Bem d' mali, bem d' le—"

The song came down the years and I heard it sung at my grandfather's fireside. Tom died about 1787, but of him came many sons; one Jack, who took part in Shay's rebellion; and a daughter named Nancy Pratt. Jack is said to have married the celebrated Mum Bett as his first wife. Violet was Jack's second wife, and from these two were born a mighty family, splendidly named: Marlow and Ira, Chloe, Lucinda, Maria and Othello!

These Burghardts lived on South Egremont plain for near two hundred years. The last piece of their land was bought from a cousin of mine and given to me in 1930 by a group of friends. Among them were Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, Mrs. Jacob Schiff and Moorfield Storey. I planned eventually to make it my country home, but the old home was dilapidated; the boundaries of the land had been encroached upon by neighbors, and the cost of restoration was beyond my means. I sold it in 1933.

Here in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the black Burghardts lived. I remember three of these houses and a small pond. These were homes of Harlow and Ira; and of my own grandfather, Othello, which he had inherited from his sister Luzinda. There were twenty-one persons in these three families by the Census of 1850. Here as farmers they long earned a comfortable living, consorting usually with each other, but also with some of their white neighbors.

The living to be earned on the farms gradually became less satisfying, and the group began to disintegrate; some went to the Connecticut Valley; some went West; many moved to town and city and found work as laborers and servants. Usually their children went to school long enough to learn to read and write, but few went further. I was the first of the clan to finish high school .

Work for black folk which would lead to a more prosperous future was not easy to come by. Just why this was so it is difficult to say; it was not solely race prejudice, although this played its part; it was lack of training and understanding, reluctance to venture into unknown surroundings, and fear of a land still strange to family mores which pictured travel as disaster. In my family, I remember farmers, barbers, waiters, cooks, housemaids and laborers. In these callings a few prospered. My cousins, the Crispels of West Stockbridge, owned one of the best homes in town, and had the only barber shop; my Uncle Jim long had a paying barber business in Amherst; several hotel cooks and waiters were in charge of dining rooms, did well and were held in esteem; a cousin in Lenox was a sexton in the most prominent church, and his wife and four daughters ran an exclusive laundry; the family was well-to-do, but they worked hard and unceasingly. Few of my folk entered the trades or went into mercantile business or the professions. My cousin Ned Gardner, a nice-looking and well bred man, worked his whole life at the Berkshire Hotel; honest, prompt, courteous; but he died a waiter. One uncle became the lifelong servant of the Kellog family, and the legend was that his unpaid wages kept that family from suffering until one daughter married the Hopkins who helped build the Pacific Railroad. She was left a rich widow and

49 - 9-48

returned to Great Barrington in 1880. This circumstance helped me enter the profession of teaching.

My mother's ancestral home on Egremont Plain, the house of my grandfather, Othello, one of three farming brothers, was sturdy, small and old-fashioned. There was a great fireplace, whose wrought-iron tongs stand now before my fireplace as I write. My immediate family, which I remember as a young child, consisted of a very dark grandfather, Othello Burghardt. I dimly remember him, "Uncle Tallow," strong-voiced and redolent with tobacco, who sat stiffly in a great high chair beside the open fire, because his hip was broken. He was good-natured but not energetic. The energy was in my grandmother, Sally, a thin, tall, yellow and hawk-faced woman, certainly beautiful in her youth, and efficient and managing in her age. She had Dutch and perhaps Indian blood, but the rest of the family were black.

Othello and Aunt Sally had ten or more children. Many of these had moved away before I was old enough to know them; but I remember my Aunt Lucinda, who married a Gardner, and after his death a Jackson; then my Aunt Minerva, whose married name was Newport. The youngest children were my uncle Jim and my mother, Mary Sylvina. She was born in 1851, and died in 1885, at the age of fifty-four years. Mother was dark shining bronze, with smooth skin and lovely eyes; there was a tiny ripple in her black hair, and she had a heavy, kind face. She gave one the impression of infinite patience, but a curious determination was concealed in her softness.

As a young woman she had a son, Idelbert, born of a love affair between her and her first cousin, John Burghardt. The circumstances of this romance I never knew. No one talked of it in the family. Probably the mating was broken up on account of the consanguinity of the cousins. My mother became a silent, repressed woman, working at household duties at home, helping now and then in the neighbors' homes', and finally going into the town where her married sisters lived and where she worked as a housemaid. When she was 35, Alfred Du Bois came to town.

44-6-44

In the early seventeenth century, two French Huguenots, sons of Crétian Du Bois, migrated from Flanders to America. Perhaps a third son who spelled his name Du Bose went South. Louis and Jacques Du Bois settled in Ulster county, New York State. They were in all probability artisans descended from peasants; but the white American family declares they were aristocrats, and has found a coat of arms which they say belongs to them.

From Jacques in the fifth generation was descended James Du Bois, born about 1750, who became a physician in Poughkeepsie, New York State, and migrated to the Bahamas. Lord Dunmore, Governor of New York and later of Virginia and the Bahamas, had given grants of land to various members of the Du Bois family, who were loyalists, and young Dr. James Du Bois went to the Bahamas soon after the Revolution and took over several plantations and one lake of salt which still bears his name. He prospered after some visissitudes, and founded a family.

Whether, as is probable, he took a slave as a consubine, or married a free Negro woman---] in either case two sons were born, my grandfather Alexander in 1803 and a younger brother, John. After their mother's death, Dr. James Du Bois brought both boys to New York in 1810. Both were white enough to "pass", and their father entered them in the private Cheshire School in Connecticut. He visited them regularly, but on one visit, about 1820, he suddenly fell dead.

49-9-50

The white New York family removed the boys from school and took charge of their father's property. My grandfather was apprenticed to a shoemaker. Just what happened to John, I do not know. Probably he continued as white and his descendants, if any, know nothing of their colored ancestry. Alexander was of stern character. His movements between 1820 and 1840 are not clear. As the son of a "gentleman", with the beginnings of a gentleman's education, he refused to become a shoemaker and went to Haiti at the age of perhaps eighteen. Boyer had become President just after the suicide of Christophe, and held power until 1843, bringing the whole island under his control and making a costly peace with France.

Of grandfather's life in Haiti from about 1821 to 1830, I know few details. From his eighteenth to his twenty-seventh year he formed acquaintanceships,

earned a living, married and had a son, my father, Alfred, born in 1825. I do not know what work grandfather did, but probably he ran a plantation and engaged in the growing shipping trade to the United States. Whom he married I do not know, nor her relatives. He may have married into the family of Elie Du Bois, the great Haitian educator. Also why he left Haiti in 1830 is not clear. It may have been because of the threat of war with France during the Revolution of 1830 and the fall of Charles X.

England soon recognised the independence of Haiti; but the United States while recognizing South American republics which Haiti had helped to free, refused to recognize a Negro nation. Because of this turmoil, grandfather may have lost faith in the possibility of real independence for Haiti. Again trade with the United States was at this period exceeding the trade of England or France and amounting to more than a million dollars a year. This trade was carried on with Northern cities like New Haven, but it was also demanded by the rapidly growing Cotton Kingdom in the South. Also, perhaps domestic difficulties with his wife's family and over family property may have arisen. For any or all of these reasons my grandfather left Haiti and settled with his son, now five years of age, in New Haven.

He arrived from the West Indies at a critical time: Walker had published his bitter "Appeal" to Negroes against submission to slavery, in 1829; Nat Turner led his bloody Virginia slave revolt in 1831; slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834; the revolting slaves of the ship "Amistad" landed in Connecticut in 1839, and their trial took place in New Haven. Riots against Negroes occurred in New England cities, in New York and Philadelphia in this decade, and Negroes held conventions in Philadelphia. Among other things these Negroes determined to build and industrial college in New Haven, and later Prudence Crandall tried there to let Negro girls enter her seminary, to the disgust of the whites. In New Haven the Abolitionists Joselyn and Tappan worked, and here Garrison visited.

In New Haven my grandfather settled. He opened a grocery store at 45 Washington Street. The color line was sharp in New Haven and abolitionists were stirring up dissention. In Trinity parish of the Episcopal church were a few colored

communicants, including my grandfather. But the rector, Harry Croswell, was reactionary and openly condemned the abolition movement. Soon the colored communicants of Trinity were given to understand that they would be happier in their own racial church. Alexander Crummel, the great Negro priest, encouraged this move, and the example of Amos Beman who was building the Temple Street Negro Congregational Church, made the move inevitable.

This must have infuriated my grandfather, and yet his very pride drove him into joining this segregated church. He was made treasurer probably because he owned property; eventually he became the first senior warden of St. Luke's, as this "jim-crow" church was called. It still exists. Also, he and certain other Negroes with property were permitted to buy lots at the rear of the new Grove Street Cemetery, opposite the Yale campus. Years later when this cemetery was enlarged, those Negro lots lay on the center path. Here my grandfather lies buried and here I shall one day lie.

Alexander, in addition to his grocery, now became steward on the passenger boat which ran between New Haven and New York. Here he reformed the treatment of the servants, kept the boats in first-class order, and achieved a degree of independence. He was in charge of repairing and hiring. He had charge of the workers and saw to it that the Negro servants were served their meals regularly at a table. But race segregation in New Haven and New York was growing, and grandfather, after a time, determined that Springfield, Massachusetts, offered a better place for him and his family to live. In 1856 he removed to Springfield. He bought a farm not far from the city, down the Connecticut river, and established his family in the city of Springfield. He spent the winters there, but in Spring and Summer kept his stewardship of the New York-New Haven boats. He lived well: "bought a silk vest at Laws Clothing Store for $6.75"... "Had a few invited guests at supper, one-half past six o'clock, champagne, a rather poor quality from Webster's"... "dedication ball at city hall." He joined the white Episcopal church and notes attendance at lectures. "Finished reading Shakespeare's 'Othello'", he writes one day.

Suddenly, in late May 1861, my grandfather took a trip to Haiti. This may have been caused by the imminence of the Civil War. Perhaps he had just lost an American wife.

49-9-52

In March, eleven American slave states had seceded and formed the Confederacy. In April, Southern ports were blockaded, and on May 14, Lee became Brigadier-General. The relation of colored folk to the war was uncertain, and my father, Alfred, was eligible for drafting. The future of colored folks in the United States was a problem; then, too, the rector of St. Lukes' was Theodore Holly, who early in 1861 had led a migration of Negroes to Haiti, and painted a future for them there. It is possible also that grandfather was seeking property either of his father, Dr. James Du Bois, in the Bahamas, which was but a few hundred miles north from Haiti; or, perhaps, especially in Long Key, his birthplace; or from the family of his former Haitian wife. But he was a reticent man, and even his diary is silent on the most important points.

¶ "THURSDAY, MAY 9

Have thoughts of leaving the vessel, but want resolution to do so. Wrote to friends we should sail on Friday the 10th. Feel ashamed to back out, will wait a day or two longer but feel like one rushing on his fate. If God forsakes me, I am undone forever. 'There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew as we will.'

¶ "MAY 15

Sun rose clear, wind west. Hove anchor, got under way 20 minutes past six o'clock. God speed the ship, and grant me deliverance from my enemy that I may conquer before I die."

(Who was this enemy? The whits Du Boises? The colored Haitians?)

¶ On his lonely trip grandfather writes poetry, not very good, but indicating deep emotions. On May 13:

> "A single soul, One! Only one!
> Of all I know or ever knew
> My star by night, by day the sun
> Now guide my bark, now bound my view."

Not poetry 47

49-9-53

"It may be right, perchance tis wrong
To love without the priestly ken,
Such things are often known among
The disappointed Sons of Men."

"Bodies may be joined together
By priestly craft and laws, so strong
In vain you try the bonds to sever
Yet love in laughter breaks the thong."

(Was grandfather confessing desertion of his Haitian wife (whom he had not married) and excusing his marriages in the United States?)

"MONDAY, JUNE 5,

Landed in Port Au Prince, took board at Mr. Fredd's, Rue Casernes; rain clearing; mosquitoes, jackasses, Negroes, mud water, soldiers, universal filth.

"Saw emigrants at the emigrant house in a condition that if not changed soon will send many to the grave. Poor men and women, I am sorry, heart sorry for them. They put on an air of cheerfulness, which I am satisfied there is not one of them, but would give all they had in the world if they could stand where I did a few weeks ago."

Boyer had ruled Haiti. He had united the whole island under Haitian rule and had finally made peace with France, albeit on almost fatal terms. Four Presidents succeeded in the next four years; and then for ten years came the Emperor Faustin, who had been the slave Soulouque. The regime had an impressive magnificence, but was an economic failure.

49-9-54

The empire was overthrown in 1859 and Geffrard, a progressive and hard-working man, became President, from 1859 to 1867. He promoted education and industry and tried to cooperate with American abolitionists and colored leaders like Holly in encouraging the immigration of American Negroes. It was under Geffrard that my grandfather arrived. He "saw the President, Baron Dennis, August Elie; invited me to take passage in government steamer to St. Mark." It was in the vicinity of St. Mark that he had resided when he formerly lived in Haiti, and here his son Alfred had been born. Perhaps here were his strongest ties to Haiti. He stayed from June 4 to June 9. He says no word of what he did or whom he saw.

We only know that on June 10 he was bound home on a British steamer "just eight days after I went ashore; I felt happy to arrive. I am more than happy to leave."

The ship loaded 6,000 tons of salt, the commodity which was the basis of Alexander's father's wealth, but Alexander does not mention the fact; nor apparently does he stop at Long Key where he himself was born. He is silent until Monday, June 24, when he lands in the United States. It is possible that in Haiti, he received funds which gave him greater independence, or again it may be that he had left Alfred in Haiti, when he left in 1850, that his wife had died and that on 1861 he returned to get his son and bring him to America. This is conjecture.

Soon after returning he seems to have given up his New Haven work and connections and taken up a new career in Springfield, Massachusetts, where he had been living for some time. On July 12, 1861, "Du Bois and Thomas rented a shop on Main Street of W. W. Parsons at $150 a year."

I saw grandfather but once when I was 15 and he 77. Always he held his head high, took no insults, made few friends. He was not a "Negro"; he was a man! Yet the current was too strong even for him. Then even more than now a colored man had colored friends or none at all, lived in a colored world or lived alone. A few fine, strong, black men gained the heart of this silent, bitter man in New York and New Haven. If he had scant sympathy with their social clannishness, he was with them fighting discrimination.

Beneath his sternness was a very human man. Slyly he wrote poetry,—stilted, pleading things from a soul astray. He loved women in his masterful way, marrying after his Haitian experience three beautiful wives in succession, in the United States, clinging to each with a certain desperate, even if unsympathetic affection. As a father he was, naturally a failure,—hard, domineering, unyielding. His four children reacted characteristically: one was until past middle life a thin spinster, the mental image of her father; one died; one passed over into the white world, and her children's children are now white, with no knowledge of their Negro blood; the fourth, my father, bent before grandfather, but did not break—better if he had. He yielded and flared back, asked forgiveness and forgot why, became the harshly-held favorite, who ran away and rioted and roamed and loved and married my brown mother.

He arrived in Great Barrington in 1867. He was small and beautiful of face and feature, just tinted with the sun, his wavy hair chiefly revealing his kinship to Africa. In nature, I think, he was a dreamer—a romantic, indolent, kind, unreliable. He had in him the making of a poet, and adventurer, or a Beloved Vagabond, according to the life that closed round him; and that life gave him all too little.

I really know very little of my father. He had been brought from Haiti by his father. How he was schooled, I do not know. New Haven then had separate schools and all public schools were poor. Perhaps he was put into one of the better private Negro schools, which existed in New Haven at times. What he did between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five, I do not know. He probably worked and wandered here and there. There is no hint of his marrying during this time. But his picture which he gave mother showed him in the uniform of a Civil War private. How long he served or where, I do not know, nor whether he enlisted as colored or white. Connecticut raised two Negro regiments.

When my father came to Great Barrington in 1867, the black Burghardts did not like him. He was too good-looking, too white. He had apparently no property and no job, so far as they knew; and they had never heard of the Du Bois family in New York. Then suddenly in a runaway marriage, but one duly attested and published in the Berkshire Courier, Alfred married Mary Burghardt and they went to live in the house of Jefferson Mc Kinley. Here they lived for a year or two and against them the black Burghardt family carried on a more or less open feud, until my birth.

I was of great interest to the whole town. The whites waited to see "when my hair was going to curl," and all my Burghardt relatives admired me extravagantly. They still looked askance at my father and he was not attracted by them. There loomed the question as to where we were going to live and what my father was going to do for a living. He must have had some money on hand when he came, and he recoiled from grandfather Burghardt's home where Mary and her baby were expected eventually to live. After a year or more of hesitation, father went away to establish a home for his family. He would write for mother to come. Mother and I went to live on

49-9-56

Egremont Plain with the Burghardts. In a few months father wrote from New Milford, a small town in Connecticut about 40 miles south of Great Barrington on the Housatonic river. Mother hesitated. She had seldom been out of her home town. Once as a girl she had taken an excursion to New York. The family objected to her leaving and expressed more and more doubt as to father. The result was in the end that mother never went and my father never came back to Great Barrington. If he wrote, the letters were not delivered. I never saw him, and know not where or when he died.

My mother worried and sank into depression. The family closed about her as a protecting guardian. The town folk who knew the Burghardts took her and me into a sort of overseeing custody. We lived in simple comfort, and living was cheap. And yet as I look back I cannot see how mother accomplished what she did. Her brother and sisters, her cousins and relatives always stood by. My silent older half-brother early went to work as a waiter and was seldom home, but always he was ready to help.

My mother seldom mentioned my father. She was silent before family criticism. She uttered no word of criticism or blame. I do not remember asking much about him. Why, I am not sure; but I think that I knew instinctively that this was a subject which hurt my mother too much even to mention.

As I look back now, I can see that the little family of my mother and myself must often have been near the edge of poverty. Yet I was not hungry nor in lack of suitable clothing and shoes, nor made to feel unfortunate in company with my fellow students. That was partly because most village folk were poor or middle class. There were but few rich families. Most of my school mates belonged to families of small farmers, artisans, or shop-keepers. When special expenditures were called for, new shoes or school books, the money often came from gifts from my uncle or aunts, or less frequently from white families, long closely connected with the Burghardt's. There may have been other gifts but they were never conspicuous. I never wore cast off clothes. I never asked folk outside the family for money. Our landlord, Mrs. Cass, received no rent, I am sure, for long intervals. I think the rent was four dollars a month, and finally it was accounted for by settlement as a gift when I went to college.

We continued to live with grandfather Burghardt until I was about five, and

25-6-64

grandfather died. The family then moved into town. We lived on the Sumner estate on south Main Street, where we had rooms over what was once the stables. There was a nice wide yard and a running brook which afforded me infinite pleasure. Right opposite the front gate was the long lane leading down to the public school grounds. I suspect this nearness to school induced mother to choose this home. Then after grandmother died, we moved up to Railroad Street, right next to the station. We lived with a poor white family, kindly, but the wife was near insanity.

Soon after, my worrying mother had a paralytic stroke from which she never entirely recovered. As I remember her, she was always lame in her left leg, with a withered left hand. We always walked arm in arm. The misfortune never seemed to me to hurt us. I continued in school and had plenty to eat. Aunts and cousins did our mending and neighbors were always ready to help out. Sometimes mother went out for a day's work and people seemed to like to have her. I always went to bring her home at night and was never left alone.

We soon moved to the Cass home which I and mother occupied during my high school days. It was on Church Street and stood back of the Cass residence and next to the horse-sheds of the Congregational church, which was empty except Sunday. We occupied two rooms and a pantry on the ground floor and two bedrooms on the second half-story.

Some of these successive homes had modern conveniences; the "back house" and running water were outdoors; our heat came from stoves. Usually the houses were weatherproof and we had furniture enough for health and comfort. We had no gardens, but sometimes a border bit of land. Always after I was twelve, I had a bedchamber to myself, a luxury which I never dreamed was so rare until I was much older.

In the public schools of this town, I was trained from the age of six to sixteen, and in the town schools, churches, and general social life, I learned my patterns of living. I had, as a child, almost no experience of segregation or color discrimination. My schoolmates were invariable white; I joined quite naturally all games, excursions, church festivals; recreations like coasting, swimming, hiking and games. I was in and out of the homes of nearly all my mates, and ate and played

85-6-44

with them. I was as a boy long unconscious of color discrimination in any obvious and specific way.

I knew nevertheless that I was exceptional in appearance and that this riveted attention upon me. Less clearly, I early realized that most of the colored persons I saw, including my own folk, were poorer than the well-to-do whites; lived in humbler houses, and did not own stores. None of the colored folk I knew were so poor, drunken and slovenly as some of the lower class Americans and Irish. I did not then associate poverty or ignorance with color, but rather with lack of opportunity; or more often with lack of thrift, which was in strict accord with the philosophy of New England and of the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, much of my philosophy of the color line must have come from my family group and their friends' experience. My immediate family eventually consisted of my mother and her brother. Near to us in space and intimacy were two married aunts with older children; and a number of cousins, in various degrees removed, lived scattered through the town and county. Most of these had been small farmers, artisans, laborers and servants. With few exceptions all could read and write, but few had training beyond this. These talked of their work and experiences, of hindrances which colored people especially encountered, of better chances in other towns and cities. In this way I must have gotten indirectly a pretty clear outline of color bars which I myself did not experience. Moreover, I couldn't rationalize my own case, because I found it easy to excel most of my classmates in studies, if not in games. The secret of life and the loosing of the color bar, then, lay in excellence, in accomplishment. If others of my family, of my colored kin, had stayed in school, instead of quitting early for small jobs, they could have risen to equal whites. On this my mother quietly insisted. There was no real discrimination on account of color--it was all a matter of ability and hard work.

This philosophy saved me from conceit and vainglory by rigorous self-testing, which doubtless cloaked some half-conscious misgivings on my part. If visitors to school saw and remarked on my brown face, I waited in quiet confidence. When my turn

came, I recited glibly and usually correctly because I studied hard. Some of my mates did not care, some were stupid, some excelled, but at any rate I gave the best a hard run, and then sat back complacently.

I entered public school at about the age of five or six. For ten years I went regularly to school, from nine o'clock until noon, and one o'clock until four each day, five days a week, ten months a year. The teachers were mature women, most of them trained in State Normal Schools and invariably white American Protestants. Miss Cross, my first primary teacher, was stern and inflexible, but with an inward kindliness and sense of fairness which made her a favorite of mine; and since I was a bright boy who got his lessons, I became a favorite of hers.

The school grounds were not particularly attractive or large, and yet they were ample for the play of children at recess. A great choke-cherry tree with bared roots gave shade in the summer, and fences hemmed us in from the private homes at the side and the low meadows beyond. The primary schoolhouse was wooden, with wooden hand-made furniture, and usually pretty well crowded. The grammar and high school building was brick. We had short devotions and singing each morning and there my clear young voice brought some initial distinction.

Gradually I became conscious that in most of the school work my natural gifts and regular attendance made me rank among the best, so that my promotions were regular and expected. I look back upon my classmates with interest and sharpened memory. They were boys and girls of town and country, with a few Irish and never but once another colored child. My rapid advancement made me usually younger than my classmates, and this fact remained true in high school and at college and even when I began my life work it influenced my attitudes in many ways. I was often too young to lead in enterprises even when I was fitted to do so, but I was always advising and correcting older folk.

Of course, I was too honest with myself not to see things which dessert and even hard work did not explain or solve. I recognised ingrained difference in gift. Art Benham could draw pictures better than I; but I could express meaning in words better than he; Mike Gibbons was a perfect marble player, but dumb in Latin. I came to see and admit all this, but I hugged my own gifts and put them to test.

49-9-60

As playmate of the children I saw the homes of nearly every one. The homes I saw impressed me, but did not overwhelm me. Many were bigger than mine, with newer and shinier things, but they did not seem to differ in kind. One class of rich folk with whom I came in contact were summer boarders who made yearly incursions from New York. I think I was mostly impressed by their clothes. Outside of that there was little reason so far as I could see to envy them. The children were not very strong and rather too well dressed to have a good time playing. I think I probably surprised them more than they me, for I was easily at home with them and happy. They looked to me just like ordinary people, while my brown face and frizzled hair must have seemed strange to them.

The schools of Great Barrington were simple but good, well-taught and truant laws were enforced. I started on one school ground, and continued there until I was graduated from high school. I was seldom absent or tardy. The curriculumn was simple: reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic; grammar, geography and history. We learned the alphabet; we were drilled rigorously on the multiplication tables and we drew accurate maps. We could spell correctly and read with understanding.

19-2-44

CHAPTER VII

BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON

Great Barrington was a town of middle-class people, mostly native white Americans of English and Dutch decent. There were differences of property and income and yet all the men worked and seemed at least to be earning their living. Naturally the income was not proportioned to the effort; some men worked three hours a day and earned several thousand dollars a year; carpenters worked twelve hours a day for a dollar, and servants toiled day and night for two dollars a week. But we did not dream of a day when a man doing nothing could be a millionaire at 35, while his fellow broke back and heart and starved.

The women were housekeepers, with a few exceptions, like teachers, the postmistress, and a clerk now and then in stores like Bassett's shop for women's apparel. The ownership of property, of homes and stores, of a few mills of various sorts, was fundamental, and the basis of social prestige. Most families owned their homes. There was some inherited wealth but not in very large amounts. There were no idle rich and no outstanding "society". I dimly remember one rich old man who was apparently retired and did no work. He rode about town now and then in a carriage with a liveried coachman. I recall my astonishment when I learned that the splendid gentleman on the high front seat, with beaver hat, shining boots and gold braid, was not the owner. The owner was the little fat man crouched in the rear seat.

This, however, was exceptional. The Russell brothers, middle-aged men whom I knew quite well, went to work every day, superintending the Berkshire Woolen Mills in the upper part of town. The Whitings, an old well-to-do family, ran a drugstore, and a white Burghardt who spelled his name Burgett had the leading grocery store. The Girlings had a clothing store, and the Brewers dealt in hardware and fuel. There were two hotels; the Berkshire catered to summer visitors, chiefly from New York; the Miller House depended on local trade. There was for a time a steam bakery which turned out delicious food until the National Biscuit

49-9-62

Company swallowed it up and it disappeared. There was a bank, the Mahaiwe National.

Of course there was also the usual contradiction: while property and income were the main bases of social status, at the same time the facts concerning them were a carefully guarded secret. No one knew exactly how rich the Russells were or just what was the financial status of the Coffins and Churches. There were, of course, rumors and general estimates which were in all probability not far from the truth, but few know with any exactitude the economic status of the important persons of the town.

There was no great exhibition of wealth. The homes of the Russells, the Churches and Dr. Collins were comparatively large with perhaps eight or ten rooms and built of wood, or more rarely, of stone. There was an abundance of cheap blue granite in the neighboring mountains. Most of the homes were of wood, four to six rooms, and all of them were furnished according to a common pattern: horse-hair sofas and chairs in the "parlors", with old-fashioned wooden furniture and corner "what-nots". They were usually heated by coal stoves, one in each room. Anthracite coal, and wood from the vicinity were used. Bathrooms and indoor toilets were rare; each home had its outdoor privy, often nicely arranged.

In general living, the contrast between the well-to-do and the poor was not great. Living was cheap and there was little real poverty. Some food like local fruit was almost common property; vegetables like potatoes, navy beans and cabbage were grown in small home gardens; corned beef and chickens fetched low prices and eggs could often be raised at home; "greens" and rhubarb grew in back yards and in the Fall canning and preserving cost only the sugar. There were no flashy carriages and the social life was quite private. When the Berkshire Courier, our local weekly newspaper, made social announcements, it was usually marriages, births, and deaths, visiting relatives from out of town, and trips to New York or the West by local residents.

49-9-63

I grew up in the midst of definite ideas as to wealth and poverty, work and charity. Wealth was the result of work and saving and the rich rightly inherited the earth. The poor, on the whole, were themselves to be blamed. They were

unfortunate and if so their fortunes could easily be mended with care. But chiefly, they were "shiftless" and "shiftlessness" was unforgivable.

The chief criterion of local social standing was property and ancestry; but the ancestors were never magnates like the patroons of the manors along the Hudson to the West; nor were they persons of great prestige and learning with aristocratic connections like the residents of Boston and eastern Massachusetts. They were usually ordinary folk of solid respectability, farm owners, or artisans merging into industry. Standing did not depend on what the ancestor did, or who he was, but rather that he existed, lived decently and thus linked the individual to the community. Physically and socially our community belonged to the Dutch valley of the Hudson rather than to Puritan New England, and travel went south to New York more often and more easily than east to Boston.

The stores dealt chiefly in staples for ordinary living-- food, clothes, medicines, and so forth. Most of them were originally catered to a large farmer trade between country and town. The surrounding farmers bought in their produce and traded it for manufactured goods and certain luxuries. But this type of trading in my boyhood was being gradually reduced in extent. Western farm produce was underselling local efforts except in the case of milk, butter and fresh vegetables. There were one or two good jewelry and watch-repairing stores, a confectionary store and a number of tropical fruit stands.

49-9-64

One of our citizens impressed me greatly. C. C. Tayler was a little white-haired man who was writing a history of the town; he was an official of the bank and, what was of closer interest to me, he lived on a beautiful hill on lower Main Street. He kept a herd of cattle. They gave so much milk that he told my mother that anytime she wanted skimmed milk, to send me down and get all we wanted. I remember those morning walks, up to the great elm on our corner; down the vast expanse of Main Street; past the Town Hall and the watering trough opposite; then by the Kellog meadow and home and Mike Gibbons' cottage and up to the Tayler home and the delicious fresh milk.

There were one or two liquor saloons, which the town did not like to recognize,

but had to. George Briggs, a native American, used to run such a saloon, but got out of the business when I was quite small and went into the more respectable business of selling meat; but the townspeople never forget his former calling. The most prosperous saloon in my boyhood was on Railroad Street, which led from Main Street to the railroad station. It was run by a man of foreign descent named Brazie. Here was a center of drinking and carousing and perhaps some gambling. My mother laid down here one of her few strict commands; she was not talkative, but listened well. She gave few commands; but she said firmly that I was never to go into a liquor saloon or even near it. I never did, and indeed, so strong was the expression of her wishes here, that never in my life since have I felt at ease drinking at a bar.

The reason for my mother's attitude was clear. Great Barrington had few places of amusement or means for recreation. Community social life centered in entertainments in Town Hall; the "Bohemian glass blowers," or, as I vividly remember, the Sam Lucas singers; but for the ordinary man, including both hard-working merchant and busy artisan, not to mention laborers and visitors passing through, the liquor saloon was recreation and drunkenness was escapism. Numbers of the most respectable townsfolk were sometimes seen openly the worse for over-indulgence in liquor. My own Uncle Jim, a reputable and hardworking barber, came home now and then walking very straight because of liquor. When the Murphy crusade for total abstinence swept the valley, I as a boy was one of the first to don the blue ribbon. I kept the pledge until I went as a student to Germany.

Over against this general basic community of white Americans were two groups. One was composed of a mass of Irish peasants who began to reach this town in the early fifties after the well-known famine. They were Catholics and came in increasing numbers as house servants and workers in the local woolen mills. The older Irish families became laborers on the railroads and artisans of various sorts. They formed a group of the respectable poor. They were followed by poorer and more ignorant peasants, ill-trained and ragged and given to drink. They became herded in slum areas in the upper part of the town surrounding the mills. They received low

wages and were exploited in the usual ways, not as much as in the cities, but more than was necessary in a town like Great Barrington.. As a boy, I was afraid of the Irish and kept away from their part of town as much as possible. Sometimes they called me "nigger" or tried to attack me. On the other hand, the older and better class of them had children in school whom I knew quite well.

The mass of the Irish, however, were separated from the townfolk by their religion and their monopoly of house service. The Catholic church was perched across the river beyond the mills, and thither the girl servants trudged faithfully of early mornings to mass. This and other traits of the Irish became the basis of jokes and ridicule in town and throughout New England. Indeed, I was struck in later years when I came back from the South to New England, to find that the "nigger" jokes of Tennessee were replaced at Harvard by tales of the "two Irishmen" and songs like "mush-mush-mush turaliady."

My own attitude toward this hard-working Irish minority was naturally complicated. They did not belong to my traditional community and consequently I felt no comradeship with them. I think I rather assumed, along with most of the townfolk, that the dirty, stinking Irish slums were something that the Irish themselves preferred and made. Certainly in school and church and on the street, I got no idea that the town was responsible for the slums. My Housatonic river, for instance, was "golden" because of the waste which the paper and woolen mills poured into it and because more and more the river became a public sewer into which town and slum poured their filth.

The other minority in my town were my own colored people, but they were few in number. In Great Barrington there were perhaps twenty-five, certainly not more than fifty, colored folk in a population of five thousand. My family was among the oldest inhabitants of the valley. The family had spread slowly through the country intermarrying among cousins and other black folk, with some, but limited, infiltration of white blood. Other dark families had come in and there was some intermingling with local Indians. In one or two cases there were groups of apparently later black immigrants from Africa, near Sheffield for instance.

49-96

There survived there an isolated group of black folk whose origin was obscure. We knew little of them but felt above them because of our education and economic status.

The colored population of the town had been increased a little by "contrabands," freed Negroes from the South, who on the whole were well received by the colored group; although the older group held some of its social distinctions and the newcomers astonished us by forming a little Negro Methodist Zion church, which we sometimes attended. There were the Masons, a family of six, a little uncouth and very religious; but good-hearted, hard workers and so jolly. I came to like them very much. There were visitors from neighboring towns. I remember a lovely little plump and brown girl who appeared out of nowhere, and smiled at me demurely; and there were always strange cousins. The colored folk were not set aside in the sense that the Irish were, but were a part of the community of long standing; and in my case as a child, I felt no sense of difference or separation from the main mass of townspeople.

After I entered High School, I began to feel the pressure of the "veil of color"; in little matters at first and then in larger. There were always certain compensations. For instance, George Beebe was a handsome classmate in high school, two or three years older than I, and extravagantly dressed. My own clothes were never ragged, but seldom new and certainly not in current style. Yet George and I were excellent friends because with all his clothes he was rather dumb in class and knew it, while I was bright and just this side of shabby, so that we balanced each other. The Sabins, Clarence and Ralph, lived near me on the opposite street. Clarence was serious and studious, and Ralph a little devil. We were friends and playmates. Art Benham, whose father was a railroad engineer, was a pixie, red-haired, ugly and gifted. He and I were joint editors of the only paper that was ever published during my day. It was the High School Hamlet, gotten out by hand, and lasting only for two or three issues.

The boy who lived nearest me was Jim Parker, son of a watch-maker. He and Fred Sanford used to go hunting with firearms in the forest. This repelled me

49-9-64

a little, as I did not like killing things, but they were all good pals whom I could easily outdistance in class. Other boys of my group were Boardman Tobey, son of a jeweler, who came to school once with shoes said to have cost four dollars. We did not believe such a price possible. George Phelps, the tinner's son, lived next door and we met daily. Ned Hollister's father had his large grocery store near the watering-trough for horses; his stock of tropical fruit introduced me to dozens of oranges which Ned forced on me when accidentally his stone hit me instead of the "duck on the rock" at which he was aiming. He attained fame by bringing the first high-wheeled bicycle to town.

One girl, Mary Dewey, eldest daughter of our most distinguished lawyer, surpassed me in arithmetic. She could add up columns of figures with astonishing rapidity, but my grasp of history and ability to write were better than hers. The other girls in my classes were not to me notable. Edith Pixley and Lettie Doolittle were pretty but did not know much. Sabra Tayler and Minnie Crissy were sober country girls and good students whom I liked. Agnes O'Neil was a newcomer to town whose ancestors nobody knew. She dressed quite gorgeously and George Beebe escorted her about. But otherwise she was negligible.

In our day and school, because we were younger and less sophisticated, our chief business was studying or playing. I can remember when the new school principal, Frank Hosmer of Amherst, tried to introduce a uniform cap with gilt lettering, G.B.H.S. on the front, to indicate the "Great Barrington High School". We were almost unanimously against it, and called it "The Great Big Hosmer Speculation." As a matter of fact, we students for the most part and particularly myself, did not have the money to pay for this unnecessary expense. On the other hand, we did have some interesting group activities. Hosmer and young Frank Wright, who was reading law in Judge Dewey's office, put on a play at Town Hall -- Scott's "Lady of the Lake", and most high school students took some part. There was a folk play, "Old John Brown Had a Little Indian", in which I was one of the participants. For recreation we played games: "marbles", "hi-spy", "duck on a rock" and "Indians". We went mountain climbing and explored caves; we swam, and

89-6-44

coasted the long hill from far up Castle Street, across the railroad tracks down to Main Street. Most of the children used to skate; but not I for two reasons: skates cost too much, and mother was afraid of water.

Our chief holidays were Fourth of July, Cattle-show and Christmas. Fourth of July was a romp for children, with a few but not many casualties. Once in a while we had fire works as a treat from some philanthropist. Usually we only set off our individual packs of small crackers. Christmas was a festival of Church and home, and there was no public illumination, and no frantic buying of presents. We played baseball but it had not yet become a national game and consisted of "one old cat" or at most two chosen sides. We tried football sometimes. I was not particularly good at these games but joined gaily in the fun.

Of other schoolmates, there were two Irish boys whom I liked. Mike Gibbons had marvelous facility at playing "marbles", and Ned Kelly who was fat and jolly. Later he became town clerk. An older fellow student of Long English ancestry, Walter Sanford, became local judge. Will Beckwith lived on a farm near town, where sometimes my mother went as temporary "help". I always came out over week-ends, played with Will, and ate with the family. Mother always had a rich cake ready for me. Later, Will was one of the few Great Barrington boys who went to college. Three other boys I knew quite well, but they did not go to the public school. Charles and John Church went to Edward Van Lennep's private school, where numbers of rich young people from out of town were taught. Our own opinion in the high school was that these students did not have brains enough to go to public school. We were probably prejudiced. Mr. Van Lennep tried to have good relations between the town boys and his pupils. The Church family had considerable inherited wealth from their ancestors, the Coffins. The Coffins had taken advantage of the war tariffs and manufactured paper. The young Churches were educated to become a part of the idle rich, but Charles did not take to this role kindly. He and I were quite good friends. The younger, John, on the other hand, was a little exclusive. I remember him especially because he married May Loop, an orphaned heyden of an old but poor family. She lived next door to me, and was one of the

group with which I played on Church Street, where I lived. Later, when I had left town and gone South to school, she had married John. She wrote me and asked if I could find her a colored servant. I couldn't.

There was one little boy to whom I was closely drawn. He was Louis Russell, the son of Parley Russell, the mill-owner, who had married a second wife. This Mrs. Russell, whom I knew and who was well acquainted with my family, was a lovely lady who tried to rear young Louis. He was frail, good-hearted, but slow-witted, and did not go to public school. Mostly he was kept at home, and Mrs. Russell made special effort to find companions for him, and she especially chose me. So that quite often I went across the railroad tracks and up the wide and flowered meadow which led to the Russell home. It was one of the most imposing in the village, isolated, and surrounded with grass, flower, and fruit. There were stables in the rear, and outhouses for farming.

I always had a good time when I went to play with Louis. We were welcomed in the house; we ate bread and milk together in the big kitchen; and the Irish servants were kind. Once or twice Mrs. Russell insisted on my taking home certain of Louis's toys. The one which gave me most pleasure was an old wooden bicycle. It was to Mrs. Russell to whom my high school principal turned when he wanted me to take up Greek, and I and my mother hesitated because of the cost of the books. She bought all my Greek books.

49-9-70

Of the other town folk outside my schoolmates, I remember especially Johnny Morgan. He was a small man, I think of Welsh descent, and ran a bookstore in the front part of the little shop where the village post office occupied the rear. I went to the post office daily, not because I was expecting mail or often got any, but because of the intriguing exhibition of periodicals and books in Johnny Morgan's store. He became interested in me and very sympathetic. He did not repel me by asking too many questions or trying to find out my plans and ideas. But he made little suggestions and did not object to my looking at the illustrations in Puck and Judge. I looked them over each week.

I remember one momentous transaction. From early days I had been intrigued

by books as books. In our living room I took possession of an old "secretary" which had come down in the family and gathered together in it a number of stray volumes which I found about the house. One I distinctly remember, "Opie on Lying". There were a few others. I did not read them, but they formed my library. Then one Fall -- it was in 1882-- I was in my second year in high school, I saw in Johnny Morgan's window a gorgeous edition of Macauley's "History of England", in five volumes, and I wanted it fiercely. Its price was, of course, far beyond my ability to pay, but Johnny Morgan suggested that I buy it on installments. This was not a usual method at that time in Great Barrington. It was our rule to "pay as you go". But I seized on Morgan's suggestion and for several months paid in installments of, I think, twenty-five cents a week. At Christmas time I took my precious purchase home and it still stands in my library.

The first glimpse in the outer and wider world was through John Morgan's (his store) There I remember very early seeing pictures of U. S. Grant and Tweed, who was beginning his extraordinary career in New York state; and later of Hayes and the smooth and rather cruel face of Tilden. Johnny Morgan made other suggestions to me. He arranged while I was in high school, that I become the local Great Barrington correspondent of the Springfield Republican, which was the most influential and widely circulated paper in western Massachusetts. I sent it from time to time some items of interst, but not many, as I was soon graduated from high school.

Outside my school, my chief communication with the people of the town was through the church. In Great Barrington there were three leading Protestant churches, and later a fourth. The most important church was the Congregational. It had the largest attendance of all the churches, including merchants and farmers, and professional men of the town. My own family on both sides had been Episcopalians, but because we lived near the Congregational church, and because my mother had many acquaintances there, and because the minister, Scudder, was especially friendly, my mother early joined this church. I think we were the only colored communicants. But I grew up in this church and its Sunday School, and it was there that one of the lady members, looking down on a chubby little brown child walking beside his

P. 78 Start here

mother, saw me take off my hat.. My long rather stiff curls were revealed, and with considerate kindness she said sweetly: " Little girls keep their hats on in church." This of course precipitated at home a wild fight on my part to have my curls cut off, and of course in time, and to my mother's grief, off they came.

In the festivities of the whole year, when strawberries became ripe, when harvest brought in fruit and vegetables, and at Christmas time, there were celebrations in Sunday School, and I was always there. I felt absolutely no discrimination, and I do not think there was any, or any thought of it. When the great church was burned down, I was a sensitive mourner and oversaw at every period its pretentious rebuilding. I remember the altar, whose Greek inscription I was proudly able to read: "He alethia eleutherosi humas." (The truth shall make you free.) I heard the dedicatory sermon: " For thus said the High and Mighty One, who inhabiteth eternity, Whose Name is Holy. I dwell in the high and lofty place. With Him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit to revive the spirit of the humble, to revive the heart of the contrite ones."

The new Sunday School building was my chief pride and joy. It had climbed out of the basement and had bread and beautiful rooms with sunlit windows looking out on lawn and flowers. The carpet, the chairs, the tables, were all new, and the teachers were inspired to new efforts with their growing classes. I was quite in my element and led in discussions, with embarrasing questions, and long disquisitions. I learned much of the Hebrew scriptures. I think I must have been both popular and a little dreaded, but I was very happy.

The other leading church was the Episcopalian, a little more heavy in architecture and aristocratic in concept. The older families and the more well-to-do attended. I remember one incident which characterised the religious situation in town. Our leading lawyer had been made a county judge. Judge Dewey lived on the corner of my street, and in a house with which I was very familiar. As a little boy there lived in one of the upper chambers there, overlooking both Main and Church streets, a young lady who was sick. My mother used to take me there once in a while and I would spend an hour or so in this chamber talking to the lady.

P. 79 start here

49-9-22

Of what we talked, I have not now the faintest idea, but apparently we both were much interested. My mother explained that the lady had cancer, which was the first I had heard of this dread disease. Then visits ceased.

In this house, Judge Dewey and his family lived, his eldest daughter Mary, who had the phenomenal mathematical ability which I have mentioned, a second daughter Sarah, and little Margaret. In the Congregational church, of which Judge Dewey was a high official, the governing board decided to use at Communions individual wine-cups instead of the one great silver beaker. Judge Dewey was outraged. He declared that the decision was against the Bible, and he led his flock from Church Street down to the Episcopal church, where thereafter he became a communicant. It was a town sensation.

In the upper part of the town, toward the mill, was a small white wooden Methodist church. It had a small congregation of the less well-known inhabitants of the town. They met quietly and regularly. Then of course across the river, and uncounted by the mass of townfolk, was the Catholic church, with a large attendance of Irish working people, and a cemetery near by. Later, and while I was in high school, the colored folk of the town, mostly newcomers, and not old families like the Burghardts, organized a small branch of the A. M. E. Zion church, which had been formed in New York late in the eighteenth century. The colored people had long owned a small plot of land in the lower part of the town on Main Street. They were induced to sell this for a small plot on a side street, and there they built a little chapel. The elder Negroes were not at all happy about this segregated institution, but now and then we used to attend the services, which became an inconspicious part of the religious organization of the community.

There was little crime or misdemeanor in our town. We had a single policeman, a little old man named Abe who wore a badge and carried a club. We boys used to make sly fun of him. But there was a little one-roomed "Lock-up" and once in a while it had an occupant for a night. In school there were the usual youthful disputes and arguments, but seldom were there fights, and never gangs or feuds. I remember being principal of one fight when I was in grammar school. It was with

P. 80

49-9-23

a strong country boy, but what it was about I have quite forgotten; it had no racial cause I am sure. We left school at noon and instead of going home to lunch, we went up back of the railway station. There before cheering schoolmates we slugged it out manfully. I was pretty thoroughly trounced, but we were both able to report to class at one o'clock looking fairly presentable with our "honor" vindicated. It was as I learned in after life, a quite usual human culture pattern.

Once while I was in high school, a number of us students stole some grapes from a tempting arbor. Now, taking fruit had never been regarded by us as more than the right of town boys and we knew all the best orchards. But in this case we filched some choice and carefully tended grapes from a prominent citizen. There was considerable indignation and Judge Dewey suggested that I and the others might be better off in Reform School. We had a very good one in the eastern part of the State which the Judge was connected with. The victim of the theft, however, refused to press any charge and nothing more was heard of Judge Dewey's proposal. But I was considerably disturbed. During my ten years of boyhood life there was in the county one murder; once the bank was robbed of a small sum; there were minor cases of stealing and trespass and some drunkenness which called for arrest.

In government, Great Barrington was in theory and largely in practice, a democracy of the New England type. In general politics we were nearly all Republicans. Indeed, it was not respectable to be anything else; one of our prominent lawyers, Joyner, a thin, tall swarthy man, was a Democrat and we suspected him of low origin and questionable designs.

From early years, I attended the town meeting every spring and in the upper room in that little red brick town hall, fronted by a Roman "victory" commemorating the Civil War, I listened to the citizens discuss things about which I knew and had opinions: streets and bridges and schools, and particularly the high school, an institution comparatively new. We had in the town several picturesque hermits, usually retrograde Americans of old families. There was Crosby, the gunsmith, who lived in a lovely dale with brook, waterfall and water wheel. He was a frightful

P. 81

44-9-47

apparition but we boys often ventured to visit him. Particularly was there Baretown Beebe, who came from forest fastnesses which I never penetrated. He was a particularly dirty, rugged, fat old man, who used regularly to come down from his rocks and woods and denounce high school education and expense.

I was thirteen or fourteen years of age and a student in the small High School with two teachers and perhaps 25 pupils. The High School was not too popular in this rural part of New England and received from the town a much too small appropriation. But the thing that exasperated me, was that every Spring at Town Meeting, which I religiously attended, this huge, rugged old man came down from the hills and for an hour or more reviled the High School and demanded its discontinuance.

I remember distinctly how furious I used to get at the stolid town folk, who sat and listened to him. He was nothing and nobody. Yet the town heard him gravely because he was a citizen and property-holder on a small scale and when he was through, they calmly voted the usual funds for the High School. Gradually as I grew up, I began to see that this was the essence of democracy; listening to the other man's opinion and then voting your own, honestly and intelligently.

While without conscious socialist tendencies the Town owned its own water supply which poured into the homes from a dark and secret lake hidden in the hills; our charity looked after the few paupers who were "On the Town" and we cared for our streets and sewers. On the other hand, our fire department was volunteer and we had no public park save the square around the Town Hall. Indeed what with our meadows and mountains, we needed none.

We made no social arrangements for sickness. That was mainly a matter of friendly charity among relatives and neighbors. There was but one hospital in the county, and that was at Pittsfield and called the "House of Mercy". We had a few physicians in town and they in attending my family were very considerate in their charges. I was seldom sick: whooping cough and measles I remember, but little else. Fortunately I have never broken a bone.

1 P. 82

In general thought and conduct I became quite thoroughly New England. It was not good form in Great Barrington to express one's thought volubly, or to give way to excessive emotion. We were even sparing in our daily greetings. There was on the street only a curt "good morning" to those whom you knew well and no greetings at all from others. I am quite sure that in a less restrained and conventional atmosphere I should have easily learned to express my emotions with far greater and more unrestrained intensity; but as it was I had the social heritage not only of a New England clan but Dutch taciturnity. This was later reinforced and strengthened by inner withdrawals in the face of real and imagined discriminations. The result was that I was early thrown in upon myself. I found it difficult and even unnecessary to approach other people and by that same token my own inner life perhaps grew the richer; but the habit of repression often returned to plague me in after years, for so early a habit could not easily be unlearned. The Negroes in the South, when I came to know them, could never understand why I did not naturally greet everyone I passed on the street or slap my friends on the back.

Of course our democracy was not full and free. Certain well-known and well-to-do citizens were always elected to office-- not the richest nor most noted but just as surely not the poorest nor the Irish Catholics.

The town and its surroundings were a boy's paradise; there were mountains to climb and rivers to wade and swim; lakes to freeze and hills for coasting. There were orchards and caves and wide green fields; and all of it was apparently property of the children of the town. My earlier contacts with playmates and other human beings were normal and pleasant. Sometimes there was a dearth of available playmates but that was peculiar to the conventions of the town where families were small and children must go to bed early and not loaf on the streets or congregate in miscellaneous crowds. Later, in the high school, there came some rather puzzling distinctions which I can see now were social and racial; but the racial angle was more clearly defined against the Irish than against me. It was a matter of income and ancestry more than color.

1 P. 83

49-9-24

I have written elsewhere of the case of our exchanging visiting cards when one girl, a newcomer, did not seem to want mine, to my vast surprise.

I presume I was saved evidences of a good deal of actual discrimination by my own keen sensitiveness. My companions did not have a chance to refuse me invitations; they must seek me out and urge me to come as indeed they often did. When my presence was not wanted they had only to refrain from asking. But in the ordinary social affairs of the village -- the Sunday school with its picnics and festivals; the temporary skating rink in the town hall; the coasting in crowds on all the hills -- in all of these, I took part with no thought of discrimination on the part of my fellows, for that I would have been the first to notice.

Indeed, even in high school it was not regarded as good form for the boys to pair about with the girls. They did not walk together on the streets. They did not talk with each other too often on the grounds. I suppose that this fact explains much that bothers us today. Today, high schools with their higher age level, and retarded pupils, have become social centers and even matrimonial agencies, particularly in the South. It is this concept of the high school which partially explains Little Rock.

Later, I was protected in part by the fact that there was little social activity in the high school; there were no fraternities; there were no school dances; there were no honor societies. Whatever of racial feeling gradually crept into my life, its effect upon me in these earlier days was rather one of exultation and high disdain. They were the losers who did not ardently court me, and not I, which seemed to be proven by the fact that I had no difficulty in outdoing them in nearly all competition, especially intellectual. In athletics I was not outstanding. I was only moderately good at baseball and football; but at running, exploring, story-telling and planning of intricate games, I was often if not always the leader.

After I entered the high school, economic problems and questions of the future began to loom. They were partly settled by my own activities. My mother's limited resources of income were helped through boarding the barber, my uncle; supplemented

infrequently by her own day's work, and by some kindly unobtrusive charity. But I was keen and eager to eke out this income by various jobs; splitting kindling, mowing lawns, doing chores. I early came to understand that to be "on the town", the recipient of public charity, was the depth not only of misfortune but of a certain guilt. I presume some of my folk sank to that but not to my knowledge. We earned our way. I have a little post card dated in 1883 in which Miss Smith on September 19 writes, "We would like to have you come certainly next Saturday as you did last week to do some splitting for us." This was a matter of splitting up kindling for two maiden ladies and this was one of the first of my economic enterprises.

My first regular wage began as I entered the high school; I went early of mornings and filled with coal one or two of the new so-called "base burning" stoves in the millinery shop of Madame L'Hommedieu. From then on, all through my high school course, I worked after school and on Saturdays.

For some time too I sent weekly letters to a colored weekly "New York Age" and sold copies, and before the A and P stores dealt in groceries and simply were selling tea, I was one of their local agents. Thus in all sorts of little ways I managed to earn some money and never asked nor thought of gifts.

Of the great things happening in the United States at that time we were touched only by the Panic of 1873, when my uncle in 1876 came home from the little town east of us where he was a leading barber. He brought me, I remember, a silver dollar, which was an extraordinary thing. Up to that time I had seen nothing but paper money.

The United States in the decades 1870-1890 was an extraordinary country. Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Grover Cleveland were presidents. James G. Blaine was an aspirant who barely missed the highest office and the country was reckless and prosperous; squandering its seemingly endless resources; tying east and west with railways; exploiting iron and coal and oil and making fortunes for a new and ruthless caste of business men who were cashing in on the cost of Civil War. Many results of this I could see in my town.

49-9-78

On the other hand, the inner social group of my own relatives and colored friends always had furnished me as a boy most interesting and satisfying company. The color line was manifest and yet not absolutely drawn. I remember a cousin of mine who brought home a white wife. The chief objection was that he was not able to support her and nobody knew her family; and knowledge of family history was counted as highly important. Many of the colored people had some white blood from unions several generations past. That colored folk congregated together in their own social life was natural because that was the rule in the town. There were little social knots of people, but not much that today would be called social life, save that which centered about the churches; and there the colored folk often took part.

The fate of my various relatives among the black Burghardts I do not know very well. One cousin, Jimmie Burghardt, lived near Williams College and always wanted to enter. But he never did. He lacked both money and Greek and worked as college janitor. But his granddaughter is stenographer in a large New York corporation. Others have prospered as western farmers, one became a singer and teacher of music and another was head of the home economics department in the colored school system of a large Border state city. Of course it is probably true that there are hundreds of black Burghardt descendants working as ordinary citizens - teachers and a few others in the professions, civil servants, artisans and skilled laborers; and plain hard workers on street and in home. I greet them all.

64-6-64

Now and then I made little trips to neighboring towns: to my cousins, the Pipers in Sheffied, five miles south, to play with John and his sisters; to Pittsfield, two long miles north, where my cousins Mary and Lizzie Potter lived and where I saw the lovely Rita Tredwell. Once I stayed with my uncle in Amherst who lived with a niece and owned a barber shop. He bought me a new suit of beautiful "navy-blue" cloth.

But my greatest boyhood trip came in 1883, when I was 15 and in third year high school. In 1874 my grandfather having lost his third wife was proposing to marry a widow, Mrs. Green, and assured her of a home in New Bedford whither he

P. 86

had moved from Springfield. He writes: "I have bought of the Potomska Mills Corporation the house and lot southwest corner of Landby and Third streets. The lot is the whole width of what the corporation owns on Landby and runs south far enough to comprise 20 roods for $2,000 -- one half to be paid in cash -- and the rest either over a year or with 7% interest and secured by mortgage on the premises."

Grandfather then adds: "Entreat me not to leave thee or to return from following after thee, for whither thou goest, I will go, where thou lodgest will I lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried."

"I like you better as our acquaintance extends, my dear Anna. Come to my house as soon as it shall please you so to do, there shall be but one home, one purse, one affection, one God."

They were eventually married, and in 1883 my grandfather's last wife wrote my mother. She had known and liked my father and understood his difficulties with his father. When he had left us and was presumably dead, she heard of me and wanted me to come and let my grandfather see and know me. My mother was excited and determined that I should make the trip. How she managed to raise the money, I do not know. But always, Mother, in her resourceful way always got for me whatever she thought I needed. She got together money for my trip, hoping that grandfather might eventually help in my education. So off I went to my first great excursion into the world.

I went down the Housatonic railroad to Bridgeport and missed my train to New Haven because of the contradiction of clocks with the new standard time. I traded my ticket for another route by way of Hartford. There I saw the Capitol building and wrote about signing the register for "distinguished guests!" -- was late in reaching Providence and a bit put out because my grandmother's friend was not promptly on hand to meet me.

One incident during my stay was unforgettable. One afternoon the center table in the parlor was decorated with a festive cloth, a cut-glass decanter of wine and two wine-glasses. Grandfather expected a visitor, and so I hovered in the background.

49-9-86

The visitor proved to be a large black man, with pleasant countenance and well-dressed. My grandfather in long black coat, received Mr. Freedom with grave courtesy. They sat down and talked seriously; finally my grandfather arose filled the wine glasses and raising his glass and touched the glass of his friend, murmuring a toast. I had never before seen such ceremony: I had read about it in books, but in Great Barrington both white and black avoided ceremony. To them it smacked of pretense. We went to the other extreme of casual greeting, sprawling posture and curt rejoinder. The black Burghardts indulged in jokes and back-slapping. I suddenly sensed in my grandfather's parlor what manners meant and how people of breeding behaved and were able to express what we in Great Barrington were loath to give act to, or unable. I never forget that toast.

The house in New Bedford was sold after grandfather's death in 1887 for $2,110. He is buried in Oak Grove Cemetary near the Yale Campus, New Haven, in a lot which he owned, and which is next to that of Jehudi Ashmun of Liberian fame. His eldest daughter married a light mulatto and their descendants are now passing for white and probably quite unaware of their colored blood. My Aunt Henrietta married a man named Bates, of Cumberland, Alleghany County, Maryland.

On my return from New Bedford I had another stirring experience. I stopped again with grandmother's friend in Providence and he took me to the annual picnic at Rocky Point on Narragansett Bay where the colored people of three states were went to assemble. I viewed with astonishment 10,000 Negroes of every hue and bearing, saw in open-mouthed astonishment the whole gorgeous gamut of the American Negro world; the swaggering men, the beautiful girls, the laughter and gaiety, the unhampered self-expression. I was astonished and inspired. I apparently noted nothing of poverty or degradation, but only extraordinary beauty of skin-color and utter equality of men, with absence so far as I could see of even the shadow of the line of race. I came home by way of Springfield and Albany where I was a guest of my elder half-brother and saw my first electric street light blink and sputter.

P,88

I was graduated from high school in 1884 and was of course the only colored student. Once during my course another dark boy had attended the school for a short time, but I was very much ashamed of him because he did not excel the whites as I was quite used to doing. All thirteen of us graduates had orations, and mine was on Wendell Phillips. The great anti-slavery agitator had just died in February and I presume that some of my teachers must have suggested the subject, although it is quite possible that I chose it myself. But I was fascinated by his life and his work and took a long step toward a wider conception of what I was going to do.

Most of the short speeches were fairly conventional essays; but I thought the talk of Minnie Crissey on reading was especially good and I envied her knowledge of books. My own essay brought loud applause from the audience because of my race and subject. I was born in a community which conceived itself as having helped put down a wicked rebellion for the purpose of freeing four million slaves. They deeply admired Phillips despite the fact that recently he had adopted Socialism. My mother was in the audience and was filled with pride.

Meanwhile elsewhere in the world there were stirring and change which were to mean so much in my life: In Japan the Meiji Emperors rose to power the year I was born; in China the intrepid Empress Dowager was fighting strangulation by England and France; Prussia had fought with Austria and France, and the German Empire arose in 1871. In England, Victoria opened her eighth parliament and the duel of Disraeli and Gladstone began; while in Africa came the Abyssinian expedition and opening of the Suez Canal, so fateful for all my people.

49-9-81c

CHAPTER VIII

I GO SOUTH

In the summer of 1884, after my graduation from High School, there loomed the problem as to where and if I was to go to college. The fact that I was going had been settled in my own mind from the time that my school principal, Frank Hosmer, had recommended my High School course. Hosmer was a graduate of Amherst and later in life he became president of Oahu College, Hawaii. He suggested, quite as a matter of course, that I ought to take the college preparatory course which involved algebra, geometry, Latin and Greek. If Hosmer had been another sort of man, with definite ideas as to a Negro's "place", and had recommended agriculture or domestic economy, I would doubtless have followed his advice, had such "courses" been available. I did not then realize that Hosmer was quietly opening college doors to me, for in those days they were barred with ancient tongues.

This meant a considerable expenditure for books which were not free in those days— and were more costly than my own folk could afford; but Mrs. Russell, the wife of one of the mill-owners, or rather I ought to describe her as the mother of one of my playmates, after some hesitation offered to furnish all the necessary books. I accepted the offer as something normal and right; only after many years did I realize how critical this gift was for my career. I am not yet sure how she came to do it; perhaps my wise principal suggested it. Comparatively few of my white classmates planned or cared to plan for college— perhaps two or three in my class of thirteen. I became therefore a high school student preparing for college and thus occupied an unusual position among whites in the town.

I collected catalogues of colleges and over the claims of Williams and Amherst, nearest my home, or of Yale not much further, I blithely picked Harvard, because it was oldest and largest and most widely known. But a question arose in my case, a young and ambitious colored man. What were the possibilities of employment or of any career after such training? Why encourage such a colored man toward such training? I imagine this matter was discussed considerably among my friends, white and black.

R.90

28-4-44

However in my mind there was no doubt but that I was going to college. The whole matter was subtly taken out of my hands and a sort of guardianship of family and white friends was quietly established. I was advised that after all I was rather young to go directly to college; and also our high school was below the standard of Harvard entrance requirements. It might then be wise for me to work and study a year and then enter college in the Fall of eighty-five. There followed an unexpected change when in the Fall of 1884, my Mother died.

I felt a certain gladness to see her at peace at last, for she had worried all her life. Of my own loss I had then little realization. That came only in after years. Now it was the choking gladness and solemn feel of wings! At last, I was going beyond the hills and into the world that beckoned steadily. There followed the half-guilty feeling that now I could begin life without forsaking my Mother. I had realized all along that even college would not have induced me to leave my Mother in want. I somehow argued that the family would support Mother in my absence yet I must have known this was impossible; that what she would always need was for me to be near. Now I was free and unencumbered and at the same time more alone than I had ever dreamed of being. This very grief was a challenge. Now especially I must succeed as my mother so desperately wanted me to.

I was, however, an orphan, without a cent of property, and with no relative who could for a moment think of undertaking the burden of my further education. My Grandfather was growing old, and had little. But the family at home could and did help out; and the town in its quiet and unemotional way was satisfied with my record and silently began to plan.

There were three white men in Great Barrington who seemed to have clear ideas as to my future. The first was the High School principal, whom I have mentioned. The second was Edward Van Lennep, principal of the only local private school, and very active in the Congregational Church, where he was superintendent of the Sunday School, which I attended. Whether or not he consulted with Mr. Hosmer, I do not know, but he probably did. At any rate ➡

1p.91

he was satisfied that I ought to go to college and that the fact that my skin was colored was of no importance. When, then, a suggestion was made which involved the raising of a scholarship for me, Mr. Lennep and his pastor, Mr. Scudder, were eager to co-operate.

The third man was the Rev. C. C. Painter, whose son Charles was a schoolmate of mine during the High School course. Mr. Painter was a Congregational minister and for a time served in the Federal Indian Bureau. There and elsewhere he saw the problem of the reconstructed South, and conceived the idea that this was the place for me to be educated and that in the South lay my future field of work.

Meantime my family contributed an unexpected piece of good fortune. There had been a great-uncle of mine, Tom Burghardt, son of Jack, whose tombstone I had seen often in the town graveyard. My family used to say in undertones that the unpaid wage of Tom Burghardt helped to build the Pacific Railroad. Nearly all his life Tom Burghardt had been a servant in the Kellog family, only the family usually forgot to pay him any wage. Finally when he died they did give him a handsome burial and a white tombstone. Then Mark Hopkins, a son or relative of the great Mark, appeared on the scene and married a daughter of the Kellogs. He became one of the Huntington-Stanford-Crocker Pacific Associates who built, manipulated and cornered the Pacific railroads and with the help of the Kellog nest-egg, Hopkins made nineteen million dollars in the West by methods not to be too strictly inquired into.

His widow came back to Great Barrington in the eighties and took up residence in the old family mansion on Main Street, overlooking the wide meadows and great East Mountains beyond, with its wealth of blue granite. I knew the white old house well and its picket fence. I passed it almost daily when as a little boy I went to get milk from the Taylor home on the opposite hill. Mrs. Hopkins brought with her to Great Barrington from San Francisco a young man named Dennis who became my friend. He was a well educated young mulatto, quick, competent and in complete charge of Mrs. Hopkins local business affairs.

48-6-44

I used to meet him almost daily on my way to school and we had most interesting conversations. He was perhaps the first to tell me of his employer's plan to build a new mansion of blue granite, between the old home and the school yard and rising above the lovely stretch of meadows. I think it was Dennis in consultation with my family who saw to it that I was offered a place as time-keeper on the new project, at what seemed to me the fabulous wage of a dollar a day. I had never before earned more than a dollar a week.

Norcross Brothers of Worcester were the contractors; stonecutter, masons and carpenters came to town. I was duly installed in one of the temporary work sheds, with desk and high chair, fronting a window, by which passed all the yardfull of workers each day. My superior was a pleasant Frenchman, who liked my French name and to whose home I used now and then to go.

It was a most interesting experience and had new and intriguing bits of reality and romance. As time-keeper and the obviously young and inexperienced agent of superiors, I was the one who handed the discharged workers their last wage envelopes. I talked with contractors and saw the problems of employers. I poured over the plans and specifications and even came in some contact with the distinguished English architect, Searles, who finally came to direct the work after the American architect failed to meet the expanding ideas of Mrs. Hopkins. Searles had the glamour and the clothes of an English gentleman and soon the whole direction and control of the Hopkins fortune passed into his hands. Dennis the steward was gradually pushed aside and down into "his place". The architect eventually married the widow and her wealth, and the steward killed himself.

So the Hopkins millions passed strangely into foreign hands and after the death of Mrs. Hopkins and Searles himself, went to his nephew, an utter stranger to the town and its people. This posed for me my first problem of inheritance. Meantime the fabrication and growth of this marvelous palace, beautiful beyond anything that Great Barrington had seen, went slowly and majestically on, and always I could sit and watch it grow. Eventually its grounds occupied my old

school site; the school buildings were torn down and new grounds were found across the river.

Here I worked through the Summer of 1885. I boarded with my Aunt Minerva at a nominal charge. I bought a new wardrobe, visited my cousins now and then in the county, and then in September came the plan which Mr. Painter had evolved for a scholarship. He induced my Mother's Congregational church and three other churches which he had once pastored in Connecticut, each to furnish me $25 a year for the length of my college course. This would be enough to support me at Fisk University, a college for Negroes in Nashville, Tennessee, which was said to do excellent work.

Disappointed though I was at not being able to go immediately to Harvard, I regarded this merely as a temporary change of plan; I would of course go to Harvard in the end. But here and now was adventure. I was going into the South; the South of slavery, rebellion and black folk; above all, I was going to meet colored people of my own age and education, of my own ambitions.

My family and colored friends rather resented the idea. Their Northern Free Negro prejudice naturally revolted at the idea of sending me to the former land of slavery, either for education or for living. I am rather proud of myself that I did not agree with them. Whether or not I should always live and work in the South, I did not then stop to decide; that I would give up the idea of graduating from Harvard, did not occur to me. But I wanted to go to Fisk, not simply because it was at least a beginning of my dream of college, but also, I suspect, because I was beginning to feel lonesome in New England. Unconsciously, I realized, that as I grew older, and especially now that I had finished the public school, the close cordial intermingling with my white fellows would grow more restricted. There would be meetings, parties, clubs, to which I would not be invited. Especially in the case of strangers, visitors, newcomers to the town would my presence and friendship become a matter of explanation or even embarrassment to my schoolmates. I became aware, once a chance to go to a group of young people of my own race was opened up for me, of the spiritual isolation in which I was living.

98-4-44

p. 94

I heard too in these days for the first time the Negro folk songs. A Hampton Quartet had sung them in the Congregational Church. I was thrilled and moved to tears and seemed to recognize something inherently and deeply my own. I was glad to go to Fisk. On the other hand, my people had clung to a more unromantic view of the situation. They said frankly that it was a shame to send me South. I was Northern born and bred and instead of preparing me for work and giving me an opportunity right there in my own town and state, they were bundling me off to the South. This was undoubtedly true. The educated young white folk of Great Barrington became clerks in stores, bookkeepers and teachers, and a few went into professions. Others went to the cities or the West where they were welcome. Great Barrington was not able to conceive of me in such local positions. It was not so much that they were opposed to it, but it did not occur to them as a possibility.

On the other hand, there was the call of the black South; teachers were needed. The crusade of the New England schoolmarm had done a fine work. The freed slaves, if properly led, had a great future. Temporarily they were deprived of their full voting privileges, but this was but a passing setback. Black folk were bound in time to play a large role in the South. They needed trained leadership. I was sent to help furnish it.

Meantime I was learning something of industry. I began to see the workers as human beings and to know how hard a task stone cutting by hand was; I began to realize what discharge from a job meant when there was no union and no funds for supporting tthe unemployed; but all this was vague in my mind.

I went into Tennessee at the age of seventeen to enter Fisk University. I collected all my personal property which I could take with me: my books; my grandfather's wrought iron tongs and shovel; I kept a few pieces of the blue china which all my life had graced the Thanksgiving and Christmas table. I longed for the great brass kettle in which Grandmother Burghardt had washed and made soap, but I was dissuaded. Nor could I carry the family bible which went to cousin Inez. Mrs. Cass remitted the rent due so as to cover my railway fare. I left no other debts.

P. 95

Then came the fascinating railroad ride to New York; the ferry ride up the Hudson past the great city, and transfer to Grand Central. Next day as I was riding through Kentucky, a brown boy from Bowling Green sat down beside me. He was Otho Porter and was also going to Fisk University. I liked his frank face and very neat appearance and when he proposed that we be roommates I eagerly consented. Roommates we were for all my college course. He became the leading colored physician in Kentucky, whom I often visited in after years. Ah! the wonder of that journey, with its faint spice of adventure, as I entered the land of slaves.

I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own color or rather of such various and such extraordinary colors, which I had only glimpsed before, but who it seemed were bound to me by new and exciting and eternal ties. Never before had I seen young men so self-assured and who gave themselves such airs, and colored men at that; and above all for the first time I saw beautiful girls. At my home among my white school mates there were a few pretty girls; but either they were not entrancing or because I had known them all my life, I did not notice them; but at Fisk the never-to-be-forgotten marvel of that first supper came with me opposite two of the most beautiful beings God ever revealed to the eyes of seventeen. I promptly lost my appetite, but I was deliriously happy! Of one of these girls I have often said, no human being could possibly have been as beautiful as she seemed to my young eyes in that far-off September night of 1885. She was the great-aunt of Lena Horne and fair as Lena Horne is, Lena Calhoun was far more beautiful.

So I came to a region where the world was split into white and black halves, and where the darker half was held back by race prejudice and legal bonds, as well as by deep ignorance and dire poverty. But facing this was not a lost group, but at Fisk a microcosm of a world and a civilization in potentiality. Into this world I leapt with enthusiasm. A new loyalty and allegiance replaced my Americanism: henceforward I was a Negro.

To support this was the teaching and culture background of Fisk of the latter nineteenth century. All of its teachers but one were white, from New England or from the New Englandised Middle West.

My own culture background thus suffered no change nor hiatus. Its application only was new. This point d'appui was not simply Tennessee, which was never a typical slave state, but Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisana and Texas, whence our students came; and who as mature men and women, could paint from their own experience a wide and vivid picture of the post-war South and of its black millions. There were men and women who had faced mobs and seen lynchings; who knew every phase of insult and repression; and too there were sons, daughters and clients of every class of white Southerner. A relative of a future president of the nation had his dark son driven to school each day.

I arrived on the Fisk campus in September and in October was struck down by a severe attack of typhoid fever which was too prevalent in Nashville. This was a campus crisis. First I was from New England, a rare phenomenon at Fisk. Second my excellent public school training landed me in the sophomore class, an unheard of thing, especially for a lad of seventeen when my college mates averaged five to ten years older. I was a campus curiosity even for the teachers. As I lay deathly sick, an orphan in a strange land, the whole school hung on the bulletins. When at last I crept out, thin and pale, I was the school favorite. Then in a few weeks came the annual school-wide English examination, which induced poorly trained students to review reading, writing and arithmetic. I stood second with only Mary Bennett, the white German teacher's daughter outranking me. I could not quite forgive her as a girl and a white one at that. I also knew that the test was unfair to most of the students who had never had decent elementary school training in the colored public schools of the South. Nevertheless my popularity rather went to my head. I was bright, but sharp tongued and given to joking hard with my fellows. Some resented this and I remember C.O. Hunter, a big, black, earnest boy near twice my size who resented some quip of mine. He took me so firmly by the arm that I winced. He said "Don't you do that again!" I didn't.

Procter was a tall, rail-like lad in the class below me. We were rivals

P. 97

in debate, and twenty years later, I met him again in Atlanta, swollen physically to huge proportions and pastor of the leading Negro church for intelligent social work. We worked together after the Atlanta riot. G.D. Field was a little black man, serious, who knew and hated the white South. He always carried a pistol. "No," he answered as I expressed surprise, "You don't need it often, but when you do, it comes in handy!" L.B. Moore was tall and dark, with a scintillating mind. He was always a leader in jokes and study. He married a Methodist Bishop's daughter and eventually became head of a department at Howard University.

One man whom we called "Pop" Miller, I grew cordially to dislike. He was much older than most of the students and had been retarded by poverty in his education. His wife was taking in washing to keep him in school. He was a fat, black man, and exceedingly pious. When I recovered from the fever, quite naturally on the rebound, I joined the college Congregational church. I was not "religious" but I was honest and believed, in our placid New England way, most of the church creed. I wrote of this to the pastor of my church in February, 1886:

"You have no doubt expected to hear of my welfare before this, but nevertheless you must know I am very grateful to you and the Sunday School for what you have done. In the first place I am glad to tell you that I have united with the Church here and hope that the prayers of my Sunday School may help guide me in the path of Christian duty. During the revival we had nearly forty conversions. The day of prayer for colleges was observed here with two prayer meetings. The Rev. Mr. Aitkin, the Scotch revivalist, spoke to us a short time ago, and tomorrow Mr. Moody will be present at our chapel exercises.

"Our University is very nicely situated, overlooking the city, and the family life is very pleasant indeed. Some mornings as I look about upon the two or three hundred of my companions assembled for morning prayers I can hardly realize they are all my people; that this great assembly of youth and intelligence are the representatives of a race which twenty years ago was in bondage. Although

49-9-90

this sunny land is very pleasant, notwithstanding its squalor, misery and ignorance spread broadcast; and although it is a bracing thought to know that I stand among those who do not despise me for my color, yet I have not forgotten to love my New England hills, and I often wish I could join some of your pleasant meetings in person as I do in spirit."

But "Pop" Miller did not allow my church membership to progress as placidly as I planned. He was an official of the church and a fundamentalist in religion. He soon had me and others accused before the church for dancing. I was astonished. I had danced all my life quite as naturally as I sang and ran. In Great Barrington there was little chance to dance on the part of anyone but in the small group of colored folk there was always some dancing along with playing games at homes. When I came South and was among my own young folk who not only danced but danced beautifully and with effortless joy, I joined and learned eagerly. I never attended public dance halls, but at the homes of colored friends in the city, we nearly always danced and a more innocent pastime I could not imagine. But Miller was outraged. What kind of dancing he was acquainted with I do not know, but at any rate in his mind dancing figured as a particularly heinous form of sin. I resented this and said so in very plain terms. The teachers intervened and tried to reconcile matters in a way which for years afterward made me resentful and led to my eventual refusal to join a religious organization. They admitted that my dancing might well be quite innocent, but said that my example might lead others astray. They quoted Paul: "If meat maketh my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth." I tried to accept this for years, and for years I wrestled with this problem. Then I resented this kind of sophistry. I began again to dance and I have never since had much respect for Paul.

I remember quite vividly many others of those schoolmates of long ago. Ransom Edmondson was a handsome man, tall and thin, olive-skinned with a mass of brown hair, wearing spectacles and curiously dignified. He was five or six years older than I and acted as assistant librarian under Professor Morgan who

taught Latin. He and a younger brother were sons of a rich white planter. Frank Smith of the class ahead of me was a yellow dandy, faultlessly dressed and a squire of dames. He later married Lena Calhoun with whom I was hopelessly in love; but Smith was over 25 years of age and ready for a wife. I had yet ten years to work and wait. Tom Talley had one of the great bass voices of all time. But he gave his life and strength to teaching and singing for the college and never had sufficient time for the study which his magnificent voice required. Little Sissie Dorsey, a golden fairy with the voice of an angel, sang at all our concerts. Mattie Michol was a dark cream and gorgeous little person with a fiery temper. John Barber was a handsome smiling playboy, spoiled by his mother. After graduation he married Mattie but [illegible] two years later he laid his head on the railroad tracks and let a locomotive run over it.

All my schoolmates were not handsome and rich. There was black, coarse-looking Sherrod, poor and slow, who worked his way painfully through college, studied medicine at neighboring Meharry Medical School and became one of the best physicians in Mississippi.

Two girls were rivals of mine and resented my superior attitude toward girls; but we did not dislike each other. Maggie Murray crowed over me when I forgot my lines at rhetorical exercises. Later she became the third wife of Booker Washington and survived him. Mamie Steward came from Western New York and was my classmate. We were keen but appreciative rivals. Emma Terry was black, smooth skinned and kindly, and a favorite with all. Tom Calloway was a pal of mine and remained so for forty years. He was the executive go-getter, strong and tireless. I was the planner. Together we collected funds for the first Fisk gymnasium. I edited the school paper, the Fisk Herald, and Calloway was business manager. We made it self-supporting during our time.

Other Fiskites who impressed me were William Morris who was the first colored member of our faculty and to my pride as good as any of the whites. The colored Crothwaites family as students and graduates greatly influenced me. George McClennan was an old graduate, very religious but not dogmatic, who wrote

49-9-92

P.100

poetry which had merit. He talked earnestly to us about life. Alice Vassar was another of our beautiful voices to whom we listened with joy.

The college curriculum was limited but excellent. Adam Spence was a great Greek scholar by any comparison. Thomas Chase with his ridiculously small laboratory nevertheless taught us not only chemistry and physics but something of science and life. In after years I used Bennett's German in Germany, and with the philosophy and ethics of President Cravath, I later sat under William James and George Palmer at Harvard. The excellent and earnest teaching, the small college classes; the absence of distractions, either in athletics or society, enabled me to arrange and build my program for freedom and progress among Negroes. I replaced my hitherto egocentric world by a world centering and whirling about my race in America.

For this group I built my plan of study and accomplishment. Through the leadership of men like myself and my fellows, we were going to have these enslaved Israelites out of the still enduring bondage in short order. It was a battle which might conceivably call for force, but I could think of it mainly as a battle of wits; of knowledge and deed, which by sheer reason and desert, must eventually overwhelm the forces of hate, ignorance and reaction. Consider for a moment our president, Erastus Cravath, whose son became head of one of the nation's greatest corporation law firms. When he died in 1901, I said at his memorial exercises in Atlanta:

"He was cast in body and mind of large mold— one never expected little actions in any work from his either of hand or soul. There was none of that quick nervous energy or hasty action or brilliant deed that have so often seared and marred the world. His was rather slow well-balanced mind. He knew how to pause in his work and in his speed and gather strength for slow but irrepressible advance. But if his mind worked slowly and calmly it also worked with a logical persistency and far-reaching grasp of thought that was bound to bring results in the long run. I remember that as students it was a standing joke among us that no matter how

long President Cravath's sentences might be or how intricate and involved, they were sure at sometime to come to a logical and grammatical conclusion-- their construction was never changed-- there were no rhetorical dashes but they moved ponderously and doggedly to the end and the end was usually worth hearing. He was a man of broad sympathies. He appreciated a joke although he was not quick to see one. There was once in school a very small and terribly mischievous boy named Cummings, but I doubt if the grave president ever knew why the school persisted in smiling when he prayed,'Oh Lord forgive us for our shortcomings.'

"Erastus Cravath was a man who formed his life ideal when he was yet young; who early came to believe in the possibilities of the Negro race and the reality of the broader humanity taught by the Christian religion. He did not hold this merely as a theory, as an intellectual belief, but as a thing worth living and fighting for-- and for it he lived and fought."

P. 101

Always in my dreaming, a certain redeeming modicum of common sense has usually come to my rescue and brought fantasy down to the light of common day. I was not content to take the South entirely by hearsay; and while I had no funds to travel widely, I did, somewhat to the consternation of both my teachers and fellow-students, determine to go out into the country and teach summer school. I was only eighteen and knew nothing of the South at first hand, save what little I had seen in Nashville from the protected vantage ground of a college campus. I had not seen anything of the small Southern town and the countryside, which are the real South. If I could not explore Darkest Mississippi, at least I could see East Tennessee, which was not more than fifty miles from the college. I determined to know something of the Negro in the country districts; to go out and teach during the summer vacation. I was not compelled to do this, for my scholarship was sufficient to support me, but that was not the point. I had heard about the country in the South as the real seat of slavery. I wanted to know it.

Needless to say the experience was invaluable. I traveled not only in space but in time. I touched the very shadow of slavery. I lived and taught school in

49-6-64

log cabins built before the Civil War. My first school was the second held in the district since Emancipation. I touched intimately the lives of the commonest of mankind--people who ranged from bare-footed dwellers on dirt floors, with patched rags for clothes, to rough, hard-working farmers , with plain, clean plenty.

First, there was a Teachers' Institute at the county-seat; and there distinguished guests of the superintendent taught the teachers fractions and spelling and other mysteries-- white teachers in the morning, Negroes at night. This was to supplement the wretched elementary training of the prospective teachers. A picnic now and then, and a supper, and the rough world of the colored folk was softened by laughter and song.

There came a fine day when all the teachers left the Institute and began the hunt for schools. I learned from hearsay (for my mother was mortally afraid of fire-arms) that the hunting of ducks and bears and men is wonderfully interesting, but I am sure that the man who has never hunted a country school in the South has something to learn of the pleasures of the chase. I see now the white, hot roads lazily rise and fall and wind before me under the burning July sun; I feel the deep weariness of heart and limb as ten, eight, six miles stretch relentlessly ahead; I feel my heart sink heavily as I hear again and again, "Got a teacher? Yes." So I walked on and on-- horses were too expensive-- until I had wandered beyond railways, beyond stage lines, to a land of "varmints" and rattlesnakes, where the coming of a stranger was an event, and men lived and died in the shadow of one blue hill.

Sprinkled over hill and dale lay cabins and farm-houses, shut out from the world by the forests and the rolling hills toward the east. There I found at last a little school. Josie told me of it; she was a thin, homely girl of twenty, with a dark-brown face and thick, hard hair. I had crossed the stream at Watertown, and rested under the great willows; then I had gone to the little cabin in the lot, where Josie was resting on her way to town. The gaunt black farmer made me welcome and Josie, hearing my errand, told me anxiously that they wanted a school over the hill; that but once since the Civil War had a teacher been there; that she herself longed to learn-- and thus she ran on, talking fast and loud, with much

earnestness and energy.

Next morning I crossed the tall round hill, lingered to look at the blue and yellow mountains stretching toward the Carolinas, then plunged into the wood, and came out at Josie's home. It was a dull frame cottage with four rooms, perched just below the brow of the hill, amid peach trees. The father was a quiet, simple soul, calmly ignorant, with no touch of vulgarity. The mother was different-- strong, bustling, and energetic, with a quick, restless tongue, and an ambition to live "like folks." There was a crowd of children. Two boys had gone away. There remained two growing girls; a shy midget of eight; John tall, awkward and eighteen; Jim, younger, quicker, and better looking; and two babies of indefinite age.

Then there was Josie herself. She seemed to be the centre of the family; always busy at service, or at home, or berry-picking; a little nervous and inclined to scold, like her mother, yet faithful, too, like her father. She had about her a certain fineness, the shadow of an unconscious moral heroism that would willingly give all of life to make life broader, deeper, and fuller for her and hers. I saw much of this family afterwards, and grew to love them for their honest efforts to be decent and comfortable, and for their knowledge of their own ignorance. There was with them no affectation. The mother would scold the father for being so "easy"; Josie would roundly berate the boys for carelessness; and all knew that it was a hard thing to dig a living out of a rocky side-hill. I found a place where there had been a Negro public school only once since the Civil War; and there for two successive terms during the summer I taught at $28 and $30 a month.

It was an enthralling experience. I remember the day I rode horseback out to the commissioner's house with a pleasant young white fellow who wanted the white school. The road ran down the bed of a stream; the sun laughed and the water jingled, and we rode on. "Come in," said the commissioner, "come in. Have a seat. Yes, that certificate will do." I was pleasantly surprised when the superintendent invited me to stay for dinner; and he would have been astonished if he had dreamed that I expected to eat at the table with him and not after he was through.

The schoolhouse was a log hut, where Colonel Wheeler used to store his corn. It sat in a lot behind a rail fence and thorn bushes, near the sweetest of springs. There was an entrance where a door once was, and within, a massive rickety fireplace; great chinks between the logs served as windows. Furniture was scarce. My desk was made of three boards reinforced at critical points, and my chair, borrowed from my landlady, had to be returned every night. Seats for the children--- those puzzled me much. I was haunted by a New England vision of neat little desks and chairs, but, alas! the reality was rough plank benches without backs, and at times without legs. They had the one virtue of making naps dangerous--- possibly fatal, for the floor was not to be trusted. All the appointments of my school were primitive: a windowless log cabin; hastily manufactured benches; no blackboards; almost no books, long, long distances to walk. On the other hand, I heard the sorrow songs sung with primitive beauty and grandeur. I saw the hard, ugly drudgery of country life and the writhing of landless, ignorant peasants. I saw the race problem at nearly its lowest terms.

104

It was a hot morning late in July when the school opened. I trembled when I heard the patter of little feet down the dusty road, and saw the growing row of dark solemn faces and bright eager eyes facing me. First came Josie and her brothers and sisters. The longing to know, to be a student in the great school at Nashville, hovered like a star above this child-woman amid her work and worry, and she studied doggedly. There were the Dowells from their farm towards Alexandria--- Fanny, with her smooth black face and wondering eyes; Martha, brown and dull; the pretty girl-wife of a brother, and the younger brood.

There were the Burkes--- two brown and yellow lads, and a tiny haughty-eyed girl. Pat Reuben's little chubby girl came, with golden face and old-gold hair, faithful and solemn. 'Thenie was on hand early--- a jolly, ugly, good-hearted girl, who slyly dipped snuff and looked after her little bow-legged brother. When her mother could spare her, 'Tildy came--- a midnight beauty, with starry eyes and tapering limbs; and her brother, correspondingly homely. And the big boys--- the hulking Lawrences; the lazy Neills, unfathered sons of mother and daughter; Hickman, with a stoop in his shoulders, and the rest.

There they sat, nearly thirty of them, on the rough benches, their faces shading from a PALE cream to a deep brown, the little feet bare and swinging, the eyes full of expectation, with here and there a twinkle of mischief, and the hands grasping Webster's blue-back spelling-book. I loved my school, and the fine faith the children had in the wisdom of their teacher was truly marvellous. We read and spelled together, wrote a little, picked flowers, sang, and listened to stories of the world beyond the hill.

At times the school would dwindle away, and I would start out. I would visit Mum Eddings, who lived in two very dirty rooms, and ask why little Lugene, whose flaming face seemed ever ablaze with the dark-red hair uncombed, was absent all last week, or why I missed so often the inimitable rags of Mack and Ed. Then the father, who worked Colonel Wheeler's farm on shares, would tell me how the crops needed the boys; and the thin slovenly mother, whose face was pretty when washed, assured me that Lugene must mind the baby. "But we'll start them again next week." When the Lawrences stopped, I knew that the doubts of the old folks about book-learning had conquered again, and so, toiling up the hill, and getting as far into the cabin as possible, I put Cicero "pro Archia Poeta" into the si plest English with local applications, and usually convinced them— for a week or so.

On Friday nights I often went home with some of the children— sometimes to Doc Burke's farm. He was a great, loud, thin Black, ever working, and trying to buy the seventy-five acres of hill and dale where he lived; but people said that he would surely fail, and the "white folks would get it all." His wife was a magnificent Amazon, with saffron face and shining hair, uncorseted and barefooted, and the children were strong and beautiful. They lived in a one-and-a-half-room cabin in the hollow of the farm, near the spring. The front room was full of great fat white beds, scrupulously neat; and there were bad chromos on the walls, and a tired centre-table. In the tiny back kitchen I was often invited to "take out and help" myself to fried chicken and wheat biscuits, "meat" and corn pone, string-beans and berries.

On this visit, at first I was a little alarmed at the approach of bedtime in the one lone bedroom, but embarrassment was very deftly avoided. First, all the children nodded and slept, and were stowed away in one great pile of goose feathers; next, the mother and the father discreetly slipped away to the kitchen while I went to bed; then, blowing out the dim light, they retired in the dark. In the morning all were up and away before I thought of waking. Across the road, where fat Reuben lived, they all went outdoors while the teacher retired, because they did not boast the luxury of a kitchen.

I liked to stay with the Dowells, for they had four rooms and plenty of good country fare. Uncle Bird had a small, rough farm, all woods and hills, miles from the big road; but he was full of tales-- he preached now and then-- and with his children, berries, horses, and wheat he was happy and prosperous.

106 Often, to keep the peace, I must go where life was less lovely; for instance, Hildy's mother was incorrigibly dirty, Reuben's larder was limited seriously, and herds of untamed insects wandered over the Eddingses' beds. Best of all I loved to go to Josie's, and sit on the porch, eating peaches, while the mother bustled and talked: how Josie had brought the sewing-machine; how Josie worked at house service in winter, but that four dollars a month was "mighty little" wages; how Josie longed to go away to school, but that it "looked like" they never could get far enough ahead to let her; how the crops failed and the well was yet unfinished; and, finally, how "mean" some of the white folks were.

For two summers I lived in this little world; it was dull and humdrum. The girls looked at the hill in wistful longing, and the boys greeted and haunted Alexandria. Alexandria was "town"/-- a straggling, lazy village of houses, churches/ and shops, and an aristocracy of white Toms, Dicks/ and Captains. Cuddled on the hill to the north was the village of the colored folks, who lived in three-or four-room unpainted cottages, some neat and homelike, and some dirty. The dwellings were scattered rather aimlessly, but they centered about the twin temples of the hamlet, the Methodist/ and the Hard-Shell Baptist churches. These, in turn, leaned gingerly on a sad-colored schoolhouse.

Hither my little world wended its crooked way on Sunday to meet other worlds, and gossip, and wonder, and make the weekly sacrifice with fenzied priest at the altar of the "old-time religion." Then the soft melody and mighty cadences of Negro song fluttered and thundered.

I heard the Negro folksong first in Great Barrington, sung by the Hampton Singers. But that was second-hand, sung by youth who never knew slavery. I now heard the Negro songs by those who made them and in the land of their American birth. It was in the village into which my country school district filtered of Saturdays and Sundays. The road wandered from our rambling log-house up the stony bed of a creek, past wheat and corn, until we could hear dimly across the fields a rhythmic cadence of song— soft, thrilling, powerful, that swelled and died sorrowfully in our ears. I had never seen a Southern Negro revival. To be sure, we in Berkshire were not perhaps as stiff and formal as they in Suffolk of olden time; yet we were very quiet and subdued, and I know not what would have happened those clear Sabbath mornings had someone punctuated the sermon with a scream, or interrupted the long prayer with a loud Amen!

And so most striking to me, as I approached the village and the little plain church perched aloft, was the air of intense excitement that possessed that mass of black folk. A sort of suppressed terror hung in the air and seemed to seize them— a pythian madness, a demoniac possession, that lent terrible reality to song and word. The black and massive form of the preacher swayed and quivered as the words crowded to his lips and flew at us in singular eloquence. The people moaned and fluttered, and then the gaunt-cheeked brown woman beside me suddenly leaped straight into the air and shrieked like a lost soul, while round about came wail and groan and outcry, and a scene of human passion such as I had never conceived before.

I have called my community a world, and so its isolation made it. There was among us but a half-awakened common consciousness, sprung from common joy and grief, at burial, birth, or wedding; from a common hardship in poverty, poor land, and low wages; and, above all, from the sight of the Veil that hung between us and Opportunity.

All this caused us to think some thoughts together; but those, when ripe for speech, were spoken in various languages. Those whose eyes twenty-five and more years before had seen "the glory of the coming of the Lord," saw in every present hindrance or help a dark fatalism bound to bring all things right in His own good time.

The mass of those to whom slavery was a dim recollection of childhood found the world a puzzling thing: it asked little of them, and they answered with little, and yet it ridiculed their offering. Such a paradox they could not understand, and therefore sank into listless indifference, or shiftlessness, or reckless bravado. There were, however, some-- such as Josie, Jim, and Ben-- to whom War, Hell, and Slavery were but childhood tales, whose young appetites had been whetted to an edge by school and story and half-awakened thought. Ill could they be content, born without and beyond the World. And their weak wings beat against their barriers-- barriers of caste, of youth, of life; at last, in dangerous moments, against everything that opposed even a whim.

108

No one but a Negro going into the South without previous experience of color caste can have any conception of its barbarism. It is not a matter of law or ordinance; it is a question of instinctive feeling; of inherited and inborn knowledge. On a Nashville street, seventy-one years ago, I quite accidently jostled a white woman as I passed. She was not hurt in the slightest, nor even particularly inconvenienced. Immediately in accord with my New England training, I raised my hat and begged her pardon. I acted quite instinctivly and with genuine regret for a little mistake. The woman was furious; why I never knew; somehow, I cannot say how, I had transgressed the interracial mores of the South. Was it because I showed no submissiveness? Did I fail to debase myself utterly and eat spiritual dirt? Did I act as equal among equals? I do not know. I only sensed scorn and hate; the kind of despising which a dog might incur. Thereafter for at least half a century I avoided the necessity of showing them courtesy of any sort.

If I did them any courtesy which sometimes I must in sheer deference to my own standards of decency, I contrived to act as if totally unaware that I saw them or had them in mind.

Murder, killing and maiming Negroes, raping Negro women— in the eighties and in the Southern South, this was not even news; it got no publicity; it caused no arrests; and punishment for such trangression was so unusual that the fact was telegraphed North.

Lynching was a continuing and recurrent horror during my college days: from 1885 through 1894, seventeen hundred Negroes were lynched in America. Each death was a scar upon my soul, and led me on to conceive the plight of other minority groups; for in my college days Italians were lynched in New Orleans, forcing the Federal government to pay $25,000 in "indemnity", and the anti-Chinese riots in the West culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1892. Some echoes of Jewish segregation and programs in Russia came through the magazines; I followed the Dreyfus case; and I began to see something of the struggle between East and West. Yet at this time the full force of legal caste in the South had not yet fallen on Negroes. Street cars were not yet separate and there was still some Negro voting.

49-9-102

109 One unforgettable thing Fisk University did for me and that was to guide and enlarge my appreciation of music. In Great Barrington the only music we had was that of the old English hymns, some of them set to German music. The music was often fine, but the words usually illogical or silly. I grew up, therefore, singing lustily bits of real music and paying little or no attention to the words. Then there were the so-called Gospel Hymns, with the rhythm of the Negro spirituals and words of no account at all. Yet I warbled blithely "Hold the Fort, for I am coming!"

At Fisk, little Professor Spence, the great Greek scholar, had a rare appreciation of music and took it upon himself to guide the school. Already Fisk had the tradition of her Jubilee Singers, who once hid in a Brooklyn organ loft, lest pious Congregationalists see their black faces before they heard their heavenly voices. Henry Ward Beecher took them to Plymouth church where the

newspapers called them "Beecher's Nigger Minstrels;" then the nation listened and the world opened its arms and the Fisk Jubilee Singers literally sang before Kings. They brought back to Nashville enough money to build Jubilee Hall. There I met some of these singers and heard their music.

When I came to Fisk, Spence had organized the Mozart Society and gathered in it all the good voices of the school, some of which were of phenomenal excellence. He trained them in the rendition of the great religious oratorios. They sang The Messiah, the Elijah, and Mozart's Twelfth Mass. I became a member of the Mozart Society and it did great things for my education.

Every year we sang at commencement the "Hallelujah Chorus." I can see now the banked mass of faces of every color and hue with no orchestra save the piano; and the little long-coated, white-haired Spence waving his hands in front. And there Ed Bailey stood up, a slight black boy whom the average American would have completely ignored, or said that he ought to be plowing instead of singing. His clear tenor voice rose with singular beauty; and we who listened were always near to tears, feeling what he was saying: "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people!" We there then were the People to whom Jehovah spoke. No student ever left Fisk without a deep and abiding appreciation of real music.

110 The net result of the Fisk interlude was to broaden the scope of my program of life, not essentially to change it; to center it in a group of educated Negroes, who from their knowledge and experience would lead the mass. I never for a moment dreamed that such leadership could ever be for the sake of the educated group itself, but always for the mass. Nor did I pause to enquire in just what ways and with what technique we would work— first, broad, exhaustive knowledge of the world; all other wisdom, all method and application would be added unto us.

In essence I combined a social program for a depressed group with the natural demand of youth for "Light, more light." Fisk was a good college; I liked it; but it was small, it was limited in equipment, in laboratories, in books; it was not a university. I wanted the largest and best in organised learning. Nothing could be too big and thorough for training the leadership of the American Negro.

There must remain no suspicion of part-knowledge, cheap equipment, for this mighty task. The necessity of earning a living scarcely occurred to me. I had no need for or desire for money.

I turned with increased determination to the idea of going to Harvard. There I was going to study the science of sciences-- Philosophy. Vainly did Chase point out, as James did later, that the world was not in the habit of paying philosophers. In vain did the president offer me a scholarship at Hartford Theological Seminary. I believed too little in Christian dogma to become a minister. I was not without faith: I never stole material nor spiritual things; I not only never lied, but blurted out my conception of truth on the most untoward occasions; I drank no alcohol and ~~knew~~ KNEW nothing of women, physically or ~~psychically~~ PSYCHICALLY, to the incredulous amusement of most of my ~~most~~ more experienced fellows. I above all believed in work-- systematic and tireless.

My early political knowledge came largely from newspapers which I read outside my curriculum. I read of the contests of the Democratic and Republican parties, from the first seating of Hayes, through the administrations of Garfield and and Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison and Cleveland again. All this compiled with the conventional theory of party government, and while the issues were not as clear cut and the motives as unmixed as they ought to have been, nevertheless the increasing triumph of democratic government was in my mind unquestioned. The Populists as a third party movement beginning during this time, did not impress me, since I did not know its significance.

The year before I entered college, England killed the arbitrary power of the Justice of the Peace and the County Squire, doubled the number of its voters and was forced into a struggle to yield Ireland home rule; eventually Japan attempted a constitution with elective representatives; Brazil was struggling to become a republic and France fought to curtail the political power of the Catholic Church.

My problem then was how, into the inevitable and logical democracy which was spreading over the world, could black folk in America be openly and effectively admitted; and the colored people of the world allowed their own self-government?

4-9-04

I therefore watched, outside my textbooks and without reference to my teachers, the race developments through out the world. The difficulty here, however, was securing any real and exhaustive knowledge of facts. I could not get any clear picture of the current change in Africa and Asia.

At Fisk I began my writing and public speaking. I edited the Fisk HERALD. I became an impassioned orator and developed a belligerent attitude toward the color bar. I was determined to make a scientific conquest of my environment, which would render the emancipation of the Negro race easier and quicker. The persistence which I had learned in New England stood me now in good stead. Because my first college choice had been Harvard, to Harvard I was still resolved to go.

It was a piece of unusual luck, much more than my own determination, that admitted me to Harvard in the fall of 1885. There had been arising in Harvard at that time a feeling that the institution was becoming too ingrown, too satisfied with a sense of its New England sufficiency. A determined effort was made in 1884 and later to make Harvard a more national institution, with good students from the South and the West. I saw advertisements of scholarships which were to be offered and I MADE application. In my favor were my New England elementary education, and the fact that I was studying in the South and that I was colored. There had been hitherto very few colored students at Harvard.

I was immediately accepted on condition that I enter as a Junior, even after receiving my Fisk A.B. This was not altogether unfair, since my own High School in New England was somewhat behind Harvard's requirements and Fisk, because of the wretched Southern common school system, still further behind. However, all this made little difference to me. I wanted to go to Harvard because of what it offered in opportunity for wide learning. I received the promise of $250 Price Greenleaf Aid to cover my expenses for the year 1885-1886.

My class was graduated from Fisk in June, 1888. There were five of us--from Texas, Tennessee, New York, Massachusetts and Mississippi. Edmondson had to leave school before graduation, but we later restored him to the class role.

We all had spoken Commencement orations; others talked of "Anglo-Saxon Influence"; "Women in public life"; "Feudalism"; "Thought as the prime condition of Progress." I took as my subject "Bismarck." This choice in itself showed the abyss between my education and the truth in the world. Bismarck was my hero. He had made a nation out of a mass of bickering peoples. He had dominated the whole development with his strength until he crowned an emperor at Versailles. This foreshadowed in my mind the kind of thing that American Negroes must do, marching forth with strength and determination under trained leadership. On the other hand, I did not understand at all, nor had my history courses led me to understand, anything of current European intrigue, of the expansion of European power into Africa, of the Industrial Revolution built on slave trade and now turning into Colonial Imperialism; of the fierce rivalry among white nations for controlling the profits from colonial raw material and labor— of all this I had no clear conception. I was blithely European and imperialist in outlook; democratic as democracy was conceived in America.

So far my formal education had touched politics and religion, but on the whole had avoided economics. It was the moral aspects of slavery which we stressed, not the economic. I saw serfdom when I taught a rural school, but in class I do not remember ever hearing Karl Marx mentioned nor socialism discussed. We talked about wage and poverty, but little was said of trade unions and that little was unfavorable. The parents of the students almost never belonged to unions, because of the opposition of white workers. Most of us looked forward to the learned professions as a life career. We knew something of land and farming, but nothing of transport and manufacturing. Manual labor and house service was the first step of our masses toward income.

At Fisk a very definite attempt was made to see that we did not lose or question our Christian orthodoxy. At first the effort seemed to me entirely superfluous, since I had never questioned my religious upbringing. Its theory had presented no particular difficulties: God ruled the world, Christ loved it, and men did right, or tried to; otherwise they were rightly punished. But the

49-9-106

113

book on "Christian Evidences" which we were compelled to read, affronted my logic. It was to my mind, then and since, a cheap piece of special pleading. Our course in general philosophy under the serious and entirely lovable president was different. It opened vistas. It made me determine to go further in this probing for truth. Eventually it landed me squarely in the arms of William James of Harvard, for which God be praised.

After graduation I must start for Harvard. In order to supplement my scholarship, I had something of the small wage which I earned by teaching at country schools during vacation. This needed to be added to and a scheme to this end was planned by Fortson, a student in the High School department of Fisk. Fortson was a very earnest and austerely religious young man, who had for some time earned money to go to school by serving as waiter in a summer hotel at Lake Minnetonka near Minneapolis in Minnesota. He had risen to the position of second waiter and knowing the demand for music he proposed to several of us that we form a Glee Club and spend the summer at Minnetonka. He selected four boys who had been singing as a Glee Club. They were Calloway, Talley, McClellan, and Anthony. They had all had some experience, but not much, at working at hotels. Finally, I was selected as business manager— with the idea that I could accompany the group, work with them during the summer, and then toward the end of the season go on ahead to make a series of engagements for them in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Chicago. From there they would return to Fisk and I would go east to Harvard. During college I had developed rather as the executive planner, the natural secretary of affairs rather than ornamental president and chairman. The only difficulty about the Minnesota excursion was that I had never worked in a hotel in my life.

In this way I received an impression of American civilization in the Middle West at the age of twenty. I knew New England by my birth and elementary education. I had spent three years in the South and now I was having a chance to see the West. The experience was extraordinary. I had never seen a hotel of the type of that at Lake Minnetonka .

The Berkshire House in Great Barrington catered to rich people from New York. They were on the whole a quiet and rather stodgy set. They sat on the front porch, took drives into the country, and sometimes played cards.

The crowds at Lake Minnetonka were larger and noisier. They were not as well bred. They spent a great deal of money and drank a good deal of liquor. Usually during the daytime at least they were fairly respectable in behavior, and had among them were a majority of conventional people of good repute. But I began to realise that at night, especially on week-ends, their behavior approached an orgy. Husbands arrived with other men's wives and gay women without husbands were in evidence. Poor Fortson was greatly distressed and got us to draw up a protest and revelation for the hotel management. I am sure they did not thank him for it. The head waiter, his superior, was a large, dark man of middle age with impeccable manners. who without doubt knew what to expect at this hotel and was not at all disturbed by it.

Our group of Fisk students were rather carefully guarded and had our own dormitory, where we knew but little of the goings on. Not being experienced waiters, we acted as bus boys, standing around the edge of the dining room and carrying out from time to time the loads of dirty dishes. Those who were alert and watchful could often pick up tips. I never received a cent in this way because I was always looking with astonished curiosity at the actions of the guests and the antics of the waiters. I remember one time overhearing a group of cooks and stewards staggering in bleary eyed in the morning. One of them remarked as he passed: "The sporting life's hell!" I was curious to know of just what the sporting life consisted. Then there came the difficulty of getting food. We were supposed to have our meals served before the dining room opened, but I noticed with astonishment that none of the waiters bothered to come to such meals, and I was facing the prospect of starving, when I learned that practically all the help got their food by deftly stealing it. Orders of the choicest viands never reached the guests in numbers of cases, while the waiters were well fed.

115

401-1-44-107

Thereafter I didn't steal food, but I ate mush that others stole.

It was on the whole a rather disillusioning experience. But the concerts which we gave were fairly successful, and early in September I sorrowfully left my comrades and started South and East. On my success in securing engagements depended the real fate of this summer venture. Here then came another series of adventures. I stopped at Minneapolis and St. Paul, at Madison and Milwaukee, and at Chicago. It was a hot summer and particularly in Chicago I suffered more from the heat than I had in Nashville. It was a hard two weeks' work, and I met all sorts of people. Some were not interested in Negro singers even if they came from Fisk. Others were interested in me and the school. On the whole, my reception was pleasant and courteous. I met some very sympathetic and understanding persons-- ministers, heads of Christian associations, and literary groups. My technique was to present what few letters of introduction I had; to tell them of the work of Fisk University and of the object of this group of singers. Despite rebuffs and disappointments, I succeeded in getting enough engagements so that the group netted about $100 apiece outside of expenses for this part of their summer's work.

Then I started East, and here again in a couple of days' trip, I met a phase of American civilisation that I had read about but never before experienced. I had a very small amount of pocket money, which would be supplemented later by remittances from the Glee Club and my Harvard scholarship. I think I had less than $60 in my pocket. Naturally I could not afford a Pullman and so sat up in the coach all night. It was, I think, upon the second night when the train made a short stop in Rochester, New York. I was awakened by a young man who was in a great hurry and who asked me if I could possibly do him a favor. He wanted to send a remittance of $10 and mail it on this train before it started. He had, however, only small bills. Could I possible let him have a $10 bill in exchange for them? I aroused myself and said yes. He handed me the bills and asked me to count them. Instead of ten dollars, there were only nine. He apologised profusely and counting the bills again immediately handed me the extra dollar bill, thanked me, hurried to mail his letter and disappeared.

By that time I was thoroughly awake and getting a little suspicious. When I counted my bills again I found I had $5, not $10. This was almost a catastrophe, which was increased when the college demanded as I registered that my tuition of $150 must be paid in December. I reminded them that I had Price Greenleaf Aid of $250, but was told that that was not payable till later in the year. I had to protest pretty strongly before they agreed to advance enough to cover my tuition. These experiences gave me a new idea of culture in the United States.

For several decades after I was graduated from Fisk, alumni called on me to criticise publicly changes in Fisk University policy which in their opinion threatened the established ideals of the institution. In 1898 Booker Washington was made a member of the Fisk board of trustees following the advice of my schoolmate, Maggie Murray who had just married him. It was thought that Washington's influence might bring contributions to the dwindling income of this leading Negro college. Industrial courses were substituted for regular studies.

At the urging of George Haynes, I spoke at the 1898 Commencement on "Gallileo Gallilei," blasting the telling of a lie to save the truth. The president, caught unwillingly between two fires, resigned.

Years later another president of Fisk yielded to the wide-spread idea that influential Southern whites should be induced to help lead Negro college education. He cultivated white Nashville, took the Fisk Glee Club, with men and women into the back doors of white social clubs to sing for white men, and seriously curtailed freedom and initiative among students. As my daughter was then graduating, I was to be present at Fisk and was asked to address the alumni. In a speech entitled "Diuturni Silentiae" (taken from one of Cicero's orations,) I attacked the current policy, with frank and open criticism, and after a long struggle, in which I issued in New York a new "Fisk Herald", again a president resigned. This was not easy work and it brought on me much criticism from white and black, but I think I did my clear duty and gave a needed service and helped save the ideals of a great school.

CHAPTER IX

HARVARD IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Harvard University in 1888 was a great institution of learning. It was 238 years old and on its governing board were Alexander Agassiz, Phillips Brooks, Henry Cabot Lodge and Charles Francis Adams; and a John Quincy Adams, but not the ex-President. Charles William Eliot, a gentleman by training and a scholar by broad study and travel, was president. Among its teachers emeriti were Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell. Among the active teachers were Francis Child, Charles Eliot Norton, Charles Dunbar, Justin Winsor and John Trowbridge; William Goodwin, Frank Taussig, Nathaniel Shaler, George Palmer, William James, Francis Peabody, Josiah Royce, Barrett Wendell, Edward Channing, and Albert Bushnell Hart. A young instructor who arrived in 1890 was George Santayana. Seldom, if ever, has any American University had such a galaxy of great men and fine teachers as Harvard in the decade between 1885 and 1895.

To make my own attitude towards the Harvard of that day clear, it must be remembered that I went to Harvard as a Negro, not simply by birth, but recognising myself as a member of a segregated caste whose situation I accepted but was determined to work from within that caste to find my way out.

The Harvard of which most white students conceived I knew little. Of fraternities I had not even heard of Phi Beta Kappa, and of such important social organizations as the Hasty Pudding Club, I knew nothing. I was in Harvard for education and not for high marks, except as marks would insure my staying. I did not pick out "snap" courses. I was there to enlarge my grasp of the meaning of the universe. We had for instance no chemical laboratory at Fisk. Our mathematical courses were limited; above all I wanted to study philosophy! I wanted to get hold of the basis of knowledge, and explore foundations and beginnings. I chose, therefore, Palmer's course in ethics, but he being on Sabbatical for the year, William James replaced him, and I became a devoted follower of James at the time he was developing his pragmatic philosophy.

Fortunately I did not fall into the mistake of regarding Harvard as the

49-9-116

beginning rather than the continuing of my college training. I did not find better teachers at Harvard, but teachers better known, who had had wider facilities for gaining knowledge and had a broader atmosphere for approaching truth.

I hoped to pursue philosophy as my life career, with teaching for support. With this program I studied at Harvard from the Fall of 1888 to 1890, as undergraduate. I took a varied course in Chemistry, Geology, Social Science and Philosophy. My salvation here was the type of teacher I met rather than the content of the courses. William James guided me out of the sterilities of scholastic philosophy to realist pragmatism; from Peabody's social reform with a religious tinge, I turned to Albert Bushnell Hart to study history with documentary research; and from Taussig with his reactionary British economics of the Ricardo school, I approached what was later to become Sociology. Meantime Karl Marx was mentioned but only incidentally and as one whose doubtful theories had long since been refuted. Socialism as dream of philanthropy or as will-o-wisp of hotheads was dismissed as unimportant.

When I arrived at Harvard, the question of board and lodging was of first importance. Naturally, I could not afford a room in the college yard in the old and venerable buildings which housed most of the well-to-do students under the magnificent elms. Neither did I think of looking for lodgings among white families, where members of the ordinary students lived. I tried to find a colored home, and finally at 20 Flagg Street, I came upon the neat home of a colored woman from Nova Scotia, a descendant of those black Jamaican Maroons whom Britain deported after solemnly promising them peace if they would surrender. For a very reasonable sum, I rented the second story front room and for four years this was my home. I wrote of this abode at the time: "My room is, for a college man's abode, very ordinary indeed. It is quite pleasantly situated -- second floor, front, with a bay window and one other window. The door is on the south west corner. As you enter you will perceive the bed in the opposite corner, small and decorated with floral designs calculated to puzzle a botanist.

111-b-64 x

It is a good comfortable bed, however, and my landlady keeps it neat. On the left hand is a bureau with a mirror of doubtful accuracy. In front of the bay window is a stand with three shelves of books, and on the left of the bureau is an improvised bookcase made of unpainted boards and uprights, containing most of my library of which I am growing quite proud. Over the heat register, near the door, is a mantle with a plaster of Paris pug-dog and a calendar, and the usual array of odds and ends. A sofa, commode, trunk, table and chairs complete the floor furniture. On the wall are a few quite ordinary pictures. In this commonplace den I am quite content."

Later I became a boarder at Memorial Hall, which was the great dining hall of the university, and after that a member of the Foxcroft Club, where many students of moderate means boarded.

Following the attitudes which I had adopted in the South, I sought no friendships among my white fellow students, nor even acquaintanceships. Of course I wanted friends, but I could not seek them. My class was large; with some three hundred students. I doubt if I knew a dozen of them. I did not seek them, and naturally they did not seek me. I made no attempt to contribute to the college periodicals, since the editors were not interested in my major interests. Only one organization did I try to enter, and I ought to have known better than to make this attempt. But I did have a good singing voice and loved music, so I entered the competition for the Glee Club. I ought to have known that Harvard could not afford to have a Negro on its Glee Club travelling about the country. Quite naturally I was rejected.

I was happy at Harvard, but for unusual reasons. One of these circumstances was my acceptance of racial segregation. Had I gone from Great Barrington high school directly to Harvard, I would have sought companionship with my white fellows and been disappointed and embittered by a discovery of social limitations to which I had not been used. But I came by way of Fisk and the South and there I had accepted color caste and embraced eagerly the companionship of those of my own color. This, was, of course, no final solution. Eventually with them and

49-9-112

in mass assault, led by culture, we Negroes were going to break down the boundaries of race; but at present we were banded together in a great crusade and happily so. Indeed, I suspect that the prospect of ultimate full human intercourse without reservations and annoying distinctions, made me all too willing to consort now with my own and to disdain and forget as far as was possible that outer, whiter world.

In general, I asked nothing of Harvard but the tutelage of teachers and the freedom of the laboratory and library. I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life. I sought only such contacts with white teachers as lay directly in the line of my work. I joined certain clubs like the Philosophical Club; I was a member of the Pexeraft dining club because it was cheap. James and one or two other teachers had me at their homes at meal and reception. I found friends and most interesting and inspiring friends among the colored folk of Boston and surrounding places. Naturally social intercourse with whites could not be entirely forgotten, so that now and then I joined its currents and rose or fell with them. I escorted colored girls to various gatherings, and as pretty ones as I could find to the vesper exercises, and later to the class day and commencement social functions. Naturally we attracted attention and the Crimson noted my girl friends; on the other part came sometimes the shadow of insult, as when at one reception a white woman seemed determined to mistake me for a waiter.

In general, I was encased in a completely colored world, self-sufficient and provincial, and ignoring just as far as possible the white world which conditioned it. This was self-protective coloration, with perhaps an inferiority complex, but with belief in the ability and future of black folk.

My friends and companions were taken mainly from the colored students of Harvard and neighboring institutions, and the colored folk of Boston and surrounding towns. With them I led a happy and inspiring life. There were among them many educated and well-to-do folk; many young people studying or planning to study; many charming young women. We met and ate, danced and argued and planned

a new world.

Toward whites I was not arrogant; I was simply not obsequious, and to a white Harvard student of my day, a Negro student who did not seek recognition was trying to be more than a Negro. The same Harvard man had much the same attitude toward Jews and Irishmen.

I was, however, exceptional among Negroes in my ideas on voluntary race segregation; they for the most part saw salvation only in integration at the earliest moment and on almost any terms in white culture; I was firm in my criticism of white folk and in my dream of a Negro self-sufficient culture even in America.

This cutting of myself off from my white fellows, or being cut off, did not mean unhappiness nor resentment. I was in my early manhood, unusually full of high spirits and humor. I thoroughly enjoyed life. I was conscious of understanding and power, and conceited enough still to imagine, as in high school, that they who did not know me were the losers, not I. On the other hand, I do not think that my white classmates found me personally objectionable. I was clean, not well-dressed but decently clothed. Manners I regarded as more or less superfluous and deliberately cultivated a certain brusquerie. Personal adornment I regarded as pleasant but not important. I was in Harvard, but not of it, and realised all the irony of my singing "Fair Harvard." I sang it because I liked the music, and not from any pride in the Pilgrims.

With my colored friends I carried on lively social intercourse, but necessarily one which involved little expenditure of money. I called at their homes and ate at their tables. We danced at private parties. We went on excursions down the Bay. Once, with a group of colored students gathered from surrounding institutions, we gave Aristophanes' "The Birds" in a Boston colored church. The rendition was good, but not outstanding; not quite appreciated by the colored audience, but well-worth doing. Even though it worked me near to death, I was proud of it.

Thus this group of professional men, students, white collar workers and upper servants, whose common bond was color of skin in themselves or in their fathers, together with a common history and current experience of discrimination, formed a unit which like many tens of thousands of like units across the nation had or were getting to have a common culture pattern which made them an interlocking mass; so that increasingly a colored person in Boston was more neighbor to a colored person in Chicago than to the white person across the street.

123

Mrs. Ruffin of Charles Street, Boston, and her daughter Birdie were often hostesses to this colored group. She was widow of the first colored judge appointed in Massachusetts, an aristocratic lady, with olive skin and high piled masses of white hair. Once a Boston white lady said to Mrs. Ruffin ingratiatingly: "I have always been interested in your race." Mrs. Ruffin flared: "Which race?" She began a national organization of colored women and published the "Courant", a type of small colored weekly paper which was spreading over the nation. In this I published many of my Harvard daily themes.

Naturally in this close group there grew up among the young people friendships ending in marriages. I myself, outgrowing the youthful attractions of Fisk, began serious dreams of love and marriage. There, however, were still my study plans to hold me back and there were curious other reasons. For instance, it happened that two of the girls whom I particularly liked had what was to me then the insuperable handicap of looking like whites, while they had enough black ancestry to make them "Negroes" in America. I could not let the world even imagine that I had married a white wife. Yet these girls were intelligent and companionable. One went to Vassar College which then refused entrance to Negroes. Years later when I went there to lecture I remember disagreeing violently with a teacher who thought the girl ought not to have "deceived" the college by graduating before it knew her Negro descent! Another favorite of mine was Deenie Pindell. She was a fine forthright woman, blonde, blue-eyed and fragile. In the end I had no chance to choose here, for she married Monroe Trotter.

49-9-114

49-9-115

Trotter was the son of a well-to-do colored father and entered Harvard in my first year in the Graduate School. He was thick-set, yellow with close-cut dark hair. He was stubborn and straight-laced and an influential member of his class. He organized the first Total Abstinence club in the Yard. I came to know him and joined the company when he and other colored students took in a trip to Amherst to see Forbes and Lewis graduate in the class with Calvin Coolidge.

124

Lewis afterward entered the Harvard Law School and became the celebrated center rush of the Harvard football team. He married the beautiful Bessie Baker who had been with me on that Amherst trip. Forbes, a brilliant, cynical dark man, later joined with Trotter in publishing the Guardian, the first Negro paper to attack Booker T. Washington with open opposition. Washington's friends retorted by sending Trotter to jail when he dared to heckle Washington in a public Boston meeting on his political views. I was not present nor privy to this occurrence, but the unfairness of the jail sentence led me eventually to form the Niagara Movement, which later became the N.A.A.C.P.

49-9-116

Thus I lived near to life, love and tragedy; and when I met Maud Cuney, I became doubly interested. She was a tall imperious brunette, with gold-bronze skin, brilliant eyes and coils of black hair; daughter of the Collector of Customs at Galveston, Texas. She came to study music and was a skilled performer, when the New England Conservatory of Music tried to "jim-crow" her in the dormitory. We students rushed to her defense and we won. I fell deeply in love with her, and we were engaged.

Thus it is clear how in the general social intercourse on the campus I consciously missed nothing. Some white students made themselves known to me and a few, a very few, became life-long friends. Most of my classmates, I knew neither by sight nor name. Among them many made their mark in life: Norman Hapgood, Robert Herrick, Herbert Croly, George Dorsey, Homer Folks, Augustus Hand, James Brown Scott and others. I knew none of these intimately. For the most part I do not doubt that I was voted a somewhat selfish and self-centered "grind" with a chip on my shoulder and a sharp tongue.

Something of a certain inferiority complex was possibly a cause of this. I was desperately afraid of intruding where I was not wanted; appearing without invitation; of showing a desire for the company of those who had no desire for me. I should in fact have been pleased if most of my fellow students had wanted to associate with me; if I had been popular and envied. But the absence of this made me neither unhappy nor morose. I had my "island within" and it was a fair country.

Only once or twice did I come to the surface of college life. First I found by careful calculation that I needed the cash of one of the Boylston prizes in oratory to piece out my yearly expenses. I got it through winning a second oratorical prize. The occasion was noteworthy by the fact that another black student, Clement Morgan, got first prize at the same contest.

With the new increase at Harvard of students who grew up outside of New England, there arose at this time a certain resentment at the way New England students were dominating and conducting college affairs. The class marshall on commencement day was always a Saltonstall, a Cabot, a Lowell, or some such New England family. The crew and most of the other heads of athletic teams were selected from similarly limited social groups. The class poet, class orator, and other commencement officials invariably were selected because of family and not for merit. It so happened that when the officials of the class of 1890 were being selected in early spring, a plot ripened. Personally, I knew nothing of it, and was not greatly interested. But in Boston and in the Harvard Yard the result of the elections was of tremendous significance; for this conspiratorial clique selected Clement Morgan as class orator. New England and indeed the whole country reverberated.

Morgan was a black man. He was working in a barber shop in St. Louis at the time when he ought to have been in school. With the encouragement and help of a colored teacher whom he later married, he came to Boston and entered the Latin School. This meant that when he finally entered Harvard, he entered as freshman in the orthodox way and was well acquainted with his classmates. He was fairly well received, considering his color. He was a pleasant unassuming person and one of the best speakers of clearly enunciated English on the campus. In his junior

year, he had earned the first Boylston prize for oratory, in the same contest where I won second prize. It was, then, logical for him to become class orator and yet this was against all the traditions of America. There were editorials in the leading newspapers, and the South especially raged and sneered at the audience of "black washerwomen" who would replace Boston society at the next Harvard commencement.

At the same time, the action was contagious and that year and the next in several leading Northern colleges, colored students became the class orators. Ex-President Hayes, as I shall relate later, sneered at this fact.. While, as I have said, I had nothing to do with this plot, and was not even present at the election which chose Morgan, I was greatly pleased at this breaking of the color line. Morgan and I became fast friends and spent a summer giving readings along the North Shore to help our college costs.

Harvard of this day was a great opportunity for a young man and a young American Negro and I realized it. I formed habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the daytime and had my day parceled out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with thoroughness and with prevision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. From the beginning my relations with most of the teachers at Harvard were pleasant. They were on the whole glad to receive a serious student, to whom extra-curricular activities were not of paramount importance and one who in a general way knew what he wanted.

Harvard had in the social sciences no such leadership of thought and breadth of learning as in philosophy, literature and physical science. She was then groping and is still groping toward a scientific treatment of human action. She was facing at the end of the century a tremendous economic era. In the United States, finance was succeeding in monopolising transportation, and raw materials like sugar, coal and oil. The power of the trust and combine was so great that the Sherman Act was passed in 1890. On the other hand, the tariff at the demand of manufacturers continued to rise in height from the McKinley to the indefensible

Wilson tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the Industrial North and the New South was being perfected and in 1890 the series of disfranchising laws began to be enacted by the Southern states destined in the next sixteen years to make voting by Southern Negroes practically impossible. A financial crisis shook the land in 1893 and popular discontent showed itself in the Populist movement and Coxey's Army. The whole question of the burden of taxation began to be discussed.

These things we discussed with some clearness and factual understanding at Harvard. The tendency was toward English free trade and against the American tariff policy. We reverenced Ricardo and wasted long hours on the "Wages-fund." I remember Taussig's course supporting dying Ricardean economics. Wages came from what employers had left for labor after they had subtracted their own reward. Suppose that this profit was too small to attract the employer, what would the poor worker do but starve? The trusts and monopolies were viewed frankly as dangerous enemies of democracies, but at the same time as inevitable methods of industry. We were strong for the gold standard and fearful of silver. On the other hand, the attitude of Harvard toward labor was on the whole contemptuous and condemnatory. Strikes like that of the anarchists in Chicago, the railway strikes of 1886; the terrible Homestead strike of 1892 and Coxey's Army of 1894 were pictured as ignorant lawlessness, lurching against conditions largely inevitable.

Karl Marx was mentioned, only to point out how thoroughly his theses had been disproven; of that theory itself almost nothing was said. Henry George was given but tolerant notice. The anarchists of Spain, the Nihilists of Russia, the British miners -- all these were viewed not as part of the political development and the tremendous economic organization but as sporadic evil. This was natural. Harvard was the child of its era. The intellectual freedom and flowering of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were yielding to the deadening economic pressure which would make Harvard rich but reactionary. This defender of

wealth and capital, already half ashamed of Sumner and Phillips, was willing finally to replace an Eliot with a manufacturer and a nervous warmonger. The social community that mobbed Garrison, easily electrocuted Sacco and Vanzetti.

It was not until I was long out of college and had finished the first economics and politics that I realized the fundamental influence of man's efforts to earn a living had upon all his other efforts. The politics which we studied in college were conventional, especially when it came to describing and elucidating the current scene in Europe. The Queen's Jubilee in June, 1887, while I was still at Fisk, set the pattern of our thinking. The little old woman at Windsor became a magnificent symbol of Empire. Here was England with her flag draped around the world, ruling more black folk than white and leading the colored peoples of the earth to Christian baptism, and as we assumed, to civilization and eventual self-rule.

In 1885, Stanley, the traveling American reporter, became a hero and symbol of white world leadership in Africa. The wild, fierce fight of the Mahdi and the driving of the English out of the Sudan for thirteen years did not reveal its inner truth to me. I heard only of the martyrdom of the drunken Bible-reader and freebooter, Chinese Gordon.

The Congo Free State was established and the Berlin Conference of 1885 was reported to be an act of civilization against the slave trade and liquor. French, English and Germans pushed on in Africa, but I did not question the interpretation which pictured this as the advance of civilization and the benevolent tutelage of barbarians. I read of the confirmation of the Triple Alliance in 1891. Later I saw the celebration of the renewed Triple Alliance on the Tempelhofer Feld, with the new young Emperor Wilhelm II, who, fresh from his dismissal of Bismarck, led the splendid pageantry; and finally the year I left Germany, Nicholas II became Tsar of all the Russias. In all this I had not yet linked the political development of Europe with the race problem in America.

I was repeatedly a guest in the home of William James; he was my friend and guide to clear thinking; I was a member of the Philosophical Club and talked with

49-9-120

Royce and Palmer; I remember vividly once standing beside Mrs. Royce at a small reception. We ceased conversation for a moment and both glanced across the room. Professor Royce was opposite talking excitedly. He was an extraordinary sight: a little body; indifferently clothed; a big red-thatched head and blazing blue eyes. Mrs. Royce put my thoughts into words: "Funny-looking man, isn't he?" I nearly fainted! Yet I knew how she worshipped him.

I sat in an upper room and read Hart's Critique with Santayana; Shaler invited a Southerner, who objected to sitting beside me, out of his class; he said he wasn't doing very well, anyway. I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany. Most of my courses of study went well. It was in English that I came nearest my Waterloo at Harvard. I had unwittingly arrived at Harvard in the midst of a violent controversy about poor English among students. A number of fastidious Englishmen like Barrett Wendell had come to Harvard about this time; moreover New England itself was getting sensitive over western slang and Southern drawls and general ignorance of grammar. Freshmen then at this time could elect nearly all their courses except English; that was compulsory, with theses, daily themes and tough examinations.

On the other hand, I was at the point in my intellectual development when the content rather than the form of my writing was to me of prime importance. Words and ideas surged in my mind and spilled out with disregard of exact accuracy in grammar, taste in word or restraint in style. I knew the Negro problem and this was more important to me than literary form. I know grammar fairly well, and I had a pretty wide vocabulary; but I was bitter, angry and intemperate in my first thesis. Naturally my English instructors had no ideas of nor interest in the way in which Southern attacks on the Negro were scratching me on the raw flesh. Tillman was raging in the Senate like a beast and literary clubs, especially rich and well-dressed women, engaged his services eagerly and listened avidly. Senator Morgan of Alabama had just published a seething attack on "niggers" in a leading magazine, when my first Harvard thesis was due. I let go at him with no holds barred.

181-9-49

My long and blazing effort came back marked "E" -- not passed!

It was the first time in my scholastic career that I had encountered such a failure. I was aghast, but I was not a fool. I did not doubt but that my instructors were fair in judging my English technically even if they did not understand the Negro problem. I went to work at my English and by the end of that term had raised it to a "C". I realized that while style is subordinate to content, and that no real literature can be composed simply of meticulous and fastidious phrases, nevertheless that solid content with literary style carries a message further than poor grammar and muddled syntax. I elected the best course on the campus for English composition -- English 12.

I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890 for Barrett Wendell, then the great pundit of Harvard English. I wrote: "Spurred by my circumstances, I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in high school to go to college -- partly because other men did, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life... I believe, foolishly perhaps, but sincerely, that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell liked that last sentence. Out of fifty essays, he picked this out to read to the class.

Commencement was approaching, when, one day I found myself at midnight on one of the swaggering streetcars that used to roll out from Boston on its way to Cambridge. It was in the spring of 1890, and quite accidentally I was sitting by a classmate who would graduate with me in June. As I dimly remember, he was a nice-looking young man, almost dapper; well-dressed, charming in manner. Probably he was rich or at least well-to-do, and doubtless belonged to an exclusive fraternity, although that did not interest me. Indeed I have even forgotten his name. But one thing I shall never forget and that was his rather regretful admission (which slipped

49-9-122

out as we gossiped) that he had no idea as to what his life work would be, because, as he added, "There's nothing in which I am particularly interested!"

I was more than astonished -- I was almost outraged to meet any human being of the mature age of twenty-two who did not have his life all planned before him. At least in general outline; and who was not supremely, if not desperately, interested in what he planned to do.

Since then, my wonder has left my classmate, and been turned in and backward upon myself: how long had I been so sure of my life-work and how had I come so confidently to survey and plan it? I now realize that most college seniors are by no means certain of what they want to do or can do with life; but stand rather upon a hesitating threshold, awaiting will, chance or opportunity. Because I had not mingled intimately or understandingly with my white Harvard classmates, I did not at the time realize this, but thought my unusual attitude was general.

In June 1890, I received my bachelor's degree from Harvard cum laude in Philosophy. I was one of the five graduating students selected to speak at commencement. My subject was "Jefferson Davis." I chose it with deliberate intent of facing Harvard and the nation with a discussion of slavery as illustrated in the person of the president of the Confederate States of America. Naturally, my effort made a sensation. I said, among other things: " I wish to consider not the man, but the type of civilization which his life represented: its foundation is the idea of the strong man -- Individualism coupled with the rule of might -- and it is this idea that has made the logic of even modern history, the cool logic of the Club. It made a naturally brave and generous man Jefferson Davis: -- now advancing civilization by murdering Indians, now hero of a national disgrace, called by courtesy the Mexican War; and finally as the crowning absurdity, the peculiar champion of a people fighting to be free in order that another people should not be free. Whenever this idea has for a moment escaped from the individual realm, it has found an even more secure foot-hold in the policy and philosophy of the State. The strong man and his mighty Right Arm has become the Strong Nation

H9-9-122

H9-9-123

with its armies. Under whatever guise, however a Jefferson Davis may appear as man, as race, or as a nation, his life can only logically mean this: the advance of a part of the world at the expense of the whole; the overwhelming sense of the I, and the consequent forgetting of the Thou. It has thus happened that advance in civilization has always been handicapped by shortsighted national selfishness. The vital principal of division of labor has been stifled not only in industry, but also in civilization; so as to render it well nigh impossible for a new race to introduce a new idea into the world except by means of the cudgel. To say that a nation is in the way of civilization is a contradiction in terms, and a system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie. Yet this is the type of civilization which Jefferson Davis represented: it represents a field for stalwart manhood and heroic character, and at the same time for moral obtuseness and refined brutality. These striking contradictions of character always arise when a people seemingly become convinced that the object of the world is not civilization, but Teutonic civilization."

A Harvard professor wrote to Kate Field's Washington then a leading periodical: "Du Bois, the colored orator of the commencement stage, made a ten-strike. It is agreed upon by all the people I have seen that he was the star of the occasion. His paper was on 'Jefferson Davis', and you would have been surprised to hear a colored man deal with him so generously. Such phrases as a 'great man', a 'keen thinker', a 'strong leader', and others akin occurred in the address. One of the trustees of the University told me yesterday that the paper was considered masterly in every way. Du Bois is from Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and doubtless has some white blood in his veins. He, too, has been in my classes the past year. If he did not head the class, he came pretty near the head, for he is an excellent scholar in every way, and altogether the best black man that has come to Cambridge."

Bishop Potter of New York wrote in the Boston Herald: "When at the last commencement of Harvard University, I saw a young colored man appear . . . . and

421-9-44

heard his brilliant and eloquent address, I said to myself: 'Here is what an historic race can do if they have a clear field, a high purpose, and a resolute will.'"

The New York Nation commented editorally: "When the name of William Edward Du Bois was called and a slender, intellectual-looking mulatto ascended the platform and made his bow to the President of the University, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Bishop of New York, and a hundred other notables, the applause burst out heartily as if in recognition of the strange significance of his appearance there. His theme ... heightened this significance. Du Bois handled his difficult and hazardous subject with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."

Already I had now received more education than most young white men, having been almost continously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel prepared. I felt that to cope with the new and extraordinary situations then developing in the United States and the world, I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun my training in knowledge of social conditions.

I revelled in the keen analysis of William James, Josiah Royce and young George Santayana. But it was James with his pragmatism and Albert Bushnell Hart with his research method, that turned me back from the lovely but sterile land of philosophic speculation, to the social sciences as the field for gathering and interpreting that body of fact which would apply to my program for the Negro. As undergraduate, I had talked frankly with William James about teaching philosophy, my major subject. He discouraged me, not by any means because of my record in his classes. He used to give me A's and even A-plus, but as he said candidly, there is "not much chance for anyone earning a living as a philosopher." He was repeating just what Chase of Fisk had said a few years previously.

I knew by this time that practically my sole chance of earning a living combined with study was to teach, and after my work with Albert Bushnell Hart in United States history, I conceived the idea of applying philosophy to an historical interpretation of race relations.

49-9-125

In other words, I was trying to take my first steps toward sociology as the science of human action. It goes without saying that no such field of study was then recognized at Harvard or came to be recognized for twenty years after. But I began with some research in Negro history and finally at the suggestion of Hart, I chose the suppression of the African slave trade to America as my doctor's thesis. Then came the question as to whether I could continue study in the graduate school. I had no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school of Harvard and was appointed Henry Bromfield Rogers fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed; so that from 1890 to 1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University, studying in history and political science and what would have been sociology if Harvard had yet recognized such a field.

My grandfather Du Bois died while I was at Harvard, and although the settlement of the estate was held up for lack of exact data concerning my father's death, eventually $400 was paid me during my senior year. I finished the first draft of my thesis and delivered an outline of it at the seminaries of American history and political economy December 7, 1891. I received my masters degree in the Spring. I was thereupon elected to the American Historical Society and asked to speak in Washington at their meeting in December 1892. The New York Independent noted this among the "three best papers presented," and continued:

"The article upon the 'enforcement of the Slave Laws' was written and read by a black man. It was thrilling when one could, for a moment, turn his thoughts from listening to think that scarcely thirty years have elapsed since the war that freed his race, and here was an audience of white men listening to a black man -- listening, moreover, to a careful, cool, philosophical history of the laws which had not prevented the enslavement of his race. The voice, the diction, the manner of the speaker were faultless. As one looked at him, one could not help saying ' Let us not worry about the future of our country in the matter of race distinctions.'"

I began with a bibliography of Nat Turner and ended with this history of the suppression of the African Slave Trade to America; neither needed to be done again

49-9-126

at least in my day. Thus in my quest for basic knowledge with which to help guide the American Negro, I came to the study of sociology, by way of philosophy and history rather than by physics and biology. After hesitating between history and economics, I chose history. On the other hand, psychology, hovering then on the threshold of experiment under Muensterberg, soon took a new orientation which I could understand from the beginning. I worked on my thesis, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America," and hoped to get my doctor's degree in another two years.

Already I had made up my mind that what I needed was further training in Europe. The German Universities were at the top of their reputation. Any American scholar who wanted preferment went to Germany for study. The faculties of Johns Hopkins, and the new University of Chicago, were beginning to be filled with German Ph.D's, and even Harvard had imported Muensterberg for the new experimental psychology, and Kuno Frank had long taught there. British Universities did not recognize American degrees and French Universities made no special effort to encourage American graduates. I wanted them to study in Germany. I was determined that any failure on my part to become a recognized American scholar must not be based on any lack of modern training.

I was confident. So far I had met no failure. I willed and lo! I was walking beneath the elms of Harvard, -- the name of allurement, the college of my youngest, wildest visions! I needed money; scholarships and prizes fell into my lap -- not all I wanted or strove for, but all I needed to keep in school. Commencement came and standing before governor, president, and grave gowned men, I told them certain truths, waving my arms and breathing fast! They applauded with what may have seemed to many as unequalled-for fervor, but I walked home on pink clouds of glory! I asked for a fellowship and got it. I announced my plan of studying in Germany, but Harvard had no more fellowships for me. A friend, however, told me of the Slater Fund and how the Board was looking for colored men worth educating.

No thought of modest hesitation occurred to me. I rushed at the chance. It was one of those tricks of fortune which always seem partly due to chance:

In 1882, the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and the board in 1890 was headed by ex-President R. B. Hayes. Ex-President Hayes went down to Johns Hopkins University which admitted no Negro students and told a "darkey" joke in a frank talk about the plans of the fund. The Boston Herald of November 2, 1890, quoted him as saying: " If there is any young colored man in the South whom we find to have a talent for art or literature or any special aptitude for study, we are willing to give him money from the education funds to send him to Europe or give him advanced education." He added that so far they had been able to find only "orators." This seemed to me a nasty fling at my black classmate, Morgan, who had been Harvard class orator a few months earlier.

The Hayes statement was brought to my attention at a card party one evening; it not only made me good and angry but inspired me to write ex-President Hayes and ask for a scholarship. I received a pleasant reply saying that the newspaper quotation was incorrect; that his board had some such program in the past but had no present plans for such scholarships. I wrote him referring him to my teachers and to others who knew me, and intimating that his change of plan did not seem to me fair nor honest. He wrote again in apologetic mood and said that he was sorry the plan had been given up; that he recognized that I was a candidate who might otherwise have been given attention. I then sat down and wrote Mr. Hayes this letter:

49-9-128

May 25, 1891

"Your favor of the 2nd. is at hand. I thank you for your kind wishes. You will pardon me if I add a few words of explanation as to my application. The outcome of the matter is as I expected it would be. The announcement that any agency of the American people was willing to give a Negro a thoroughly liberal education and that it had been looking in vain for men to educate was to say the least rather startling. When the newspaper clipping was handed me in a company of friends, my first impulse was to make in some public way a categorical statement denying that such an offer had ever been made known to colored students. I saw this would be injudicious and fruitless, and I therefore determined on the

plan of applying myself. I did so and have been refused along with a number of cases beside mine.

"As to my case I personally care little. I am perfectly capable of fighting alone for an education if the trustees do not see fit to help me. On the other hand the injury you have - unwittingly I trust - done the race I represent, and am not ashamed of, is almost irreparable. You went before a number of keenly observant men who looked upon you as an authority in the matter, and told them in substance that the Negroes of the United States either couldn't or wouldn't embrace a most liberal opportunity for advancement. That statement went all over the country. When now finally you receive three or four applications for the fulfillment of that offer, the offer is suddenly withdrawn, while the impression still remains.

"If the offer was an experiment, you ought to have had at least one case before withdrawing it; if you have given aid before (and I mean here toward liberal education - not toward training plowmen) then your statement at Johns Hopkins was partial. From the above facts I think you owe an apology to the Negro people. We are ready to furnish competent men for every European scholarship furnished us off paper. But we can't educate ourselves on nothing and we can't have the moral courage to try, if in the midst of our work our friends turn public sentiment against us by making statements which injure us and which they cannot stand by.

"That you have been looking for men to liberally educate in the past may be so, but it is certainly strange so few have heard it. It was never mentioned during my three years stay at Fisk University. President Price of Livingstone, [then a leading Negro spokesman] has told me that he never heard of it, and students from various other Southern schools have expressed great surprise at the offer. The fact is that when I was wanting to come (to) Harvard, while yet in the South, I wrote to Dr. Haygood (Atticus G. Haygood a leader of Southern white liberals), for a loan merely, and he never even answered my letter. I find men willing to help me thro' cheap theological schools, I find men willing to help me use my hands before I have

49 - 9 - 124

get my brains in working order, I have an abundance of good wishes on hand, but I never found a man willing to help me get a Harvard Ph.D."

Hayes was stirred. He promised to take up the matter the next year with the board. Thereupon, the next year I proceeded to write the board: "At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of Master of Arts, and was reappointed to my fellowship for the year 1891-92. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the Suppression of the Slave Trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington during the Christmas holidays.... Properly to finish my education, careful training in an European university for at least a year is, in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable." I thereupon asked respectfully "aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices" and if this was not practicable, "that the board loan me a sufficient sum for this purpose." I did not of course believe that this would get me an appointment, but I did think that possibly through the influence of people who thus came to know about my work, I might somehow borrow or beg enough to get to Europe.

49-9-180

I rained recommendations upon Mr. Hayes. The Slater Fund Board surrendered, and I was given a fellowship of seven hundred and fifty dollars to study a year abroad; with the promise that it might possibly be renewed for a second year. To salve their souls, however, this grant was made as half gift and a half repayable loan with (6%) interest. I remember rushing down to New York and talking with ex-President Hayes in the old Astor House, and emerging walking on air. I saw an especially delectable shirt in a shop window. I went in and asked about it. It cost three dollars, which was about four times as much as I had ever paid for a shirt in my life; but I bought it.

CHAPTER X

EUROPE 1892 TO 1894

When I was a young man I conceived that the foundations of world culture was laid, the way was charted, the progress toward certain great goals was undoubted and inevitable. There was room for argument concerning details and methods and possible detours in the onsweep of civilisation; but the fundamental facts were clear, unquestioned and unquestionable.

Between the years 1885 and 1894 I received my education at Fisk University, Harvard College and the University of Berlin. It was difficult for me at the time to form any critical estimate of any meaning of the world which differed from the conventional unanimity about me. Apparently one consideration alone saved me from complete conformity with the thoughts and confusions of then current social trends; and that was the problem of racial and cultural contacts. Otherwise I might easily have been simply the current product of my day. Even as it was, the struggle for which I was preparing and the situations which I was trying to conceive and study, related themselves primarily to the plight of the comparatively small group of American Negroes with which I was identified, and theoretically to the larger Negro race. I did not face the general plight and conditions of all humankind. That I took that for granted, and in the unanimity of thought and development of that day, as I saw it, this was scarcely to be wondered at.

49-9-131

It was to my mind and the minds of most of my teachers a day of Progress with a capital P. Population in all the culture lands was increasing swiftly doubling and more; cities everywhere were growing and expanding and making themselves the centers and almost the only centers of civilisation; transportation by land and sea was drawing the nations near and making the lands of the earth increasingly accessible. Inventions and technique were a perpetual marvel and their accomplishment infinite in possibility. Commerce was madly seeking markets all around the earth; colonies were being seized and countries integrated into European civilisation in Asia, Africa, South America and the islands. Of the methods of this colonial imperialism, the condition of colonial peoples and the effect of colonies

on home labor, I knew little until years later.

Above all, science was becoming a religion; psychology was reducing metaphysics to experiment and a sociology of human action was planned. Fighting the vast concept of evolution, religion went into its heresy trials, its struggles with "higher criticism", its discomfort at the "revised version" of the New Testament which was published the year I entered college. Everywhere men sought wealth and especially in America there was extravagant living among the rich; everywhere the poor planned to be rich and the rich planned to be richer; everywhere wider, bigger, higher, better things were set down as inevitable.

All this, of course dominated education; especially the economic order determined what the next generation should learn and know. On the whole, looking at the marvelous industrial expansion of America, seeing the rise of the western farmer and the wages of the eastern mechanic, all seemed well; or if not, if there were ominous protests and upheavals, these were but the friction necessary to all advance. "God's in His heaven; All's right with the world," Browning was singing -- that colored Robert Browning, who died just after I received my first bachelor's degree.

Had it not been for the race problem early thrust upon me and enveloping me, I should have probably been an unquestioning worshipper at the shrine of the established social order and of the economic development into which I was born. But just that part of this order which seemed to most of my fellows nearest perfection, seemed to me most inequitable and wrong; and starting from that critique, I gradually, as the years went by, found other things on which to question in my environment.

At first, however, my criticism was confined to the relation of my people to the world movement. I was not questioning the world movement in itself. What the white world was doing, its goals and ideals, I had not doubted were quite right. What was wrong was that I and people like me and thousands of others who might have my ability and aspiration, were refused permission to be a part of this world. It was as though moving on a rushing express, my main thought was as to my

49-9-152

relations with the other passengers on the express, and not to its rate of speed and its destination.

In the days of my formal education, my interest became concentrated upon the race struggle. My attention from the first was focused on democracy and democratic development; and upon the problem of the admission of my people into the freedom of democracy. This my training touched but obliquely. We studied history and politics almost exclusively from the point of view of ancient German freedom, English and New England democracy, and the development of the white United States. Here, however, I could bring criticism from what I knew and saw touching the Negro.

Europe modified profoundly my outlook on life and my thought and feeling toward it, even though I was there but two short years with my contacts limited and my friends few. But something of the possible beauty and elegance of life permeated my soul; I gained a respect for manners. I had been before, above all, in a hurry. I wanted a world, hard, smooth and swift, and had no time for rounded corners and ornament, for unhurried thought and slow contemplation. Now at times I sat still. I came to know Beethoven's symphonies and Wagner's Ring. I looked long at the colors of Rembrandt and Titian. I saw in arch and stone and steeple the history and striving of men and also their taste and expression. Form, color, and words took new combinations and meanings.

I crossed the ocean in a trance. Always I seemed to be saying, "It is not real; I must be dreaming!" I can live it again -- the little, Dutch ship -- the blue waters -- the smell of new-mown hay -- Holland and the Rhine. I saw the Wartburg and Berlin; I made the Harzreise and climbed the Brocken; I saw the Hansa towns and the cities and dorfs of South Germany; I saw the Alps at Berne, the Cathedral at Milan, Florence, Rome, Venice, Vienna, and Pesth; I looked on the boundaries of Russia; and I sat in Paris and London.

On mountain and valley, in home and school, I met men and women as I had never met them before. Slowly they became, not white folks, but folks. The unity beneath all life clutched me. I was not less fanatically a Negro, but "Negro" meant a

49-9-133

greater, broader sense of humanity and world-fellowship. I felt myself standing, not against the world, but simply against American narrowness and color prejudice, with the greater, finer world at my back.

In Germany in 1892, I found myself on the outside of the American world, looking in. With me were white folk -- students, acquaintances, teachers -- who viewed the scene with me. They did not always pause to regard me as a curiosity, or something sub-human; I was just a man of the somewhat privileged student rank, with whom they were glad to meet and talk over the world; particularly, the part of the world whence I came.

I found to my gratification that they, with me, did not regard America as the last word in civilisation. Indeed, I derived a certain satisfaction in learning that the University of Berlin did not recognize a degree even from Harvard University, no more than Harvard did from Fisk. Even I was a little startled to realize how much that I had regarded as white American, was white European and not American at all: America's music is German, the Germans said; the Americans have no art, said the Italians; and their literature, remarked the English, is mainly English. All agreed that Americans could make money and did not care how they made it. And the like. Sometimes their criticism got under even my anti-American skin, but it was refreshing on the whole to hear voiced my own attitude toward so much that America had meant to me.

I wrote in my diary: "Holland is an extremely neat and well-ordered mud-puddle, situated at the confluence of the English, French, and German languages. My memory of my first sight of it is inextricably interwoven with a smell of clover. It was after a two weeks' sea voyage -- pleasant to be sure, facinating as the changing, changeless sea ever is, but two weeks -- then I came on deck one sunny morning to see long low green fields, sleepy little farm-houses, long, prim, and decent rows of trees, stolid windmills and cows. So far as landscape is concerned, I never saw ought else in Holland and had I (God forbid!) followed my first inclinations, I should have gone away from this dear old nook with the usual uninteresting tale. I stayed a week or so, and I am very glad.

44-9-134

"There is to be sure a certain sameness about the homely country -- a slowness which makes an American gasp and sometimes swear, and yet the very monotony of the country, the low dogged hum of its simple life, has for the leiterer a charm I can only liken to that of the backyard of my New England home. The Dutchman is in no hurry; he sees no necessary connection between the new and the good -- rather the contrary; he is ponderously honest, and he is guiltless of anything savoring of personal beauty. His nation may become grasping and greedy, but the individual Dutchman is too honest to know it or to believe it when it is told."

"If Rotterdam had been any but a Dutch town, I shouldn't have seen it -- I mean if Dutch business methods had not been so exasperatingly deliberate as to take six days to get a draft on Baring Bros. of London cashed, I should not have spent even a night at this interesting place. As it was, I was imprisoned for nearly a week in the town, in daily terror lest mine host should present his ruddy bill before my extremely wan purse. And I liked it: a nice place in its way. To be sure I must say I never saw a poorly tailored town in my life. I saw very few persons whose clothes seemed to have been made with the slightest reference to their bodies, except the housemaids. In maidservants, Rotterdam has apparently reached the ne plus ultra: elaborately beruffled caps, immaculate white stockings and slippers, simple gingham dresses, and healthy, honestly homely faces, made them most pleasant figures to meet on the promenade.

"Rotterdam as a city has a certain lack of individuality which is in itself characteristic. You see, it lies in the midstream of Dutch commerce with the great world and the current has changed it. It has almost forgotten its native tongue -- so used is it to jabbering English, French, and German, and it has a general unconnected sort of air which would make a nervous people picturesque, but only makes the Rotterdamites a wee bit ludicrous.

"One annoyance I met here and all over Europe: the landlord would hasten to inform me beamingly that 'Fellow Americans had just arrived.' If there was one thing less desirable than 'white fellow Americans' to me, it was black 'fellow Americans' to them."

49-9-139

Of greatest importance was the opportunity which my Wanderjahre in Europe gave of looking at the world as a man and not simply from a narrow racial and provincial outlook. This was primarily the result not so much of my study, as of my human companionship, unveiled by the accident of color. From the days of my later youth in the South to my boarding a Rhine passenger steamer at Rotterdam in August, 1892, I had not regarded white folk as human in quite the same way that I was. I had reached the habit of expecting color prejudice so universally, that I found it even when it was not there. So when I saw on this little steamer a Dutch lady with two grown daughters and one of twelve, I proceeded to put as much space between us as the small vessel allowed. But it did not allow much, and the lady's innate breeding allowed less. Soon the little daughter came straight across the deck and placed herself squarely before me. She asked if I spoke German; before I could explain, the mother and other daughters approached and we were conversing.

49-9-136

Before we reached the end of our trip, we were happy companions, laughing, eating and singing together, talking English, French and German and viewing the lovely castled German towns. Once or twice when the vessel docked for change of cargo, the family strolled off to visit the town. Each time I found excuse to linger behind and visit alone later; until once at Dusseldorf, all got away before I sensed it and left me and the prettiest daughter conversing. Then seeing we had docked she suggested we follow and see the town. We did; and thereafter we continued acting like normal, well-bred human beings. I waved them all good-bye, in the solemn arched aisles of the Cologne cathedral, with tears in my eyes.

So too in brave old Eisenach, beneath the shadow of Luther's Wartburg, I spent a happy holiday in a home where university training and German home-making left no room for American color prejudice.

From this unhampered social intermingling with Europeans of education and manners, I emerged from the extremes of my racial provincialism. I became more human; learned the place in life of "Wine, Women, and Song;" I ceased to hate or suspect people simply because they belonged to one race or color; and above all I began to understand the real meaning of scientific research and the dim outline of

methods of employing its technique and its results in the new social sciences for the settlement of the Negro problems in America.

In the Marbach home which took only properly introduced "paying guests" were two grown daughters, and two young women who were relatives; two young Frenchmen, and English youth and myself. Herr Oberpharrer, Doctor Marbach and his efficient and correct wife presided. At first my German was halting and I was shy. But soon the courtesy of the elders and the ebullient spirits of the young folks evoked my good nature and keen sense of camaraderie. The very mistakes of those of us who were foreigners -- mistakes in grammar and usage and etiquette -- became a source of merriment and sympathy. We became a happy group closely bound to each other. We went together to church services and to concerts. We took long excursions through field and forest to places of interest, lunching in homely inns or in the open.

I remember once the contest in poetry we had in a forest glen looking out on a great mountain range; I recited in English and one of the Frenchmen in his tongue. Then Madame Marbach (who always chaperoned us) recited "Du bist wie eine Blume." We wept openly at its beauty and I looked at Dora with her blue eyes and black hair and the lovely coloring of her skin. Dora always paired with me, first to correct my German and then by preference. Once we all went to the annual ball of the upper middle class folk in the town. It was formal and a little stiff. The carefully gowned matrons sat around the walls of the room, knitting and gossiping and keeping watch over the demure white gowned girls in their charge. The fathers sat at tables and drank beer. I danced with all the girls of our home; then bowing from the waist ventured to ask other young ladies to whom I had been introduced. Then came the "Damen Wahl"; I drew back, but it was unnecessary, for my card was filled for every dance.

I was very fond of Dora Marbach and as I well know, so was she of me. Our fellows joked about us and when I sang the folk-song of "Die Lora am Thore," little Bertha invariably changed the name to "Dora." We confessed our love for each other and Dora said she would marry me "gleich!" But I knew this would be unfair to her and fatal for my work at home, where I had neither property nor social standing for this

49-9-137

blue-eyed stranger. She could not quite understand. Naturally I received much advice as to marriage plans. One lady told me very seriously "Sie sollen heirathen eine hell-blonde!" But I knew better, although there may have been some echo in my mind of the proverb:

"Es waer so schoen gewesen
Es hat nicht sollen sein!"

It was an American woman who sought to see to it that no entanglement between me and Dora took place. She and her husband came to board with the Marbachs for a month or so. He was a professor in Colorado, a good-natured, ill-mannered Westerner. She was a nervous gossip, astonished to see a Negro so well received in this household. What she told Frau Marbach about American Negroes I do not know, but I can imagine. There was nothing said of the couple but all were glad when they left. I felt a little sensitive when I left. I exchanged letters with the family while I remained in Germany but I never returned to this beloved foster home.

In the fall I went up to Berlin and registered in the university. In my study, I came in contact with several of the great leaders of the developing social sciences: in economic sociology and in social history. My horizon in the social sciences was broadened not only by teachers, but by students from France, Belgium, Russia, Italy and Poland.

For matriculation in groups of one hundred we went into a large room with a high ceiling ornamented with busts of Berlin's famous professors. The year's Rector Magnificus was the widely famous Rudolf Virchow. He was a meek and calm little man, white-haired and white-bearded, with kindly face and pleasant voice. I had again at Berlin as at Harvard, unusual opportunity. Although a foreigner, I was admitted my first semester to two seminars under Schmoller and Wagner, both of them at the time the most distinguished men in their line; I received eventually from both of them pleasant testimony on my work in economics, history, and sociology. I sat under the voice of the fire-eating Pan-German, von Treitschke; I heard Sering and Weber; I wrote on American agriculture for Schmoller and discussed social conditions in Europe with teachers and students. Under these teachers and in this social setting,

231-6-64

I began to see the race problem in America, the problem of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the political development of Europe as one. I began to unite my economics and politics; but I still assumed that in these groups of activities and forces, the political realm was dominant.

"Matriculation commenced the 15th of October. I registered as number 85 of the more than 5,000 who usually matriculate here. The lectures mostly began the week following. Each professor writes a more or less legible announcement as to the time and place of the commencement of his lectures. The student then has to scurry about and examine a dozen different blackboards and hundreds of different slips of paper to find his particular professor's announcement. Poorly written English is bad enough, but when puzzling German is cloaked in cacographically written German script, it is a combination fearful and wonderful to behold. Schmoller's scrawl caused me trouble, Wagner was well-nigh illegible, but Treitschke -- well, I haven't deciphered his announcement yet.

"The lectures are of two sorts -- private and public. The first have four hours a week, generally mornings on Tuesdays or Fridays, or on two afternoons from four to six. These lectures must be paid for at the rate of $5 a course for the semester. In this heaven of eclecticism every student must take at least a one-point course. The public lectures are full, and have one or two hours a week, on Wednesday or Saturday mornings or on other evenings at six or seven.

"An American astounded a professor by asking how much work a student was expected to do. The real answer is none or all he can manage. Only two things are required: the signature of the teacher at the beginning and at the end of the course. One of the articles furnished at matriculation is an "Anmelde-Bush" in which the names of the various professors and lectures you propose to take must be written. This is taken to the Questor who receives the tuition and receipts. Then you must trot to each professor and get his signature for each set of lectures at the beginning and end of the semester.

"The students take part in the recitation room proceeding mainly with their feet. A shuffle of feet presages disapproval, a stamping means applause. A few days ago, when Wagner mentioned Bismarck and called him the principal creator of German unity,

49-9-136

a rub-a-dub followed from the 300 students for nearly five minutes. Shuffling is used also to express disapproval of late arrivals. Sometimes the disturbance is not generally thought great enough and the shuffling is rebuked by hissing. At other times when the tardy one is unusually noisy, there is a deafening whirr of feet which stops the lecture and never fails to abash the intruder. Commencing late, the lectures also end late. The students generally submit to remaining (5) minutes past but after that there comes an ominous clicking of inkstands and now and then designed and premature applause cuts off the lecturer's last words.

"To me by far the most interesting of the professors is the well-known von Treitschke, the German Machiavelli. He never comes to his lectures until very late, often commencing his ten o'clock lecture on Politik at 10:50 -- never before 10:20. He is a large man, of 'fair round belly with good capon lined', or possibly with the more unpoetic beer; he generally dresses rather carefully in dark gray or blue cutaway with cylinder hat, gloves and the all-prevading German cane. His complexion is dark, his well-kept hair and full beard iron gray, and his features rather gross. He is stone deaf with a slight impediment in his speech, and a sort of breathless way of speaking, that makes him very difficult at first for a foreigner to understand. The task, however, is worth all pains, for his is one of the most forcible and independent minds on the faculty.

" His entrance is always the same. He comes in slowly, somewhat out of breath, with his overcoat, hat, and cane on his left arm. These he hangs on the wall and ascends to his desk where he stands as he speaks. He then takes off his right glove and putting his head a bit on one side says: 'Meine Herren,' with a falling inflection. Then begins the lecture, which, as I overheard a puzzled and sighing American say, 'has but one period and that's at the end.' He does not speak so fast, but his articulation is bad(imagine badly articulated German!) and he has a way of catching his breath in the midst of his sentences instead of at the end, giving the ear no natural pause.

"His lectures are nevertheless intensely interesting. He is rapt in his subject, a man of intense likes and dislikes, beliefs and disbeliefs. He is the very

embodiment of united monarchical, armed Germany. He has pity for France, hearty dislike for all things English -- while for America, well, the United States is his bete noire, which he seldom fails to execriate. One day he startled me by suddenly declaring during a lecture on America:'Die Mullattern sind niedrig! Sie fuhlen sich niedrig.'("Mulattoes are inferior; they feel themselves inferior.") I felt as if he were pointing me out; but I presume he was quite unaware of my presence. However my presence or absence would have made no difference to him. He was given to making extraordinary assertions out of a clear sky and evidently believing just what he said. My fellow students gave no evidence of connecting what he said with me. Yet von Treitschke was not a narrow man. His outlook is that of the born aristocrat who has something of the Carlyle contempt of levelling democracy. On the other hand he criticises his own government and nation unsparingly when he sees fit -- I have heard him characterise one of the highest officials as a 'verrueckte Dunkopf' while the students cheered. He grows enthusiastic in his lectures, gestures considerably, and has a little half-caustic smile which always foreshadows some sharp critical sally that usually brings down the house; as for instance when he characterised some current author's work as efforts 'to widen the boundaries of human stupidity.'

"The Berlin student is not typical of his class, nor will the stranger find here so much of the purely student life. Berlin stands, I imagine, to the smaller universities something as Harvard to the Western Universities. The students generally go to a local university first, then spend a semester or more in the classic glare of Berlin with its 85 full professors, 87 assistant professors, and 186 instructors; returning finally to their own universities to take their degrees. The galaxy of learning here at Berlin is not so brilliant today, I imagine, as in the day of the great Mommsen.

"Yet it is sufficiently attractive. All of these professors, of course, I have not had the opportunity of seeing, much less hearing -- indeed, four years at Harvard left some great names and faces unconnected in my mind. Those I have

49-9-141

seem here are more especially connected with my department of political science; but they are celebrated enough to merit some particular notice. Wagner I have already spoken of personally — his hobby is the discovery of the golden mean between the warring extremes of his science. He comes dangerously near committing the common mistake in such cases of mistaking his extremes. He is publishing a new edition of his valuable Lehrbuch, and as inducement is offering various blandishments to the national apparition of socialism. The bete noire of the German economist is, of course, the British school founded, as Wagner says, with a jerk of his head, by 'Adahm Smiss.' Wagner, however, gives them due credit for their great work and agrees with them more fully than with the younger German radicals headed by Schmoller.

"There is evidently no intellectual love lost between Wagner and Schmoller. Schmoller is a large man about 50, with flowing beard, grown bald and prematurely gray. His complexion is dark and his eyes small and bright. He wears glasses, speaks with an accent, and is evidently a man of strong prejudices, fearless and sharp in expression of opinion, but a tireless investigator. He strikes me as more of a historian than economist. He conducts the economics seminar every other semester, alternating with Wagner. This semester Schmoller has the seminar, consisting of upward of 40 members, two of whom are American born, representing Harvard and Boston University. The papers presented so far have been indifferent, but the discussion animated and intelligent.

"The difference in general appearance between the Berlin student and his Harvard brother is very marked. The Harvard man affects a slouchy stride, jams his hands in his pockets, dresses well, and yet with a certain conscious carelessness; and would appear as a sort of devil-may-care young fellow, out of swaddling clothes but not yet in straitjacket. The Berlin student affects a strut, never uses his trousers pockets or whistles in public, dresses poorly but with a certain primness of collar, gloves, and cane; and would appear as a young man of intellect, promise, and present importance. A crowd of German students is more picturesque.

"In social life particularism is more marked here than even at Harvard. The simpleton who asks: Well, how about the social life of the Harvard students? should

49-9-142

be questioned in turns Which Harvard students? So in Berlin. Most of the students have spent their 'kneipe' years elsewhere and come here if not for more serious, at least for a different sort of play. The 'Verbindungen' do not consequently play so much of a role here as elsewhere.

"After so much has been written, most people understand the German student fraternities. They are of two sorts: the Verbindungen and the Vereine. The Verbindungen are in two great divisions: the Verbindungen with affiliate chapters in all universities; under these come the corps, to which formerly only the nobles belonged, but which now differ but little from the other divisions -- the Burschenschaften, the Landsmannschaften, which have the bulk of members. Second, the 'Freie Verbindungen,' which are local societies.

"All the inter-university Verbindungen wear the student caps, a band of three colors across the breast; practice the sham scar duels to a considerable extent, do not wear beards, 'kneipe' together, and address each other by the familiar 'Du' instead of the polite 'Sie.' The objects of the Verbindungen are purely social. They meet at stated times in their 'local', drink beer, and sing, fight, etc. Duelling still goes on -- have recently seen three or four freshly cut cheeks and heads -- but not to a very great extent. I should judge that less than a tenth, possibly less than a twentieth of the members, bear scars. The custom as carried out now is entirely harmless -- more so than the Harvard Dickey initiation, I should say. All the different societies parade slowly in the little square before the University in full regalia. Their number are, however, insignificant -- generally not more than fifty or sixty in all.

"The Vereine are clubs for local social and literary purposes. They wear no caps or only colors on their fob watch chains. There are numerous Vereine in Berlin for all purposes, from philosophy to chess, and from converting the Jews to Alp-climbing. Outside of this, there is also and independent 'student union' of those belonging to no societies.

The political situation is followed with keen interest by the students, though there is very little outspoken opinion. It is easy to see, that William II is not

49-9-143

altogether popular among the young men, that many are not averse to coquetting a bit with socialism, and there is a general unrest and dissatisfaction among these future citizens.

"Naturally I am attracted to the socialist movement, but the history of the development of Marxism and of the revisionists like Lasalle, Bernstein and Bakunin was too complicated for a student like myself to understand, who had received no real teaching along this line. I was overwhelmed with rebuttals of Marxism before I understood the original doctrine. Even such great occurrences as the French Commune were minimized by the main history teaching to which I had listened in America. Until the fall of Bismarck in 1890, socialist organization or agitation were illegal in Germany, but the increase of industrial workers had led to a vast scheme of state insurance for accidents, old age relief and the like under Bismarck. In 1891, William II through his new Chancellor Caprivi tried a new social policy which allowed socialists to organize and a new Social Democratic party was beginning to grow rapidly at the time I arrived as a student. I frequently attended their meetings, but my student rank hindered me from that close personal acquaintanceship with workers which I should have had for complete understanding. I did soon realize that the Social Democratic party was the largest in the state, but kept from its rightful representation in the Reichstag by privilege and systematic gerrymandering."

49-9-144

The pageantry and patriotism of Germany in 1892 astonished me. In New England our patriotism was cool and intellectual. Ours was a great nation and it was our duty to preserve it. We "loved" it but with reason not passion. In the South, Negroes simply did not speak or think of patriotism for the nation which held their fathers in slavery for 250 years. On the other hand we revered rebels like Robert Dale Owen, Henry George or Edward Bellamy. When I heard my German companions sing "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber Alles, ueber Alles in der Welt" I realized that they felt something I had never felt and perhaps never would. The march of soldiers, the saluting of magnificent uniforms, the martial music and rhythm of movement stirred my senses.

Then there was that new, young Emperor, "von Gottes Gnade, deutsche Kaiser, Koenig von Preussen", who led and pin-pointed the pageantry. Ever and again he came

riding ahead of his white and golden troops on prancing chargers through the great Brandenburg gate, up the Linden "With banners gaily flying, with trumpet and with drum!" I thrilled at the sight even though I knew of that shrivelled left arm and of his impossible demand for supreme power. I even trimmed my beard and mustache to a fashion like his and still follow it. If I a stranger was thus influenced, what about the youth of Germany? I began to feel that dichotomy which all my life has characterized my thoughts: how far can love for my oppressed race accord with love for the oppressing country? And when these loyalties diverge, where shall my soul find refuge?

Germany took up my music and art where Fisk had left me; to religious oratorio was now added opera and symphony, song and sonata. I heard cheaply and often from the balcony seats offered students, the great music of the world: but I heard it in reverse; I heard Wagner before Verdi; I listened to Tannhäuser before "Il Trovatore." Nevertheless my delight in good music was signally increased. Beside the Negro folk songs I could now place "Jetz geh' I' an's Brunelle, trink aber net!"

The many vacations of the academic year I used for trips in Germany and to other parts of Europe; but missing after the Summer in Eisenach, the companionship of close friends, I kept up my older habit of travelling alone.

I had some student companionship in Germany and might easily have had more. I was invited to join a "Gesellschaft" for study of comparative international law; I found there some good companions and we talked and published a set of by-laws. To this we added a song book, to which at unanimous request I added a translation of the then popular "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de ay!" Nevertheless I took my first excursion alone and chose the Hansa cities of north-west Germany. I planned this trip for March, but before leaving there came my twenty-fifth birthday on February twenty-third. I asked in no companions.

It was in the long, dark winter of northern Germany, and while I was comfortable, I felt a little lonesome and far-away from home and boyhood friends. I arose at eight and took coffee and oranges, read letters, thought of my dead parents, and was sorry. The night before I had heard Schubert's beautiful Unfinished Symphony planned

my celebration and written to Grandma and Mabel and had a curious little ceremony with candles, Greek wine, oil, and song and prayer. [redacted] I wandered up to the reading room, then to the art gallery, and finally had a fine dinner with Sonderhof over a bottle of Rudesheimer and cigarettes. Then we went to Potsdam for coffee and saw a pretty girl. We came back to the Seminar, took a walk supped on cocoa, wine, oranges and cake and I came home alone. I had candles in my room on Schoenburger Ufer, and a dedication of my small library to the memory of my mother; and I wrote something rather sentimental about life in general:

"Night — grand and wonderful. I am glad I am living. I rejoice as a strong man to win a race, and I am strong — is it egotism — is it assurance — or is the silent call of the world spirit that makes me feel that I am royal and that beneath my sceptre a world of kings shall bow. The hot dark blood of a black forefather is beating at my heart, and I know that I am either a genius or a fool. O I wonder what I am — I wonder what the world is — I wonder if life is worth the Sturm. I do not know — perhaps I never shall know: But this I do know: be the Truth what it may I will seek it on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking— and Heaven nor Hell, God nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die. I will in this second quarter century of my life, enter the dark forest of the unknown world for which I have so many years served my apprenticeship — in the chart and compass which the world furnishes me I have little faith in — yet I have nothing better — I will seek till I find — and die. There is a grandeur in the very hopelessness of such a life — Life? And is life all? If I strive, shall I live to strive again? I do not know and in spite of the wild sehnsucht for Eternity that makes my heart sick now and then — I shut my teeth and say I do not care. Carpe Diem! What is life but life, after all? Its end is its greatest and fullest self — this end is the Good: the Beautiful is its attribute — its soul, and Truth is its being. Not three commensurable things are these, they are three dimensions of the cube. Mayhap God is the fourth, but for that very reason he will be incomprehensible. The greatest and fullest life is by definition beautiful, beautiful — beautiful as a dark passionate woman, beautiful as a golden-hearted

49-9-146

school girl, beautiful as a grey haired hero. That is the dimension of breadth. Then comes Truth -- what is, cold and indisputable: What is height. Now I will, so help my soul, multiply breadth by height, beauty by truth and then goodness, strength shall bind them together into a solid whole. Wherefore? I know not now. Perhaps infinite other dimensions do. This is a wretched figure and yet it roughly represents my attitude toward the world. I am striving to make my life all that life may be -- and I am limiting that strife only in so far as that strife is incompatible with others of my brothers and sisters making their lives similar. The crucial question now is where that limit comes. I am too often puzzled to know. Pearl put it as meat-eating, which was asinine. I have put it as the (perhaps) life-ruin of Amalie which is cruel. God knows I am sorely puzzled. I am firmly convinced that my own best development is not one and the same with the best development of the world and here I am willing to sacrifice. That sacrifice to the world's good becomes too soon sickly sentimentality. I therefore take the world that the Unknown lay in my hands and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world ...."

I was considerably alarmed at the end of my second semester toward the middle of the year 1893 when no word arrived as to re-appointment to my fellowship which I had confidently expected. I cabled without success. Finally this rather casual reply came from the President of John Hopkins, D.C. Gilman:

"The Slater Trustees have renewed your appointment with the understanding that you should give a note for one half the sum as before. You will presently hear from Mr. Strong representing the Treasurer.

"A telegram was received here May 6th, reading: 'Was Du Bois reappointed?' without signature. I answered it and there came back a dispatch from Berlin, saying that the message was undelivered. I did not repeat the message.

"I shall hope to hear from you after receiving this note, and to have the semi-annual letters in the coming year as in the past."

The Christmas holidays of 1893 I spent in making a trip through south Germany. Three of us visited Weimar, Frankfort, Heidelberg and Mannheim. From Christmas Day

741-6-44

to New Year's we stopped in a little German "Dorf" in the Rheinpfals, where I had an excellent opportunity to study the peasant life closely and compare it with country life in the South. Three of us started out — a Scotsman, an American and myself. The American was descended from German immigrants to the United States and had relatives in the Rhineland in southwest Germany. We spent Christmas in the village of Gimmeldigen. What a lovely holiday, ~~with hunting of the wee wine grasp,~~ visiting and feasting among peasant folk who treated me like a prince. We visited perhaps twenty different families, talked, ate and drank new wine with them; listened to their gossip, attended their social assemblies, etc. The bill which my obsequious landlord presented on my departure was about one-tenth of what I expected. We stayed in Neustadt a week, with a family whose dead father had driven the first locomotive into France at the opening of the Franco-German war. The daughter was a fine, homely young woman who did everything to make us comfortable.

We then went to Strassburg, Stuttgart, Ulm, Muenchen, Nuernberg, Prague and Dresden. In those places we stayed from one to five days following our Baedekers closely and paying much attention to the Muenchen and Dresden art galleries. The whole trip cost me about eighty dollars. We parted from our American: he was a good-hearted but rather vulgar man, with an education that left no visible results. John Dollar my British companion and I got on famously together because we were so opposite in temperament. He was coldly and conventionally British in dress and speech. He paraded more than he walked, hated Catholic priests for no reason which he ever stated and was constitutionally afraid of women. With this went a strange simplicity and deep sympathy with human suffering. Later we decided to go down to Italy; to Genoa, Rome and Naples and then over to Venice and Vienna and Budapest. On this trip we used German instead of English because as Dollar assured me it would be much cheaper. He was quite right. We went over the vast barrier of the Alps gazing up on its heaven of snow and sky and then down on the incomparable beauty of the Italian lakes.

These were troubled days all over Europe. Switzerland was following Socialism by adopting social insurance and was on the brink of buying up her railroads.

49-9-148

Humbert I and Leo XIII were at loggerheads over papal territority in Italy. Crispi had risen, fallen and come back to power, and was now heading for the fatal Ethiopian war of 1896. We went to Genoa and Turin; to Florence, Rome and Naples. I saw for the first time some of the world's great sculpture and painting; its historical monuments; I sensed the [illegible] difficulties between France and Italy when Dollar and I, mistaken for Frenchmen were stoned by youth in the Roman forum. We lived cheaply and fared bountifully. We saw Naples, free, lovely and dirty, in all the gay abandon of the fin-de-siecle. It was a great and inspiring trip. We turned back north and saw Venice with its doves and the Palace of the Doges, and then went north east to Vienna.

This was Vienna in its glory, not at its height but still magnificent. I remember the great Opera house and the way men stood in their seats and looked the audience over; the leisurely way in which we all promenaded in the wide and long halls and lunched at will; and then the finely conducted music and acting. It was one of the world's greatest and most influential cities. Here Dollar left me. I do not think he liked Austria as much as Rome and also his engagements called him.

As for me I had further scenes to examine. While at Berlin, I found myself once explaining to a schoolmate, Stanislaus Ritter von Estreicher, the race problem in America. He was not as impressed as I thought he should be. He said "I understand only too well; but you should see the race antagonism in my home. Come to Krakow and see the clash of German and Pole!" I promised that I would visit him when near. So now I travelled alone into Hungary, with the object of turning north through Slovenia and over the Tatra mountains into Poland. It was a journey with a hint of adventure and with a far-off likeness to my American South.

In Budapest I was struck by the hostility to German Austria. This was four years after the suicide of Crown Prince Rudolf at Meyerling. Taafe was prime minister and had sought to placate the rising Hungarian drive to greater independence by grant of manhood suffrage. But the Hungarians were asserting their desire for independence. In the post office, they pretended not to understand German even when I tried to buy stamps. It would be the very next year that Kossuth was to

44-6-44

die in Italy and increase the demand for Hungarian independence from Austria.

I fared north over that great plain along which the Magyars came west a thousand years before. I had glimpses of Hungary as I travelled slowly by third-class railway coach, stopping to spend a night here and there. A Hungarian peasant wrote later of conditions in Hungary at the time: "Come with me in the Spring and hoe for sixteen hours for twelve cents a day; eat dry bread and rotten bacon, sleep in a hole dug with his own hoe for six hours. We work even longer in summer. On the putszas four families, 20 to 25 people, live in one room. I have seen men collapsing on the street from starvation. Such things are not exactly calculated to make one enthusiastic about the Fatherland. Do our lords think we shall starve to death without a word?"

All this I did not actually see, but I heard its echoes; my dark face elicited none of the curiosity which it had in blonde north Germany, for there were too many dark Gypsies and other brunettes. I saw poverty and despair. I was several times mistaken for a Jew; arriving one night in a town of north Slovenia, the driver of a rickety cab whispered in my ear, "Unter die Judem?" I stared and then said yes. I stayed in a little Jewish inn. I was a little frightened as in the gathering twilight I traversed the foothills of the dark Tatras alone and on foot. I crossed into Poland and stopped to go down into the salt mines of Wielitza.

Finally I came to Krakow and my friend. It was an interesting visit and an old tale. Tyranny in school and work; insult in home and on the street. Of course here, in contrast to America, there were the privileged Poles who escaped personal insult; there was the aristocracy who had some recognized rights. The whole mass of the oppressed were not reduced to one level; nevertheless the degradation was only too familiar. The venerable librarian of the university treated me to Polish "schnappe" which nearly choked me. The family made me most welcome. I never saw my schoolmate again, but I heard later that in the First World War, the Germans tried to make him a Quisling for them. In 1940, von Estreicher died in a German concentration camp, after he had refused to be one of German's puppet rulers of Poland.

I came back to Berlin by way of Prague and Dresden and started my third and final

semester. Schmoller wanted to present me for my doctorate, despite the fact that I had not finished the "triennium" required in a German University and my work at Harvard was not recognised. The faculty was willing in my case but was restrained by the professor of English who threatened to push the similar claims of several Britishers. I therefore regretfully had to forego the chance of a German doctorate and wait for the degree from Harvard.

As a farewell to Germany, I made the Hartzreise in the spring of 1894. Again I went alone, but with my now familiar German and wide experience of travel, I felt at home. I kept no diary of this trip, but started west from Berlin to Magdeburg and Halberstadt in Saxony. I passed the splendid seat of the Prince zu Steinberg-Wernigerhode. Then I climbed to the Brocken and lived Walpurgis night again I forded streams and climbed mountains until in full darkness I came to an old inn. [redacted] inn I ordered beer and kalbsbratten and dined alone. This was my perfect farewell to a Germany which no longer exists.

49-9-151

I stayed in Europe as long as the last penny allowed -- eager for work and home and yet reluctant. My old pal Dollar wrote me from England and we planned to meet in London before I left for America.

I now turned home. If I had spent a fourth semester at Berlin, that would not only exceeded my funds covering two years of work but also have taken me up to Christmas and make the securing of work in America for the next year unlikely. A better alternative occurred to me and that was to spend the Spring in France. The years of preparation were over and life was to begin. I computed my balance of funds carefully. I could go first class to London, spend a short time with my friend Dollar and then take first class cabin accomodation to the United States. Or by carefully husbanding my funds, riding third class on railways and returning steerage to New York I could spend a month or more in France. My earlier idea had been to spend a year in Germany and a year in France in graduate study; but I had to choose between a more complete German experience and two incomplete glimpses of both countries. So I spent nearly all my time in Germany. But here at the end was an opportunity at least to have a glimpse of France and then rough it home. Of course

if I had intimated my need for further funds to Dollar he would have been willing and able to make me a loan. But here my New England frugality stopped me. I already was in debt for my half of my fellowships; I had no job; and I had lived well enough in Europe to endure for a week, the experience of immigrants to America. Even they on arrival might easily have a better chance for life than I in my own country.

I went to France and saw Paris; wandered wide and deep and made my French fairly understandable. I sensed the everlasting lure of Paris, three years after the suicide of Boulanger and the year of the final completion of the Franco-Russian alliance. It was also the year President Carnot was assassinated and Dreyfus condemned for treason. But these events gained only my passing attention. I was facinated by the glory of French culture in painting, sculpture, architecture and historical monument. I saw Sarah Bernhardt; I haunted the Louvre.

In June I met my friend Dollar in London for a few days of a last farewell. Dollar, dear old boy, hadn't the slightest idea that I was going steerage and prattled finely about "selecting a cabin" and all that. We wandered about the depot, watching the crowds, edified by Dollar's explanation of the station until finally I entered the carriage, bade my good friend adieu and rattled off.

We stopped at Southhampton in a sort of flurry, nobody not even the guards seeming to know what we were to do next. As we stood helplessly on the platform the guard suddenly screamed "2nd cabin passengers this way" and left us steerage people alone. Finally they called us and grabbing our luggage we followed our guide who led us thru' the streets in one long line to a small brick shed about a mile off, where we deposited our baggage in the ante-room and entered. Within the walls were white-washed bricks, the ceiling wooden and iron and wooden columns in the center. At one end there was an alcove where several cooks were busy and distributed thru' the room were long wooden tables and benches on which not over clean tablecloths were spread. It was a most miscellaneous crowd: men, women, children, girls, husbands, wives,- and as I should judge about an even mixture of honest people and rascals. Let me describe some types about me: opposite me a good-natured, honest,

49-9-152

red bearded Englishman, well dressed -- paper collar, silver ring etc. Tells me he's been in America before and talks sensibly. Beside me a short bull necked candidate for states prison, drunk and sleeping with his head on the table; on the other side an ill-smelling old man with chin beard, goodnatured and a bit stupid. Yonder is a tall girl -- rather good looking, a bit tawdrily dressed -- afraid for her future. There is a motherly old lady in black with a look of sorrow on her face -- poor thing. They're eating now -- grabbing things and swilling tea.

Well there we sat in this great bare room that whole afternoon: the ship would not sail till the morrow and we must of course sleep there unless as the steward gently hinted, we went to a hotel. By careful manouvering I secured a doorless compartment alone and an ill-smelling bunk. A rather restless night it was however-- the smell, the noise of the drunken roisterers and the thoughts of the wild trip I was about to take. Two of the roisterers came staggering in about midnight, mistook my compartment for theirs, staggered about, guffawed, hiccoughed and joked and at last managed to tumble to their own bed. Then I was waked again by one of them crawling thru' the hall on his knees with a lighted match, seeking a penny he'd dropped -- not exactly a comfort giving exhibition in a dry, wooden hovel. Finally my troubled morning dreams were mingled with the stench of the beer which his poor stomach refused longer to hold. This was too much -- I could not eat breakfast but rushed out of the fetid atmosphere of the crowded hall into the wet misty atmosphere of Southhampton. It was early Sunday morning and all shops were closed -- oh what a dreary lonesome feeling that was. At last I bought an indifferent breakfast for 10 pence and then returned to the "barracks" to find that we could not sail before afternoon. In despair I started off again and succeeded in finding a more interesting wandering. Southhampton is in many respects a fine old town with its historic gates and old bits of town wall and I enjoyed this all thoroughly. Finally I returned to dinner -- a jam and a crowd in which I joined with loathing. Then came a baggage van and away we straggled to the quay amid the undisguised amusement of the inhabitants -- and it was a picturesque and laughable crowd -- young and old -- lame and well -- rags and fine clothes -- Jew and gentile, Russians, English, Americans, Negroes, Poles

49-9-153

Germans, French, Greeks, Austrians -- all running and waddling along. Ah -- it was funny and yet sad -- this great stream of hopes and longing -- of disappointment and sorrow, of happiness and crime about to turn itself into Americans. At the quay we were hemmed in by ropes for about a half or three-quarters of an hour and a big red tag with the stamps of the U.S. Consul attached to our bags certifying that he had inspected us -- which was of course a lie. Finally we showed our tickets and came on board. In a few minutes, the two tugs started with us in tow and we had embarked.

I'm not myself of the seasick getting kind but I must confess that the next morning as I felt the ship rising and fading away under my feet and rolling from side to side with something more than ordinary enthusiasm -- I felt a certain settled melancholy which compelled me to confine my first breakfast to an orange and rush in rather undignified haste from the dark dungeons below onto the wet and dirty deck. I was not sicker than this -- missed no meals and gave up no further offering to the sea; but it was a trying time. The sea was very choppy even a bit stormy. Then in addition to that, the filth and nastiness of the people about me, the small amount of deck room -- that was enough to cause the stoutest stomach to revolt, even on land. And the people were sick -- oh so sick, it was pitiable to see them and yet at the same time so laughable. In spite of the efforts of the crew it was well nigh impossible to keep the deck clean, ever where lay unsightly messes -- as one fellow said as I told of the good dinner we'd had: "Yes, I saw a lot of it up on deck." One can hardly realize how sick it's possible to get. Some of the pale, drawn faces looked quite deathlike and the whole tone of melancholly hopelessness that pervaded the crowd was most remarkable. Some made no attempt at first to come on deck and after a few days I was continually surprised by the appearance of new faces which until then had lain low in the cabins below. Such a sort of universal sickness however is a strange opportunity to view human character: these 350 human beings so accidently thrown together learned to know each other first amid pain and suffering and the little friendships made there, the little deeds good and bad, sank deeper into their souls than usual. It is perhaps this circumstance that gives a sea voyage its most peculiar flavor.

49-6-154

49-6-153

On this our floating island the world is much simpler than usual. First it consists of us and the trembling world of cabins, decks, masts and chimneys. Then there is a great circle of dark blue waters stretching away, away evenly in a circle until meeting with the sky in the dim and misty distance it becomes one with the sky world and its clouds and pale day moon. Our ship is a fairly large one not very swift and a bit old -- the "Chester" of the American line with, all told, some 800 souls aboard. My first work in the morning is to get a slight bath -- a thing of no ordinary difficulty for steerage passengers. I generally get up on deck a bit early. A bell rings and I hasten down two rickety pairs of steep stairs -- that is two stories below the deck where our cabins are. This is a long room -- perhaps 15 yards long and as wide as the ship. The sides are taken up with the bunks leaving a space perhaps 15 feet in the middle through which a long narrow table of plain boards runs lengthwise. Beside this are narrow stationary seats without backs. The whole room is lighted by only a half dozen small port holes and kerosene lamps giving it a rather gloomy appearance. It is fairly well ventilated, considering its depth below the world. We range ourselves by the tables each bringing the utensils delivered to him by the steward at the beginning of the trip -- a tin plate, cup and spoon, and a knife and fork. The breakfast consists of rather poor coffee (with milk and molasses already in) plenty of good bread and fair butter, and good porridge or stews a breakfast in which in spite of the noise, the broad talk and the very primitive table manners of my neighbors, I generally enjoy. The next duty is to wash your own dishes for which a can for slops and a can of hot water is provided -- the dish cloth being furnished by the passenger. As usual, some omit even this bit of trouble and have apparently not washed their plates since starting.

There are two fullblooded Negroes aboard and (including myself) three mulattoes. We do not go together -- indeed have not all spoken together, but I think all have had a pleasant voyage with little cause to complain of any prejudice. Of course we awakened more or less curiosity with some and I fancy something of dislike in others. Yet I find us all talking to the women and one, especially from his good heartedness

49-9-155

seems a general favorite; in fine in a gradual line of individuals here the Blacks would by no means stand at the bottom of the row. What I notice in all the passengers is their good-heartedness -- their straight-forwardness. There is not a trace of deception and desire to injure or envy others traceable. A people with such hearts do not deserve annihilation. Society! What happens when 350 people of the lower classes are for nine days thrown together with very little outside government? The answer to this can be seen on this voyage and is most interesting. We have here of course all grades of society but a majority of what must be called lower. Yet I think that the better classes here, the better and more orderly elements though scarcely greater in numbers has been distinctly more influential. The experience has proven in a degree what I have always thought, that the number of "estates" becomes unlimited in a sense. One can scarcely bring any sort of a crowd of people together without finding a large number of distinct classes. Then again the number of estates is quite limited, for the several classes have developed differences here in no great degree different from the classes elsewhere in the world -- it is the same old strife of finer souls against brutality.

We have of course strange divisions here: that of education, of course, that of wealth, that of life object, that of nation, and that of language and that of color. There is here a great number of half educated men -- men who for lack of opportunity or perseverance have but tasted the beginnings of life. They are, when not dogmatic and conceited, most interesting men and in all cases studies in human nature. They are often compounded of opposites; and intellectual acumen and desire to learn with low habits and even brutality; then again there are embryonic cranks.

After a week we began to become tired and uneasy. We wanted Life to end and begin. A new land loomed there beyond the horizon and we began searching the skies. I who was born there was also approaching something new and untried after twenty-four years of preparation. At last it loomed on the morning when we saw the Statue of Liberty. I know not what multitide of emotions surged in the others, but I had to recall that mischievous little French girl whose eyes twinkled as she said: "Oh yes the Statue of Liberty! With its back toward America, and its face toward France!"

CHAPTER XI

WILBERFORCE

As a student in Germany, I builded great castles in Spain and lived therein. I dreamed and loved and wandered and sang; then after two long years I dropped suddenly back into "nigger"-hating America!

My Days of Disillusion which followed were not disappointing enough to discourage me. I was still upheld by that fund of infinite faith, although dimly about me I saw the shadow of disaster. I began to realize how much of what I had called Will and Ability was sheer Luck: Suppose my good mother had preferred a steady income from my child labor rather than bank on the precarious dividend of my higher training? Suppose that pompous old village judge, whose dignity we often ruffled and whose apples we stole, had had his way and sent me while a child to a "reform" school to learn a "trade": Suppose Principal Hosmer had been born with no faith in "darkies," and instead of sending me to college had had me taught carpentry and the making of tin pans? Suppose I had missed a Harvard scholarship? Suppose the Slater Board had then, as now, distinct ideas as to where the education of Negroes should stop? Suppose and suppose! As I sat down calmly on flat earth and looked at my life a certain great fear seized me. Was I the masterful captain or the pawn of laughing sprites? Who was I to fight a world of color prejudice? I raise my hat to myself when I remember that, even with these thoughts, I did not hesitate or waver; but just went doggedly to work, and therein lay whatever salvation I have achieved.

I returned to the United States at twenty-six years of age and after twenty years of study to look for a job and begin work. I wrote my friend Dollar in London:

"You know I landed in New York in June, 1924 with $2 plus my fare home up in Berkshire. It was not altogether a happy homecoming -- it was too much of a disillusionment after months of picturesque German gutturals, days of sunny skies, and

49-6-151

weeks of dirty mighty Romes. I felt as though the bottom of the universe was loose and might go down if after all this soaring I stepped full feet upon it. And I must step, walk, stumble and climb now; for the lehrsame jahre were passed -- I fancied -- and the meister jahre begun."

It was a disturbed world in which I landed; 1892 saw the high tide of lynching in the United States; Cleveland had entered his second term in 1893 and the Chicago Exposition had taken place. The Dreyfus case had opened in France with his conviction and imprisonment, and he was destined for twelve years to suffer martyrdom. The war between China and Japan broke out the year of my return. I had rejoiced in the million dollar gift of Daniel Hand for education in my graduation year but recognised clearly the blow that democracy received when Congress repealed the so-called Force bills in 1894, refusing longer even to try to protect the legal citizenship rights of Negroes. But on the other hand, I did not at all understand the implications of the Matabele War in 1893. I did not see how the gold and diamonds of South Africa and later the copper, ivory, cocoa, tin and vegetable oils of other parts of Africa and especially the black labor force were determining and conditioning the political action of Europe.

First came the task of earning a living. I was not nice nor hard to please. I just got down on my knees and begged for work, anything and anywhere. I began a systematic mail campaign. I wrote to no white institution, -- I knew there were no openings there. I wrote one colored public school in East Tennessee, not far from where I had taught school. The board hesitated, but finally indicated that I had rather too much education for their use. I applied to Howard University, Hampton Institute, Tuskegee Institute and my own Fisk. They had no openings.

So I sat down and wrote more letters -- let's see: "President of so and so college: Sir: I am a Negro, 27 years of age, educated in the public schools of Massachusetts, at Fisk University, Nashville and Harvard University, where I took the

49-6-158

degrees of A.B. and A.M. I wish to teach next year. Have you a ~~vacancy~~ VACANCY, etc." I wrote so many that I scarcely remember where. The hot months rolled by and answers came slowly -- brief no's, polite regrets, general disclaimers and one or two vague notes with dubious hopes. The editors notwithstanding, no college man expects the gates of the wide world to fly open before him 'with impetuous recoil' and yet I say it wasn't too much for a colored man with a Harvard A.M. to expect a bread and butter job -- was it?

At last a few offers came. The first was a telegram from Wilberforce University, a colored church school in Ohio, "Our chair of classics $800 is yours. Wire acceptance. Come next week." I immediately accepted with gratitude. Later there was Lincoln Institute, a state colored school out in Missouri, that offered $1,050 for a teacher of "classics and mathematics." I refused since I had accepted Wilberforce. I knew something about ~~it~~ Wilberforce, it was venerable and well known. Finally, August 25, I received a telegram: "Can give mathematics if terms suit. Will you accept. Booker T. Washington." It would be interesting to speculate just what would have happened, if I had received the offer of Tuskegee first, instead of that of Wilberforce.

49-9-159

So, late in hot August, I started for Wilberforce. Life was now begun and I was half happy. Up through the Berkshire Valley with its quiet beauty, then across New York I glided, wrapped in dreams. The lights of Buffalo bade me good-night, and half asleep, I drifted across Ohio.

The depot at Xenia was small and "busy" with a slight admixture of dirt and tobacco juice which was unpleasant. I telephoned to Wilberforce. Then I waited an hour. Finally the President entered the waiting room. I shall never forget that man. He had by long odds the prettiest smile of any man I ever saw -- so quiet and charming. All I remember now of that first meeting is the vision of that smile swiftly entering the waiting room and remember too that it was borne on two short and rather disreputable looking bowlegs.

Wilberforce was a small colored denominational college married to a state normal school. The church was too poor to run the college; the State tolerated the normal school so as to keep Negroes out of other state schools. Consequently, there were enormous difficulties in both church and state politics. This I soon realized. I had been hired to teach "Latin and Greek." They were not my specialty and despite years spent in their study I really knew far too little to teach them. But I had assumed that I was to assist Professor Scarborough, a well-known Negro scholar long working at Wilberforce. To my amazement I found that I was to replace him, since in a quarrel between him and the President, he had been ousted and I had been advertised as a learned professor just from Germany. This was my introduction to Church politics. I did not like it but the name of Wilberforce lured me.

The breath of it had swept the water and dropped into southern Ohio, where white Southerners had once taken their cure at Tawawa Springs and where white Methodists later planted a school. Then came the little bishop, Daniel Payne, a Negro, who bought it and made it a school of the African Methodists.

Into this situation I landed with the cane and gloves of my German student days; with my rather inflated ideas of what a "university" ought to be and with a terrible plainness of speech that was continually getting me into difficulty; as when, for instance, the student leader of a prayer meeting into which I had wandered casually to look local religion over, suddenly and without warning announced that "Professor Du Bois will lead us in prayer," I simply answered, "No, he won't," and as a result nearly lost my new job. It took a great deal of explaining to the board of bishops why a professor in Wilberforce should not be able at all times and sundry to address God in extemporaneous prayer. I was saved only by the fact that my coming to Wilberforce had been widely advertised and I was willing to do endless work when the work seemed to me worth doing.

49-9-160

I went to Wilberforce with high ideals. I wanted to help build a great university. I was willing to work night as well as day and taught full time. I helped in student discipline, took part in the social life, and began to write books. But I found myself against a stone wall. Nothing stirred before my impatient pounding! Or if it stirred, it soon slept again.

The African Methodist Church was the greatest social institution of American Negroes. Wilberforce was its largest school. This school therefore became the capital of a nation-wide institution. Its large body of trustees were interested in the church organization, not in the college. The bishops and would-be bishops gathered here in force on each commencement where elders and ministers waylaid them in long conferences. The teachers also found it expedient to make powerful acquaintances at these occasions; but I in my independence met no one but walked off into the woods as the hosts talked.

But I worked hard and this most students and many teachers liked. My program for the day at Wilberforce looked almost as long as a week's program now. I taught Latin, Greek, German, and English, and wanted to add sociology. I had charge of some of the most unpleasant duties of discipline and had outside work in investigation. I met and made many friends: Charles Young, a Negro soldier not long graduated from West Point, was one; he was serving as military instructor here for the Federal government. He and I both refused to attend the annual "revivals" of religion which interrupted school work every year at Christmas time. We both dreamed of a great future for this Negro school. Later Young fought in Mexico against Villa. He ranked first for a generalship in the army when the First World War opened, but was deftly shoved aside. He accepted duty later in Nigeria, West Africa, and died deliberately of black water fever. There was also at Wilberforce a student, Charles Burroughs, a gifted reader, who was in my classes; Paul Laurence Dunbar

came over from Dayton and read to us. I had known his work but was astonished to find that he was a Negro. And not least, I met the slender, quiet, and dark-eyed girl Nina Gomer who became Mrs. Du Bois in 1896. Her father was chef in the leading hotel of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and her dead mother a native of Alsace.

In May, 1896, I was not only in love with a beautiful girl, but also had carefully calculated that (A) I should marry before thirty, and that (B) my salary of $800 was sufficient for two -- if paid. They had an irritating way at Wilberforce in those days of not paying salaries very promptly. Indeed this nearly ruined my plans. It was May 1, I was penniless and my bride was awaiting me in Iowa. The treasurer was about to leave for General Conference where he had more weighty matters to discuss than teachers' salaries. I waylaid him and firmly persuaded him that until my salary due was paid, he was unlikely to see General Conference. He agreed and on May 12, I arrived in Cedar Rapids.

I went to a little white cottage and met a tall, heavy father, a young step-mother and a shy fat little sister. A benevolent white minister married us, and after i articulate greetings, we rushed to the Chicago train and next day were back at Wilberforce with a very tired young bride. There was a reception with hilarious students, critical teachers, and good town folk. I had furnished a two-room apartment in the men's dormitory: a bedroom on the west looking down on the ravine and across the hall a sitting-room which I remember chiefly because of a gorgeous crimson couch-cover which I had bought of Carson-Pirie in Chicago by mail order.

Probably Wilberforce was about the least likely of all Negro colleges to adopt me and my program. First of all I was cocky and self-satisfied. I doubtless strutted and I certainly knew what I wanted. My redeeming feature was infinite capacity for work and terrible earnestness, with appalling and tactless frankness. But not all was discouragement and frustration at Wilberforce. Of importance that exceeded everything, was the group of students whom I met and taught. Most of the student body was in high school grades and poorly equipped for study. But filtering into the small college department were a few men and women of first-class intelli-

gence, able and eager to work. As working companions, we made excursions into Greek literature; I gathered a class in German which talked German from the first day; I guided the writing of English themes and did a bit of modern history. Try as I might, however, the institution would have no sociology, even though I offered to teach it on my own time.

I tried various other lines of effort: there was for instance a beautiful ravine where a stream of water flowing through the campus rolled and slithered down to a wide green meadow amid trees, vines, and boulders. On the campus above stood Shorter Hall, named after a dead bishop whose middle-aged son was a professor of mathematics, a good-hearted, irascible man, combined of orthodox religion and wrath for students who couldn't count. In the wing of Shorter Hall, next the ravine, was the library; or rather a few piles of old books which I had arranged to drag down from the attic and planned in this big empty room a real library and reading room for students and teachers. Hitherto the only library facilities were in that upper attic where Professor Scott might admit you with his key, if perchance he could spare time from his chemistry. Remember the libraries at Harvard and Berlin which I had used! And even that at Fisk! I was determined to have a library. But there was no money. There was never money for anything. Then I had an idea: there were my students, boys and girls, with many talent in voice and action. There was the divine ravine: why not give "A Midsummer Night's Dream" in that rare bit of wood and foliage? The campus went quite wild over the proposal. It could be given in the Spring just after Commencement. It need not cost much. The whole county would visit it. We began to study the text, plan the scenes, and choose the players. I began to see this play as the greatest course in education of the whole year, of many years gone.

Then came the catastrophe: we heard that Ben Arnett had been appointed Professor of Literature for the year beginning with Commencement. We laid down our text; we

1163

turned our backs on the lush ravine; the waters trickled in vain and the students wandered disconsolately. We teachers began to fight: we wrote, we visited, we held meetings; we stormed through the campus; we faced the bishop. And to understand all this, one must know the Bishopric of the great African Methodist Church.

It was a hierarchy of the conventional type and yet more and different. I knew a dozen of these bishops and a more varied and impressive, a more astonishing body of men I never met. Bishop Payne died the year before I arrived at Wilberforce. He was a man of tremendous character, a Man of God, if such there ever was. Tiny in figure, soft in voice, he thundered through this widespread mass of black folk like a prophet. He made them buy Wilberforce when they had nothing and knew little; he arranged the grounds, gathered the first teachers, and husbanded the pennies. He enforced discipline in the church, he traveled, he preached until his name was known from Carolina to the Rockies. Then he died, but his soul lived on.

49-9-164

Among his successors was Benjamin Arnett, the presiding Bishop over Wilberforce when I arrived; and what Arnett said, went. He was a thick-set man with a sharp, dark face, a blazing eye, and a rare smile and a will to do. With little literary ability, he established a sort of school of literature, bringing together and reprinting hundreds of books, pamphlets, and scraps of the writings of American Negro literature. He was a power in Ohio politics. He distributed offices in the church and settled the appointment of teachers at Wilberforce. My own appointment must have had his consent, perhaps even his advocacy, else I would not have been at Wilberforce. He lived in a lovely old home bowered by oaks and there he was handicapped by his family. His oldest son, named after him, was not a complete devil, but he certainly was not fitted to teach youth at Wilberforce. Yet at the end of my first year, the Bishop thrust him down our throats without even the courtesy of a notice; and we raised Hell without stopping to consider what opposition to Bishop

Arnett went. As a body we refused to teach with Ben Arnett.

We won. Young Ben Arnett never became professor at Wilberforce. But of course the Bishop won too. He held power for life and no one stayed at Wilberforce long when he did not like him. Under my impetuous and unourbed assault, the Bishop had to bend, but I knew well that my days at Wilberforce were numbered. The ravine with its vines and shrubbery, its singing waters and all its faerie, slept long in peace until twenty-five years later it was buried beneath a culvert of stone and its voice stilled forever.

As I realized that none of my dreams would be realized at Wilberforce, I knew all the sadness of a spent dream. Wilberforce was near the center of the Negro population of the nation. We drew students from New Orleans and New York; from the Atlantic and the Pacific. We escaped the "Jim-Crow" of the slave South and the ostracism of the cold North. The college was poor and neglected and yet the Church which owned it and whose prized child it was, formed a marvellous human institution. Its leaders were of every sort: selfless saints like Payne, Lee, and William Mitchell; ruthless politicians like Arnett; scoundrels like Derrick; and charging bulls like Turner. With high ideals and brute force they rolled and jammed this mass of men and women forward and together until they became a force in the whole nation. Suppose I had had the cunning to help harness and guide this superhuman energy, what could I not have helped to turn it into? Not into a University, certainly, such as I dreamed, but perhaps into something greater. But no, I did not have ability of that sort, nor will to dream of it. And so I turned away, or, rather, I was turned toward other and different goals.

I left one curious and subtle complication spun in the subtle brain of that President Mitchell of whom I have spoken. Wilberforce, as I said, lacked funds. There was no visible source of Negro income large enough to support a college.

49-9-165

1889
165

The members of the church were fighting desperately for food and clothes. Their labor was being exploited to the last dime by every white American who had a chance or could steal it. President Mitchell found himself always in a financial hole and he eyed the coffers of the State of Ohio, as many before and since had done. Miss Bierce carried on certain classes in teaching. She was a stern, accurate white daughter of the Western Reserve, severe and devoted to her work. When these normal classes threatened to cease because of lack of funds, the President suggested that he and Miss Bierce ask the state teaching authorities for a little help, since the state so needed teachers for its colored children. These ~~children~~ students had a right to attend the white schools but they seldom did. The State helped. Opponents pointed out that the State had no right to support a colored State institution, but the President was ready. He and Arnett induced the Legislature to establish "a combined Normal and Industrial Department at Wilberforce University." The witchery in this wording lay in "Industrial" which lured the support of the followers of the rising Booker T. Washington; and also in that little word "at" which made this University a department not "of" Wilberforce, but "at" Wilberforce. This appropriation grew yearly until by 1900, two-thirds of the cost of Wilberforce was borne by the State. Finally, in 1942, the State set up its own college and Wilberforce again tried indifferently to stand alone.

40-9-166

Probably, looking back after the event, I have rationalized my life into a planned, coherent unity which was not as true to fact as it now seems; probably there were hesitancies, gropings, and half-essayed bypaths, now forgotten or unconsciously ignored. But my first quarter-century of life seems to me at this distance as singularly well-aimed at a certain goal, along a clearly planned path. I returned ready and eager to begin a life-work, leading to the emancipation of the American Negro. History and the other social sciences were to be my weapons, to be sharpened and applied by research and writing. Where and how, was the question in 1895. I became uneasy about my life program. I had published my first book, but I was doing nothing directly in the social sciences and saw no immediate prospect. Then the door

166

of opportunity opened: just a crack, to be sure, but a distinct opening.

When a temporary appointment came from the University of Pennsylvania for one year as "assistant instructor" at $900, I accepted forthwith in the fall of 1896; that year Abyssinia vanquished Italy; and in land, suddenly seeing two black nations threatening her Cape to Cairo plans, threw her army back into the Sudan and recaptured Khartoum. The next year the free silver controversy of Bryan and McKinley flamed in America.

First, then, in 1896, I married -- a slip of a girl, beautifully dark-eyed and thorough and good as her mother, a German housewife. Then I accepted a job to make a study of Negroes in Philadelphia for the University of Pennsylvania -- one year at $900. How did I dare these two things? I do not know. Yet they spelled salvation. To remain at Wilberforce without doing my ideals meant spiritual death. Both my wife and I were homeless. I dared a home and a temporary job. But it was a different daring from the days of my first youth. I was ready to admit that the best of men might fail. I meant still to be captain of my soul, but I realized that even captains are not omnipotent in uncharted and angry seas.

49-9-167

CHAPTER XII

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

In the Fall of 1896, I went to the University of Pennsylvania as "Assistant Instructor" in Sociology. It all happened this way: Philadelphia, then and still one of the worst governed of America's badly governed cities, was having one of its periodic spasms of reform. A thorough study of causes was called for. Not but what the underlying cause was evident to most white Philadelphians: the corrupt, semi-criminal vote of the Negro Seventh Ward. Everyone agreed that here lay the cancer; but would it not be well to give scientific sanction to the known causes by an investigation, with imprimatur of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

If Lindsay had been a smaller man and had been induced to follow the usual American pattern of treating Negroes, he would have asked me to assist him as his clerk in this study. Probably I would have accepted having nothing better in sight for work in sociology. But Lindsay regarded me as a scholar in my own right and probably proposed to make me an instructor. Evidently the faculty demurred at having a colored instructor. But since I had a Harvard Ph.D., and had published a recognised work in history, the University could hardly offer me a fellowship. A compromise was hit on and I was nominated to the unusual status of "assistant" instructor. Even at that there must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $900 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, no official recognition of any kind; my name was eventually omitted from the catalogue; I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my own department. I did not hesitate an instant but reported for duty with a complete plan of work and outline of methods and aims and even proposed schedules to be filled out. My general plan was

49-9-168

promptly accepted and I started to work, consulting Lindsay regularly but never meeting the faculty. With my bride of three months, I settled in one room in the city over a cafeteria run by a College Settlement, in the worst part of the Seventh Ward. We lived there a year, in the midst of an atmosphere of dirt, drunkenness, poverty, and crime. Murder sat on our doorsteps, police were our government, and philanthropy dropped in with periodic advice.

The world seized and whirled me. I hardly know what was important -- what negligible; somehow I remember life, curiously enough, chiefly as a succession of homes: the settlement at Philadelphia at Seventh and Lombard in the slums where kids played intriguing games like "cops and Lady Bums"; and where in the night when pistols popped, you didn't get up lest you find you couldn't.

I wrote of my first Christmas in Philadelphia:

"We haven't been married long enough to escape the condescending smiles of our neighbors, and yet we feel quite like old married folks. This is our first Christmas and wife thinks we owe to the public to tell just how merry it has been. It began some days ago when wife asked me cautiously how much we could afford to spend for Christmas. I sat down and figured carefully: for there was the sewing machine to pay for out of this month's salary, and doctor's bill, and one other debt -- an old family friend. I finally evolved a surplus of $10.56, and told wife that we could spend five dollars apiece for the holidays. She was perfectly happy, and after some hours of calculating sallied forth to Wanamaker's.

"The next week was filled with shopping and bookkeeping; one would have thought we were spending hundreds of dollars. Wife consulted me religiously on many points, however, both of us maintained a jolly silence. Tuesday we both went down South Street to the Second Street market, and bought two wreaths, a cross, and a fifteen-cent Christmas tree. Wife was somewhat alarmed at first at the prospect of a Christmas tree in our snug little room, but when it was safely ensconced in a corner on the machine, with tinsel, fruit, and cotton snow, she

691-9-69

169

was quite delighted.

"Christmas Eve found our little gift-packages mailed, the tree glowing and both our empty stockings hung beside it. I had secreted a dainty silk umbrella under the lounge, and I knew that other corners of the room held secrets -- the question being how to get them into the stockings.

"About eight in the evening we sallied out into the crisp air and hurried down to the Mission, where the folks had a tree for the little ones. How much happiness can be packed within four walls! The children were boisterous, rude, and noisy, but so brimming over with pleasure that it did one good to see them. Once at home again and with a last look at our own little tree, we were soon snug in bed, and the thought of the hidden umbrella alone kept me awake. I had almost despaired of getting it into the stocking, when the regular breathing of my wife told me that she had fallen asleep in spite of herself. I carefully slipped from bed, listened, crawled across the floor, listened again, and at last slipped the umbrella into wife's stocking; in a minute more I had chuckled myself to sleep. I was dreaming that I held a professorship that paid $1500 a year -- when suddenly I awoke with a start. Wife hasn't forgiven me yet for awaking so inopportunely, and if I had known the situation before I awoke, I would have stayed asleep. As it was I awoke and caught wife in her little white gown secreting bundles in and about my sock. I laughed, then kept as quiet as I could, and wife didn't say a word.

"Christmas day came with laughing over the night's adventure, the revealing of hiding places and enjoyment of the umbrella, suspenders, and neckties. At three came a cozy dinner with a little brown chicken and bills-of fare written on old visiting cards. Finally the whole day melted away in misty happiness and to round it out, I wrote this."

The Provost of the University furnished the following credentials:

49-9-140

"In connection with the College Settlement, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania have undertaken the study of the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia. The University has entered upon this work as a part of its duty and wishes to make the investigation as thorough and exact as possible. We want to know precisely how this class of people live; what occupations they follow; from what occupations they are excluded; how many of their children go to school; and to ascertain every fact which will throw light upon this social problem; and then having this information and these accurate statistics before us, to see to what extent and in what way, proper remedies may be applied. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois is the investigator on behalf of the University, and I write to bespeak for him your cordial reception and earnest co-operation."

The two years at Wilberforce had been my uneasy apprenticeship, and with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania, I began a more clearly planned career which had an unusual measure of success, but was in the end pushed aside by forces which, if not entirely beyond my control, were yet of great weight.

The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania seemed just what I wanted. I had offered to teach social science at Wilberforce outside of my overloaded program, but I was not allowed. My vision was becoming clearer. The Negro problem was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation. At the University of Pennsylvania I ignored the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that, that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing save once to pilot a pack of idiots through the Negro slums.

Of the theory back of the plan of this study of Negroes I neither knew nor cared. I saw only here a chance to study an historical group of black folk and to show

exactly what their place was in the community. I did it despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. Whites said: Why study the obvious? Blacks said: Are we animals to be dissected and by an unknown Negro at that? Yet, I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism of sixty years.

I counted my task here as simple and clear-cut; I proposed to find out what was the matter with this area and why. I started with no "research methods" and I asked little advice as to procedure. The problem lay before me. Study it. I studied it personally and not by Proxy. I sent out no canvassers. I went myself. Personally I visited and talked with 5000 persons. What I could, I set down in orderly sequence on schedules which I made out and submitted to the University for criticism. Other information I stored in my memory or wrote out as memoranda. I went through the Philadelphia libraries for data, gained access in many instances to private libraries of colored folk and got individual information. I mapped the district, classifying it by condition; I compiled two centuries of the history of the Negro in Philadelphia and in the Seventh Ward.

I essayed a thorough piece of work in Philadelphia. I labored morning, noon, and night. Few persons ever read that fat volume on "The Philadelphia Negro," but they treat it with respect, and that consoles me. The colored people of Philadelphia received me with no open arms. They had a natural dislike to being studied like a strange species. I met again and in different guise those curious cross-currents and inner social whirlings. They set me to groping. I concluded that I did not know so much as I might about my own people.

It was a hard job, but I completed it by the Spring of 1898 and published it a year later, under the auspices of the University, as The Philadelphia Negro; a formidable tome of nearly a thousand pages. But the greatest import to me was the fact, that after years, I had at last learned just what I wanted to do, in this life program of mine, and how to do it. First of all I became painfully aware that merely being born in a group, does not necessarily make one possessed

of complete knowledge concerning it. I had learned far more from Philadelphia Negroes than I had taught them concerning the Negro Problem.

It was as complete a scientific study and answer as could have then been given, with defective facts and statistics, one lone worker and little money. It revealed the Negro group as a symptom, not a cause; as a striving, palpitating group, and not an inert, sick body of crime; as a long historic development and not a transient occurrence.

In this appointment there was one fly which I have never mentioned; it would have been a fine thing if after this difficult, successful piece of work, the University of Pennsylvania had at least offered me a temporary instructorship in the college or in the Wharton School. Harvard had never dreamed of such a thing; a half century later one of Harvard's professors said of a gifted Negro student: "We'd give him a position if he were not a Negro!" White classmates of lower academic rank than I, became full professors at Pennsylvania and Chicago. Here in my case an academic accolade from a great American university would have given impetus to my life work which I was already determined to make in a Negro institution in the South. The thing that galled was that such an idea never even occurred to this institution whose head was a high official of the Sugar Trust. But I did not mention this rebuff. I did not let myself think of it. But then, as now, I know an insult when I see it.

Before the American Academy, affiliated with the University, I laid down in public session in 1899, a broad program of scientific attack on this problem, by systematic and continuous study; and I appealed to Harvard, Columbia and Pennsylvania, to take up the task. Needless to say, they paid not the slightest attention to this challenge and for twnety-five years thereafter not a single first-grade college in America undertook to give any considerable scientific attention to the American Negro. Of the methods of my research, I wrote:

"The best available methods of sociological research are at present so liable to inaccuracies that the careful student discloses the results of individual research with diffidence; he knows that they are liable to error from the seemingly

ineradicable faults of the statistical method; to even greater error from the methods of general observation; and, above all, he must ever tremble lest some personal bias, some moral conviction or some unconscious trend of thought due to previous training, has to a degree distorted the picture in his view. Convictions on all great matters of human interest one must have to a greater or less degree, and they will enter to some extent into the most cold-blooded scientific research as a disturbing factor.

"Nevertheless, here are some social problems before us demanding careful study, questions awaiting satisfactory answers. We must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve; and the utmost that the world can demand is, not lack of human interest and moral conviction, but rather the heart-quality of fairness and an earnest desire for the truth despite its possible unpleasantness."

At the end of that study, I announced with a certain pride my plan of studying the complete Negro problem in the United States. I spoke at the forty-second meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 19, 1897, and my subject was "The Study of the Negro Problems." I began by asserting that in the development of sociological study there was at least one positive answer which years of research and speculation had been able to return, and that was: "The phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing." I then defined and tried to follow the development of the Negro problem not as one problem, but "rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the fact that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land."

I insisted on the necessity of carefully studying these problems and said:

49 - 9 - 134

"The American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science in general. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity — if they do the work in a slip-shod, unsystematic manner — if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity."

Finally I tried to lay down a plan for the study, postulating only: that the Negro "is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions as to the common weal."

Dividing the prospective scientific study of the Negro into two parts: the social group and his peculiar social environment, I proposed to study the social group by historical investigation, statistical measurement and sociological interpretation. Particularly with regard to anthropology, I said:

"That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world — another subject which rests under a cloud of ignorance."

In concluding, I said:

"It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been

17F

the first to recognize her duty in this respect and in so far as restricted means and opportunity allowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger system; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of high Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist today in the center of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution, devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of 'college' at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems?

What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the center of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a center of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and University of Pennsylvania.

49-9-176

"Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such times true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if

we would solve a problem we must study it, and there is but one coward on earth and that is the coward that dare not know."

While I was making this study, I tried to interest the Federal government in making some such studies in other areas. In 1897, I wrote Carrol D. Wright, head of the Federal Labor Bureau, and received an encouraging reply. I then wrote more in detail.

"In accordance with your suggestion I have been for the last month giving considerable thought as to method of studying certain aspects of the industrial development of the Negro. It seems to me that the difficulties of studying so vast and varied a subject are so large that the first work to be done should be rather of an experimental or preliminary nature calculated to locate and define the difficulties and to indicate lines upon which a larger investigation could be carried to success. At the same time the results of a series of preliminary studies could be published and would by allaying false notions and prejudices prepare the public mind for the larger work.

Both the preliminary and the main work must of course be strictly limited in scope; great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to white or black, to raise no suspicions and at the same time to get definite accurate information. For the preliminary work I propose two plans — the first to my mind preferable, the second feasable:

Plan A

The Industrial Development of the Negro

Preliminary Study: The economic situation of a typical town containing from 1,000-5,000 Negro inhabitants situated in Va., or the Carolinas, or Ga.

Study:	Occupations	Economic history
	Wages	Cost of living
	Ownership of homes	Organisations
	Hours of labor	Crops

Study to be conducted, visits, schedules, county records, etc.
To be carried out in the months of July and August 1897

Plan B

The Industrial Development of the Negro

Preliminary Study: Condition of Negroes in the (Barber, Public waiter, Caterer, Building, Mining, etc.) trade

In the city of Richmond
or
Raleigh
or
Charleston
or
Atlanta
etc.

Study:
Number
Wages
Hours of labor
Cost of Living
Economic history
Organisation
General condition

Other Plans

A study of domestic service in a certain city

A study of the Negro in the professions in several cities

A study of the Negro farm laborer in a typical agricultural region

A study of the Negro church as a social institution in certain cities

An "Enquete" of the graduates of Southern schools into their own economic life and the general industrial situation

A study of the attitude of organised labor toward Negroes

A study of Negro stevedores

A bibliography of the economic condition of the Negro since emancipation

Plan A could be begun immediately. I could spend the summer in some typical village of the South and have the results ready to print in the fall. This plan could be repeated from time to time until from these preliminary studies conducted in various districts in various times of year and under various circumstances would

49-9-178

give a basis of fact and experience upon which a larger survey could be planned with a great saving of time and expense. Or, after one or two experiments the whole enterprise might take the form of a series of simultaneous investigations of this sort in selected typical districts of town and country upon lines indicated by the actual experience of the preliminary studies.

Plan B could also be carried out this summer within certain limitations. The other plans are suggested and if they strike you as preferable to the first two I could work them out more carefully.

Will you kindly look over these plans and let me know which, if any, meet your ideas. We can then discuss details further."

Eventually this resulted in a series of studies for the Labor Bureau and one major effort which I shall tell of in a later chapter. The successors of Carrol Wright deliberately destroyed this piece of my best sociological work.

179-9-44

CHAPTER XIII

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

From the fall of 1894 to the spring of 1910, for sixteen years, I was a teacher and a student of social science. For two years I remained at Wilberforce; for a year and a half at the University of Pennsylvania; and for thirteen years at Atlanta University in Georgia. I sought in these years to know my world and to teach youth the meaning and way of the world.

The main result of my schooling had been to emphasize science and the scientific attitude. I got some insight into the laws of the physical world at Fisk and in the chemical laboratory and class in geology at Harvard. I was interested in evolution, geology and the new psychology. I began to conceive of the world as a continuing growth rather than a finished product. In Germany I turned still further from religious dogma and began to grasp the idea of a world of human beings whose actions, like those of the physical world, were subject to law. The triumphs of the scientific world thrilled me: the X-ray and radium came during my teaching term, the airplane and the wireless. The machine increased in technical efficiency and the North and South Poles were invaded.

On the other hand the difficulties of applying scientific law and discovering cause and effect in a world of living persons was still great. Social thinkers were engaged in vague statements and were seeking to lay down the methods by which, in some not too distant future, social law analogous to physical law would be discovered. Herbert Spencer finished his ten volumes of Synthetic Philosophy in 1896. The biological analogy, the vast generalizations, were striking, but actual scientific accomplishment lagged. For me an opportunity seemed to present itself. I could not lull my mind to hypnosis by regarding a phrase like "consciousness of kind" as a scientific law. But turning my gaze from fruitless word-twisting and facing the facts of my own social situation and racial world, I determined to put science into sociology through a study of the conditions and problems of my own group.

49-9-180

I was going to study the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalizations which I could. I entered this primarily with the utilitarian object of reform and uplift; but nevertheless, I wanted to do the work with scientific accuracy. Thus, in my own sociology, because of firm belief in a changing racial group, I easily grasped the idea of a changing developing society rather than a fixed social structure.

The decade and a half in which I taught, was riotous with happenings in the world of social development; with economic expansion, with political control, with racial difficulties. Above all, it was the era of empire and while I had some equipment to deal with a scientific approach to social studies, I did not have any clear conception or grasp of the meaning of that colonial imperialism which was beginning to grip the world. My only approach to meanings and helpful study there again was through my interest in race contact.

That interest began to clear my vision and interpret the whirl of events which swept the world. Japan was rising to national status and through the Chinese War and the Russian War, despite rivalry with Germany, Russia, and Great Britain, she achieved a new status in the world, which only the United States refused to recognize.

All this, I began to realize, was but a result of the expansion of Europe into Africa where a fierce fight was precipitated for the labor, gold, and diamonds of South Africa; for domination of the Nile Valley; for the gold, cocoa, raw materials, and labor of West Africa; and for the exploitation of the Belgian Congo. Europe was determined to dominate China and all but succeeded in dividing it between the chief white nations, when Japan stopped the process. After sixteen years, stirred by the triumph of the Abyssinians at Adowa, and the pushing forward of the French in North Africa, England returned to the Egyptian Sudan.

49-2-181

The Queen's Jubilee, I knew, was not merely a sentimental outburst; it was a triumph of English economic aggression around the world and it aroused the cupidity and fear of Germany who proceeded to double her navy, expand into Asia, and consolidate her European position. Germany challenged France and England at Algeciras, prelude to the World War. Imperialism, despite Cleveland's opposition, spread to America, and the Hawaiian sugar fields were annexed. The Spanish war brought Cuban sugar under control and annexed Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The Panama Canal brought the Pacific nearer the Atlantic and protected capital investment in San Domingo and South America.

All this might have been interpreted as history and politics. Mainly I did so interpret it, but continually I was forced to consider the economic aspects of world movements as they were developing at the time. Chiefly this was because the group in which I was interested were workers, earners of wages, owners of small bits of land, servants. The labor strikes interested and puzzled me. They were for the most part strikes of workers led by organizations to which Negroes were not admitted. There was the great steel strike; the railway strikes, actual and threatened; the teamsters' strike in Chicago; the long strike in Leadville, Colorado. Only in the coal strike were Negroes involved. But there was a difference. During my school days, strikes were regarded as futile and ill-advised struggles against economic laws; and when the government intervened, it was to sew the strikers as law-breakers. But during my teaching period, the plight of the worker began to sift through into the consciousness of the average citizen. Public opinion not only allowed but forced Theodore Roosevelt to intervention in the coal strike, and the steel strikers had widespread sympathy.

Then there were the tariff agitations, the continual raising and shifting and manipulation of tariff rates, always in the end for the purpose of subsidising

the manufacturer and making the consumer pay. The political power of the great organizations of capital in coal, oil and sugar, the extraordinary immunities of the corporations, made the President openly attack the trusts as a kind of super-government and we began to see more and more clearly the outlines of economic battle. The Supreme Court stood staunchly behind capital. It outlawed the labor boycott, it denied the right of the states to make railway rates. It declared the income tax unconstitutional.

With all that, and the memory of the Panic of 1873 not forgotten, came the Panic of 1893 and the financial upheaval of 1907. Into this economic turmoil, politics had to intrude. The older role of free, individual enterprise, with little or no government interference, had to be surrendered and the whole political agitation during these days took on a distinct economic tinge and object. The impassioned plea of Bryan in 1896 that labor be not "crucified upon a cross of gold" could not be wholly ridiculed to silence. The Populist Movement which swept over the West and South, I began now to believe, was a third party movement of deep significance and it was kept from political power on the one hand by the established election frauds of the South, of which I knew, and by the fabulous election fund which made McKinley President of the United States. With this went the diversion of the Spanish war with its sordid scandals of rotten beef, cheating and stealing, fever and death from neglect. Politics and economics thus in those days of my teaching became but two aspects of a united body of action and effort.

I tried to isolate myself in the ivory tower of race. I wanted to explain the difficulties of race and the ways in which these difficulties caused political and economic troubles. It was this concentration of thought and action and effort that really, in the end, saved my scientific accuracy and search for truth. But first came a period of three years when I was casting about to find a way of applying

science to the race problem. In these years I was torn with excitement of quick-moving events. Lynching, for instance, was still a continuing horror in the United States at the time of my entrance upon a teaching career. It reached a climax in 1892, when 235 persons were publicly murdered, and in the sixteen years of my teaching nearly two thousand persons were publicly killed by mobs, and not a single one of the murderers punished. The partition, domination, and exploitation of Africa gradually entered my thought as part of my problem of race. I saw in Asia and the West Indies the results of race discrimination while right here in America came the wild foray of the exasperated Negro soldiers at Brownsville and the political-economic riot at Atlanta.

One happening in America linked in my mind the race problem with the general economic development and that was the speech of Booker T. Washington in Atlanta in 1895. When many colored papers condemned the proposition of compromise with the white South, which Washington proposed, I wrote to the New York Age suggesting that here might be the basis of a real settlement between whites and blacks in the South, if the South opened to the Negroes the doors of economic opportunity and the Negroes co-operated with the white South in political sympathy. But this offer was frustrated by the fact that between 1896 and 1909 the whole South disfranchised its Negro voters by unfair and illegal restrictions and passed a series of "Jim Crow" laws which made the Negro citizen a subordinate caste.

As a possible offset to this came the endowment of the General Education Board and the Sage Foundation; but they did not to my mind plan clearly to attack the Negro problem: the Sage Foundation ignored us, and the General Education Board in its first years gave its main attention to the education of whites and to black industrial schools.

I was approached by President Horace Bumstead of Atlanta University in 1896 and asked to come to Atlanta University and take charge of the work in sociology, and of the new conferences which they were inaugurating on the Negro problem. With

this program in mind, I eagerly accepted the invitation. Dr. Bumstead writes:

"Let me express the keen satisfaction I take in having been the one chiefly responsible, perhaps, for bringing Doctor Du Bois to Atlanta University. He has recently called his thirteen years of service there his 'real life work'; and I am proud to have helped open the way for him to begin it, and to have been closely associated with his labors for more than a decade, till I ceased to be president. I cannot but smile when I think of the objections and misgivings of some of our trustees and other friends when he came. We wanted a professor of sociology with special reference to investigating conditions concerning the Negro; and I said that Dr. Du Bois was the one man, white or black, far and away best fitted for the position. I knew of his long preparation at Fisk, Harvard, and in Germany, and I had read the unstinted praise which the New York Nation had given to his first publication, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade", and I knew of the confidence which Provost Harrison of the University of Pennsylvania had in him when he engaged him to spend a year or more in making a scientific study of the Philadelphia Negro. But, said some, if you are going to give the position to a Negro, why not to a graduate of Atlanta rather than of Fisk? Because, said I, we want the best man, regardless of where he was graduated. But how about his religion -- he's studied in Germany -- perhaps if you scratch him, you'll find an agnostic. Now it is true that Atlanta University has always had a pronounced religious, though undenominational, life -- a life inherited from the New England people represented by its founders; and it has always looked to its teachers, so far as possible, to help to maintain it -- so I must needs have some assurances on this point. But, as Doctor Du Bois will remember, they were not very easy to get. He seemed to be one of those persons who, when asked about their religion, reply that they 'have none to speak of'. But though reluctant to speak of his religion or to say what he would do at Atlanta, I observed that at the time of my interview with him he was

living with his newly wedded bride in the centre of the Negro slums of Philadelphia, doing the beneficent work to which Provost Harrison had called him, and I thought there were some indications of genuine religion in that fact. Nor was I disappointed, later, when some of the deepest and most vital expressions of the religious life came from his lips as he conducted evening devotions at the University.

"So, in spite of objections and misgivings, Doctor Du Bois came to Atlanta University, and we held him there for thirteen years notwithstanding several offers to go elsewhere and get double the salary that we could afford to pay him. His work became a memorable part of the history of the Institution. Let me specify two of its most prominent and valuable features.

"One was the inauguration, for the first time in any American college, of a thoroughly scientific study of the conditions of Negro life, covering all of its most important phases, and resulting in a score of annual "Atlanta University Publications", conceded to be of the highest authority, both in this country and in Europe.

"Even more important than this, was the stimulating personal influence of Doctor Du Bois upon our students. He had acquired his own education where the highest standards prevailed, and he would tolerate no lower ones in his own classrooms. Not only in study but also in conduct, he demanded of his pupils the best that was in them. He taught them the nobility and sacredness of their manhood -- endowed, as they were, with all the inherent rights and possibilities of development enjoyed by humanity anywhere. To his fellow teachers, too, he brought joy, for though often looked upon in the outside world as a pessimist, he was about the jolliest member of our Faculty. The inspiration of his stimulating personality has gone out through all the South and will be felt for generations to come."

The hundred hills of Atlanta are not all crowned with factories. On one, toward the west, the setting sun throws three buildings in bold relief against

the sky. The beauty of the group lies in its simple unity: -- a broad lawn of green rising from the red street with mingled roses and peaches; north and south, two plain and stately halls; and in the midst, half hidden in ivy, a larger building, boldly graceful, sparingly decorated, and with one low spire. It is a restful group -- one never looks for more; it is all here, all intelligible. There I live, and there I hear from day to day the low hum of restful life.

In winter's twilight, when the red sun glows, I can see the dark figures pass between the halls to the music of the nightbell. In the morning, when the sun is golden, the clang of the day-bell brings the hurry and laughter of three hundred young hearts from hall and street, and from the busy city below -- children all dark and heavy-haired -- to join their clear young voices in the music of the morning sacrifice. In a half-dozen class-rooms they gather then -- here to follow the love-song of Dido, here to listen to the tale of Troy divine; there to wander among the stars, there to wander among men and nations -- and elsewhere other well worn ways of knowing this queer world. Nothing new, no time-saving devices, -- simply old time-glorified methods of delving for Truth, and searching out the hidden beauties of life, and learning the good of living.

The riddle of existence is the college curriculum that was laid before the Pharaohs, that was taught in the groves by Plato, that formed the trivium and quadrivium and is today laid before the freedmen's sons by Atlanta University. And this course of study will not change; its methods will grow more deft and effectual, its content richer by toil of scholar and sight of seer; but the true college will ever have one goal -- not to earn meat, but to know the end and aim of that life which meat nourishes.

The vision of life that rises before these dark eyes has in it nothing mean or selfish. Not at Berlin nor at Leipsic, not at Harvard nor Yale is there an air of higher resolve or more unfettered striving; the determination to realize for men, both black and white, the broadest possibilities of life, to seek the better and the best, to spread with their own hands the Gospel of Sacrifice -- all this

157

is the burden of their talk and dream. Here, amid a wide desert of caste and proscription, amid the heart-hurting slights and jars and vagaries of a deep race-dislike, lies this green oasis, where hot anger cools, and the bitterness of disappointment is sweetened by the springs and breezes of Parnassus; and here men may lie and listen and learn of a future fuller than the past, and hear the voice of Time:

"Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren."

They made their mistakes, those who planted Fisk and Howard and Atlanta before the smoke of battle had lifted; they made their mistakes, but those mistakes were not the things at which we lately laughed somewhat uproariously. They were right when they sought to found a new educational system upon the University: where, forsooth, shall we ground knowledge save on the broadest and deepest knowledge? The roots of the tree, rather than the leaves, are the sources of its life; and from the dawn of history, from Academus to Cambridge, the culture of the University has been the broad foundation-stone on which is built the kindergarten's A B C.

449-9-188

But these builders did make a mistake in minimizing the gravity of the problem before them; in thinking it a matter of years and decades; in therefore building quickly and laying their foundation carelessly, and lowering the standard of knowing, until they had scattered haphazard through the South some dozen poorly equipped high schools and miscalled them universities. They forgot, too, just as their successors are forgetting, the rule of inequality -- that of the million black youth, some were fitted to know and some to dig; that some had the talent and capacity of university men, and some had the talent and capacity of blacksmiths: and that true training meant neither that all should be college men nor all artisans, but that the one should be made a missionary of culture to an untaught people, and the other a free workman among serfs.

My real life work was begun at Atlanta for thirteen years, from my twenty-ninth to my forty-second birthday. They were years of great spiritual upturning,

of the making and unmaking of ideals, of hard work and hard play. Here I found myself. I lost most of my mannerisms. I grew more broadly human, made my closest and most holy friendships, and studied human beings. I became widely-acquainted with the real condition of my people. I realised the terrific odds which faced them. I saw the Atlanta riot.

The main significance of my work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910 was the development at an American institution of learning, of a program of study on the problems affecting the American Negroes, covering a progressively widening and deepening effort designed to stretch over the span of a century. This program was grafted on an attempt by George Bradford of Boston, one of the trustees, to open for Atlanta University a field of usefulness for city Negroes comparable to what Hampton and Tuskegee were doing for rural districts in agriculture and industry. At the Hampton and Tuskegee Conferences, there came together annually and in increasing numbers, workers, experts and observers to encourage by speeches and interchange of experience the Negro farmers and laborers of adjoining areas. Visitors, white and colored, from North and South, joined to advise and learn. Mr. Bradford's idea was to establish at Atlanta a similar conference, devoted especially to problems of city Negroes. The first conference, emphasizing particularly Negro health problems, was held in 1896. Immediately the University looked about for a man to teach history and political science, and take charge of future conferences. I was chosen.

When I took charge of the Atlanta Conference, I did not pause to consider how far my developed plans agreed or disagreed with the ideas of the already launched project. It made little essential difference, since only one conference had been held and a second planned. These followed the Hampton and Tuskegee model of being primarily meetings of inspiration, directed toward specific efforts at social reform and aimed at propaganda for social uplift in certain preconceived lines. This program at Atlanta, I sought to swing as on a pivot to one of scientific

investigation into social conditions, primarily for scientific ends: I put no special emphasis on special reform effort, but increasing and widening emphasis on the collection of a basic body of fact concerning the social condition of American Negroes, endeavoring to reduce that condition to exact measurement whenever or wherever occasion permitted. As time passed, it happened that many uplift efforts were in fact based on our studies: the kindergarten system of the city of Atlanta, white as well as black; the Negro Business League, and various projects to better health and combat crime. We came to be however, as I had intended, increasingly, a source of general information and a basis for further study, rather than an organ of social reform.

The proverbial visitor from Mars would have assumed as elemental a study in America of American Negroes — as physical specimens; as biological growths; as a field of investigation in economic development from slave to free labor; as a psychological laboratory in human reaction toward caste and discrimination; as an unique case of physical and cultural intermingling. These and a dozen other subjects of scientific interest, would have struck the man from Mars as eager lines of investigation for American social scientists. He would have been astounded to learn that the only institution in America in 1900 with any such program of study was Atlanta University, where on a budget of $5000 a year, including salaries, cost of publication, investigation and annual meetings, we were essaying this pioneer work.

My program for the succession of conference studies was modified by many considerations: cost, availability of suitable data, tested methods of investigation; moreover I could not plunge too soon into such controversial subjects as politics or miscegenation. Within these limitations, I finished a ten-year cycle study as follows:

1896, Mortality among Negroes in Cities

1897, Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities

1898, Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment

1899, The Negro in Business

1900, The College-Bred Negro

1901, The Negro Common School

1902, The Negro Artisan

1903, The Negro Church

1904, Notes on Negro Crime

1905, A Select Bibliography of the American Negro

I then essayed for the second decade a broader program, more logical, more inclusive, and designed to bring the whole subject matter into a better integrated whole. But continued lack of funds, and outside diversions (like the request of the Carnegie Institution of 1907 for a study of co-operation) kept even the second decade from the complete logic of arrangement which I desired; finally, my leaving Atlanta in 1910 and at last the severing of my connection with the conference in 1914, left the full form of my program still unfinished. I did, however, publish the following eight studies:

1906, Health and Physique of the Negro American

1907, Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans

1908, The Negro American Family

1909, Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans

1910, The College-Bred Negro American

1911, The Common School and the Negro American

1912, The Negro American Artisan

1914, Morals and Manners among Negro Americans

With the publication of 1914, my connection with Atlanta ceased for twenty years. Although studies and publications were prepared by others at the University in 1915 and 1918, the war finally stopped the enterprise.

191

What I was laboriously but steadily approaching in this effort was a recurring cycle of ten studies in succeeding decades; with repetition of each subject or some modification of it in each decade, upon a progressively broader and more exact basis and with better method; until gradually a foundation of carefully ascertained fact would build a basis of knowledge, broad and sound enough to be called scientific in the best sense of that term.

Just what form this dream would eventually have taken, I do not know. So far as actually forecast, it had assumed in 1914, some such form as this:

1. Population: Distribution and Growth
2. Biology: Health and Physique
3. Socialisation: Family, Group and Class
4. Cultural Patterns: Morals and Manners
5. Education
6. Religion and the Church
7. Crime
8. Law and Government
9. Literature and Art
10. Summary and Bibliography

I proposed as I have said, to repeat each of these every ten years, basing the studies on ever broader and more carefully gathered data. Eventually I hoped to keep all the inquiries going simultaneously, only emphasising and reporting on one particular subject each year. This would have allowed some necessary shifting or combination of subjects as time and developments might suggest; and adjustments to new scientific advance in fields like anthropology and psychology. The plan would have called in time for a large and well-paid staff of experts and a study of method and testing of results such as no group of Americans were engaged in at the time; beginning with a definite, circumscribed group, but ending with the human race.

49-9-192

The program however was weak on its economic side. It did not stress enough the philosophy of Marx and Engels and was of course far too soon for Lenin. The program ought to have been -- and as I think would have been if I had kept on this work -- the Economic development of the American Negro slave; on this central thread all the other subjects would have been strung. But this I had no chance to essay.

Social scientists at the time were thinking in terms of theory and vast and eternal laws, but I had a concrete group of living beings artificially set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down an ambitious program for a hundred years of study. I proposed to take up annually in each decade the main aspects of the group life of Negroes with as thorough study and measurement as possible, and repeat the same program in the succeeding decade with additions, changes and better methods. In this way, I proposed gradually to broaden and intensify the study, sharpen the tools of investigation and perfect our methods of work, so that we would have an increasing body of scientifically ascertained fact, instead of the vague mass of the so-called Negro problems. And through this laboratory experiment I hoped to make the laws of social living clearer, surer, and more definite.

Some of this was accomplished, but of course only an approximation of the idea. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies; limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt of the sort in the nation that they gained attention throughout the world. In all we published a total of 2,172 pages which formed a current encyclopaedia on the American Negro problems.

These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars. It may be said without undue boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations made at Atlanta

19

University; often they were widely quoted and commended.

I had heartening letters from persons of eminence and character. William James wrote in 1907: "I have just looked through the last installment of your studies on the American Negro. I wish the portraits might have been better printed. But it is splendid scientific work." Frank Taussig of Harvard wrote the same year: "In my judgement no better work is being done in the country, and no better opportunity is afforded for financial support on the part of those who wish to further the understanding of the Negro problem." Booker Washington, who spoke at our conference on the Negro artisan in 1911, said: "The whole country should be grateful to this institution for the painstaking and systematic manner in which it has developed from year to year a series of facts which are proving most vital and helpful to the interests of our nation." Professor E.R.A. Seligman wrote: "I take great pleasure in testifying to my very high appreciation of the studies on the Negro problem which you have been editing for the past few years. They are essentially scholarly and that means sober and temperate, and they are covering a field which is almost untilled and which is not apt to be cultivated by others." Jane Addams attended our conference in 1908 and commended our work.

H61-6-64

Many periodicals mentioned our work:

London Spectator, 1900:

> This work is being done with much intelligence, discrimination and assiduity at the instance and under the inspiration of the Atlanta University.

School Review, 1902:

> The work of this conference is constructive and merits hearty support.

Outlook, 1903:

> No student of the race problem, no person who would either think or speak upon it intelligently, can afford to be ignorant of the facts brought out in the Atlanta series of sociological studies of the conditions and the progress of the Negro.

Publications of the Southern History Association, 1904:

The work done under the direction of the Atlanta Conference is entitled to the respectful and thoughtful consideration of every man interested in any aspect of the life of the American Negro.

South Atlantic Quarterly, 1904:

They constitute, so far as the reviewer can learn, the most important body of direct evidence ever published as to moral and religious conditions of our colored people.

N.Y. Evening Post, 1905:

The only scientific studies of the Negro question being made today are those carried on by Atlanta University.

It must be remembered that the significance of these studies lay not so much in what they were actually able to accomplish, as in the fact that at the time of their publication Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the Negro and his development, and putting the result in a form available for the scholars of the world.

In addition to the publications, we did something toward bringing together annually at Atlanta University persons and authorities interested in the problem of the South. Among these were Charles William Eliot, Booker T. Washington, Frank Sanborn, Franz Boas, and Walter Wilcox. We were asked from time to time to co-operate in current studies. I co-operated in the taking of the Twelfth Census and wrote one of the monographs. I wrote magazine articles in the World's Work and in the Atlantic Monthly where I joined in a symposium and one of my fellow contributors was Woodrow Wilson.

Also I joined with the Negro leaders of Georgia in efforts to better local conditions; to stop discrimination in the distribution of school funds; to keep the legislature from making further discriminations in railway travel. I became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1900 and was made a fellow in 1904. I went to Europe and while abroad I sat in London

175

with the wife of Coleridge-Taylor and heard the first rendition of Hiawatha's Wedding Feast.

In 1909 I tried to start an "Encyclopedia Africana" and secured as members of the board of advisers the following distinguished scholars:

Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B., England
Prof. W.M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., England
William Archer, Esq., England
Miss Alice Werner, England
Dr. Francis Hoggan, England
Prof. Giuseppi Sergi, Italy
Dr. Karl Weule, Germany
Dr. J. Deniker, France
Major R.M. Daniel, Bechuanaland, Africa
Prof. A.B. Hart, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. William James, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. Hugo Munsterberg, L.L.D., Harvard
President G. Stanley Hall, L.L.D., Clark
Prof. A.F. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Clark
Prof. Franz Boas, Ph.D., Columbia

49-9-196

Sixty-two Negro scholars were on the Editorial Board, including:

Kelley Miller, A.M., (Howard)
H.O. Tanner, France
Richard T. Greener, A.B. (Harvard)
Charles W. Chesnutt
John R. Lynch, U.S. Army
W.S. Scarborough, L.L.D. (Oberlin)

and many others. I never was able to raise funds to carry this enterprise further forward.

I testified before Congressional Commissions in Washington and appeared on the lecture platform with Walter Page, afterwards ambassador to England; I did a considerable amount of lecturing throughout the United States. I had wide correspondence with men of prominence in America and Europe: Lyman Abbott of the Outlook; E.D. Morel, the English expert on Africa; Max Weber of Heidelberg; Professor Wilcox of Cornell; Bliss Perry of the Atlantic Monthly; Horace Traubel, the great protagonist of Walt Whitman; Charles Eliot Norton and Talcott Williams. I began to be regarded by many groups and audiences as having definite information on the Negro to which they might listen with profit.

190

In 1900, came a significant occurence which not until lately have I set in its proper place in my life. I had been for over nine years studying the American Negro Problem. The result had been significant because of its unusual nature and not for its positive accomplishment. I wanted to set down its aim and method in some outstanding way which would bring my work to the notice of the thinking world. The great World Fair at Paris was being planned and I thought I might put my findings into plans, charts and figures, so one might see what we were trying to accomplish. I got a couple of my best students and put a series of facts into charts: the size and growth of the Negro American group; its division by age and sex; its distribution, education and occupations; its books and periodicals. We made a most interesting set of drawings, limned on pasteboard cards about a yard square and mounted on a number of movable standards. The details of finishing these fifty or more charts, in colors, with accuracy, was terribly difficult with little money, limited time and not too much encouragement. I was threatened with nervous prostration before I was done and had little money left to buy passage to Paris, nor was there a cabin left for sale. But the exhibit would fail unless I was there. So at the last moment I bought passage in the steerage and went over and installed the work. It was an immediate success. It occupied a small room, perhaps 20 feet square but the room was always full. The American press, white and colored was full of commendation and in the end, the exhibit received a Grand Prize, and I, as its author, a Gold Medal.

49-9-194

I was pleased and satisfied. I sat back quietly to hear the commendation and it came not only for this particular exhibit but for the work of the Atlanta conferences in general. I was sure that the work I had planned was certain of support and growth. But it was not. Within less than ten years it had to be abandoned because five thousand dollars a year could not be found in this rich land for its support. Where had I failed? There were many answers, but one was

197

typically American, as the event proved, I did the deed but I did not advertise it. Either I myself or someone for me should have called public attention to what had been done or otherwise it would quickly be forgotten. Indeed the philosophy then current and afterward triumphant was that the Deed without Advertising was worthless and in the long run Advertising without the Deed was the only lasting value. Perhaps Americans do not realize how completely they have adopted this philosophy. But Madison Avenue does.

At the very time when my studies were most successful, there cut across this plan which I had as a scientist, a red ray which could not be ignored. I remember when it first, as it were, startled me to my feet: a poor Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord's wife. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Atlanta Constitution office, carrying in my pocket a letter of introduction to Joel Chandler Harris. I did not get there. On the way news met me: Sam Hose had been lynched, and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store farther down on Mitchell Street, along which I was walking. I turned back to the University. I began to turn aside from my work. I did not meet Joel Chandler Harris nor the editor of the Constitution.

961-6-44

Two considerations thereafter broke in upon my work and eventually disrupted it: first, one could not be a calm, cool, and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered and starved; and secondly, there was no such definite demand for scientific work of the sort that I was doing, as I had confidently assumed would be easily forthcoming. I regarded it as axiomatic that the world wanted to learn the truth and if the truth was sought with even approximate accuracy and painstaking devotion, the world would gladly support the effort. This was, of course, but a young man's idealism, not by any means false, but also never universally true. The work of the conference for thirteen years inclu-

134

ding my own salary and small office force did not average five thousand dollars a year. Probably with some effort and sacrifice Atlanta University might have continued to raise this amount if it had not been for the controversy with Booker T. Washington that arose in 1903 and increased in intensity until 1908.

There were, of course, other considerations which made Atlanta University vulnerable to attack at this time. The university from the beginning had taken a strong and unbending attitude toward Negro prejudice and discrimination; white teachers and black students ate together in the same dining room and lived in the same dormitories. The charter of the institution opened the doors of Atlanta University to any student who applied, of any race or color; and when the state in 1887 objected to the presence of a few white students who were all children of teachers and professors, the institution gave up the small appropriation from the State rather than repudiate its principles. In fact, this appropriation represented not State funds, but the Negroes' share of the sum received from the Federal government for education.

49-9-199

When later there came an attempt on the part of the Southern Education Board and afterwards of the General Education Board to form a working program between educated Negroes and forward-looking whites in the South, it gradually became an understood principle of action that colored teachers should be encouraged in colored schools; that the races in the schools should be separated socially; that colored schools should be chiefly industrial; and that every effort should be made to conciliate Southern white public opinion. Schools which were successfully carrying out this program could look for further help from organized philanthropy. Other schools, and this included Atlanta University, could not.

Even this would not necessarily have excluded Atlanta University from consideration at the hands of the philanthropists. The university had done and was doing excellent and thorough work. Even industrial training in the South was often in the hands of Atlanta graduates. Tuskegee had always been largely manned by graduates

199

of Atlanta and some of the best school systems of the South were directed by persons trained at Atlanta University. The college department was recognized as perhaps the largest and best in the South at the time among Negroes. But unfortunately, at this time, there came a controversy between myself and Booker Washington, which became more personal and bitter than I had ever dreamed and which necessarily dragged in the University.

Meantime, the task of raising money for Atlanta University and my work became increasingly difficult. In the fall of 1904 the printing of our conference report was postponed by the trustees until special funds could be secured. I did not at the time see the handwriting on the wall. I did not realize how strong the forces were back of Tuskegee and how they might interfere with my scientific study of the Negro. My continuing thought was that we must have a vehicle for both opinion and fact which would help me carry on my scientific work and at the same time be a forum less radical than the Guardian, and yet more rational than the rank and file of Negro papers now so largely arrayed with Tuskegee. With this in mind, as early as 1904, I helped one of the Atlanta University graduates, who was a good printer, to set up a job office in Memphis.

49-9-202

In 1905 I wrote to Jacob Schiff, reminding him of having met him in Bar Harbor in 1903:

"I want to lay before you a plan which I have and ask you if it is of sufficient interest to you for you to be willing to hear more of it and possibly to assist in its realization. The Negro race in America is today in a critical condition. Only united concerted effort will save us from being crushed. This union must come as a matter of education and long continued effort. To this end there is needed a high class of journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes, tell them of the deeds of themselves and their neighbors, interpret the news of the world to them, and inspire them toward definite ideals. Now we have many

small weekly papers and one or two monthlies, and none of them fill the great need I have outlined. I want to establish, therefore, for the nine million American Negroes and eventually for the whole Negro world, a monthly journal. To this end I have already in Memphis a printing establishment which has been running successfully at job work a year under a competent printer — self-sacrificing educated young man. Together we shall have about $2,000 invested in this plant by April 15."

Mr. Schiff wrote back courteously, saying: "Your plans to establish a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes is in itself interesting, and on its face has my sympathy. But before I could decide whether I can become of advantage in carrying your plans into effect, I would wish to advise with men whose opinion in such a matter I consider of much value." Nothing ever came of this, because, as I might have known, most of Mr. Schiff's friends were strong and sincere advocates of Tuskegee.

It was with difficulty that I came fully to realize the situation that was thus developing: first of all, I could not persuade myself that my program of solving the Negro problem by scientific investigation was wrong, or that it could possibly fail of eventual support when once it was undertaken; that it was understood in widening circles of readers and thinkers, I was convinced, because of the reception accorded the Atlanta University Studies. When, however, in spite of that, the revenue of the University continued to fall off, and no special support came for my particular part of its work, I tried several times by personal effort to see if funds could not be raised.

In 1906 I made two appeals: first and boldly, I outlined the work of the Atlanta Conference to Andrew Carnegie, reminding him that I had been presented to him and Carl Schurz some years before. I hoped that despite his deep friendship for Mr. Washington and the Tuskegee idea, he would see the use and value of my efforts at Atlanta. The response was indirect. At the time a white Mississippi

261

planter, Alfred W. Stone, was popular in the North. He had grave doubts about the future of the Negro race, widely criticised black labor, and once tried to substitute Italians on his own plantations, until they became too handy with the knife. To his direction, Mr. Carnegie and others entrusted a fund for certain studies among Negroes. This is standard American procedure; if there is a job to be done and a Negro fit to do it, do not give the job or the responsibility to the Negro; give it to some white man and let the Negro work under him. Why they selected Stone and neglected an established center like Atlanta University, I cannot imagine; but at any rate, Stone turned to me and offered to give the University a thousand dollars to help finance a special study of the history of economic co-operation among Negroes. I had planned that year, 1907, to study the Negro in politics, but here support was needed and I turned aside and made the study asked for.

49-9-202

About the same time, I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor. For several years I had been able to do now and then certain small studies for the Bureau of Labor, which had been accepted and paid for. It began with a proposal to Carroll D. Wright in 1897 for a study of the Negro in a Virginia town in 1898, which Mr. Wright authorised me to make on my own responsibility, promising only to print it if he liked it. He did like it. This was followed by a major study of the Negro in the Black Belt in 1899 and among Negroes in Georgia in 1901, and I then approached the Bureau with a new proposal.

I asked United States Commissioner of Labor, Neill, in 1906, to authorise a study of a Black Belt community. I wanted to take Lowndes County, Alabama, in a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes, and make a social and economic study from the earliest times when documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a present house-to-house canvass of Negroes. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorised the study. Helped by Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, and R.R. Wright, now a bishop of the A.M.E. Church, and a dozen or more

local employees, I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study.

It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties, including financing which was finally arranged by loans from the University, and with the greeting of some of my agents with shotguns in certain parts of the county; but it was eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I made chronological maps of the division of the land; I considered the distribution of labor; the relation of landlord and tenant; the political organization and the family life and the distribution of the population. The report was finished by hand with no copy, and rushed to Washington. It was criticised and I spent some weeks there in person, revising and perfecting it. It was finally accepted by the government, and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to the University in repayment of funds which they had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I knew the symptoms of this sort of treatment: in 1898, S.S. McClure had sent me to south Georgia to make a study of social situations there. He paid for the report but never published the manuscript and he afterward did the same thing in the case of Sir Harry Johnston.

I finally approached the bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript, since it "touched on political matters." I was astonished and disappointed, but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed.

While I was down in Lowndes County finishing this study, there came the news of the Atlanta riot. I took the next train for Atlanta and my family. On the way, I wrote the "Litany of Atlanta".

Professor Seligman of Columbia wrote me:

"Like so many other of your well-wishers I was amazed and disgusted at the happenings in Atlanta. But perhaps I did not realise the horror of it all, until I read your beautiful poem in the Independent. It must indeed be a tragedy for men like you -- a tragedy all the greater because of the seeming impasse. But

perhaps you will learn -- as I have learned after going thro' the fire of affliction -- that there are really only two things worth living for in this world -- the one is the love of those most nearly related to you, or thrown into close contact with you -- and the other is work, the chance to express oneself in some form of activity however humble. These things are open to every human being, and at bottom there is nothing else which is comparable with them -- wealth, reputation, ambition or what not. Let us hold to the things that are eternally true, and let us seek within ourselves the compensation for the things that are withheld by an unthinking and uncivilized world."

It was of course crazy for me to dream that America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century with Colonial Imperialism, based on the suppression of colored folk, at its zenith, would encourage, much less adequately finance, such a program at a Negro college under Negro scholars. My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long-term remedy was Truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history.

I was therefore astonished and infinitely disappointed, gradually to realize that our work in the Atlanta conferences was not getting support; that, far from being able to command increased revenue for better methods of investigation and wider fields, it was with increasing difficulty that the aging and overworked President, with his deep earnestness and untiring devotion to principle, could collect enough to maintain even our normal activities. The conference had not been without a measure of success. Our reports were widely read and commented upon. On the other hand, so far as the American world of science and letters was concerned, we never "belonged"; we remained unrecognized in learned societies and academic groups. We rated merely as Negroes studying Negroes, and after all, what had Negroes to do with America or Science? Gra ually and with deep disappointment I

began to realise, as early as 1906, that my program for studying the Negro problems must soon end, unless it received unforeseen support.

With all this came the strengthening and hardening of my own character. The billows of birth, love, and death swept over me. I saw life through all its paradox and contradiction of streaming eyes and mad merriment. I emerged into full manhood, with the ruins of some ideals about me, but with others planted above the stars; I was scarred and a bit grim, but hugging to my soul the divine gift of laughter and withal determined, even unto stubbornness, to fight the good fight.

At last, forebear and waver as I would, I faced the great Decision. My life's last and greatest door stood ajar. What with all my dreaming, studying, and teaching was I going to do in this fierce fight? Despite all my youthful conceit and bumptiousness, I found developed beneath it all a reticence and new fear of forwardness, which sprang from searching criticisms of motive and high ideals of efficiency; but contrary to my dream of racial solidarity and notwithstanding my deep desire to serve and follow and think, rather than to lead and inspire and decide, I found myself suddenly the leader of a great wing of people fighting against another and greater wing.

Nor could any effort of mine keep this fight from sinking to the personal plane. Heaven knows I tried. I finally wrote in March, 1910:

"I insist on my right to think and speak; but if that freedom is made an excuse for abuse of and denial of aid to Atlanta University, then with regret I shall withdraw from Atlanta University."

For the American Negro, the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th centuries were more critical than the Reconstruction years of 1868 to 1876. Yet they have received but slight attention from historians and social students. They were usually interpreted in terms of personalities, and without regard to the great social forces that were developing. This was the age of

triumph for Big Business, for Industry, consolidated and organized on a world-wide scale, and run by white capital with colored labor. The southern United States was one of the most promising fields for this development, with a fine climate, invaluable staple crops, with a mass of cheap and potentially efficient labor, with unlimited natural power and use of unequalled technique, and with a transportation system reaching all the markets of the world.

The profit promised by the exploitation of this quasi-colonial empire was facing labor difficulties, threatening to flare into race war. The relations of the poor-white and Negro working classes were becoming increasingly embittered. In the year when I undertook the study of the Philadelphia Negro, lynching of Negroes by mobs reached a crimson climax in the United States, at the astounding figure of nearly five a week. Government throughout the former slave states was conducted by fraud and intimidation, with open violation of state and federal law. Reason seemed to have reached an impasse; white demagogues, like Tillman and Vardaman, attacked Negroes with every insulting epithet and accusation that the English language could afford, and got wide hearing. On the other hand Negro colleges and others were graduating colored men and women, few in the aggregate, but of increasing influence, who demanded the full rights of American citizens; and even if their threatening surroundings compelled silence or whispers, they were none the less convinced that this attitude was their only way of salvation. Supporting Negro education were the descendants of those Northerners who founded the first Negro institutions and had since contributed to their upkeep. But these same Northerners were also investors and workers in the new industrial organization of the world. Toward them now turned the leaders of the white South, who were at once apprehensive of race war and desirous of a new, orderly industrial South.

Conferences began between whites of the North and the South, including industrialists as well as teachers, business men rather than preachers. At Capon Springs, on the Robert Ogden trips to Hampton and Tuskegee, in the organization of the

49-9-206

Southern Education Board, and finally in the founding of the General Education Board, a new racial philosophy for the South was evolved. This philosophy seemed to say that the attempt to over-educate a "child race" by furnishing chiefly college training to its promising young people, must be discouraged; the Negro must be taught to accept what the whites were willing to offer him; in a world ruled by white people and destined so to be ruled, the place of Negroes must be that of an humble, patient, hard-working group of laborers, whose ultimate destiny would be determined by their white employers. Meantime, the South must have education on a broad and increasing basis, but primarily for whites; for Negroes, education, for the present, should be confined increasingly to elementary instruction, and more especially to training in farming and industry, calculated to make the mass of Negroes laborers contented with their lot and cheap.

White and Negro labor must, so far as possible, be taken out of active competition, by segregation in work: to the whites the bulk of well-paid skilled labor and management; to the Negro, farm labor, unskilled labor in industry and domestic service. Exceptions to this general pattern would occur especially in some sorts of skills like building and repairs; but in general the "white" and "Negro" job would be kept separate and superimposed.

Finally, Northern philanthropy, especially in education, must be organized and incorporated, and its dole distributed according to this program; thus a number of inefficient and even dishonest attempts to conduct private Negro schools and low-grade colleges would be eliminated; smaller and competing institutions would be combined; above all, less and less total support would be given higher training for Negroes. This program was rigorously carried out until after the first World War.

To the support of this program, came Booker T. Washington in 1895. The white South was jubilant; public opinion was studiously organized to make Booker Washington the one nationally recognized leader of his race, and the South went quickly to

407

work to translate the program into law. Disfranchisement laws were passed between 1890 and 1910, by all the former slave states, and quickly declared constitutional by the courts, before contests could be effectively organized: "Jim-Crow" legislation, for travel on railroads and street-cars, and race separation in many other walks of life, were rapidly put on the statute books.

By the second decade of the Twentieth Century, a legal caste system based on race and color, had been openly grafted on the democratic constitution of the United States. This explains why, in 1910, I gave up my position at Atlanta University and became Director of Publications and Research for the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I was one of the incorporators in 1911.

49-9-208

Very early in my work in Atlanta, I began to feel, on the one hand, pressure being put upon me to modify my work; and the other hand an inner emotional reaction at the things taking place about me. To note the latter first: as a scientist, I sought the traditional detachment and calm of the seeker for truth. I had deliberately chosen to work in the South, although I knew that there I must face discrimination and insult. But on the other hand I was a normal human being with strong feelings and pronounced likes and dislikes, and a flair for expression; these I could not wholly suppress, nor did I try. I was on the other hand willing to endure and as my dear friend, Henry Hunt, said to me in after years, "I could keep still in seven different languages." But, if I did speak I did not intend to lie.

In one aspect of the Negro problem in America, my program had limited success; that was its relation to the white working class. The Negroes were working folk -- farmers, laborers, porters and servants. They belonged in the main to the "Have-nots" as over against the "Haves". Yet they were not regarded as an integral part of the American workers and I as student of their plight and their efforts was continually treating them as a separate class instead of grouping them with the mass of workers. This was not because of any failure on my part to conceive

of the Negroes as primarily workers whose chief interest lay in the working class. The fault lay at the door of the powerful forces in the state which had separated the working class into antagonistic groups hating and fearing each other more than they feared their exploiters. In slavery days the poor whites hated and feared the black slaves. These slaves deprived the free white workers of land and livelihood; drove them to the hills and barrens or to the slums of cities; they were largely disfranchised and managed to make a living by fawning on slaveowners, becoming slave Over-seers or bearing arms to keep black slaves from revolt. They protested bitterly against this condition.

To these poor whites, emancipation seemed not an opportunity for Negroes to rise to the status of free white workers, but rather the chance of white labor to climb on the backs of Negroes. The freedmen therefore was not only exploited by former slaveowners but even more by the up-struggling whites; and when white workers got the vote -- blacks were disfranchised. A caste legislation put the Negro legally under the feet of the white workers, limiting his work, his wages, his dwelling place and his personal freedom. In the eyes of the Negro the white worker became his chief enemy; he led the lynch mobs, insulted him on the streets and took the food out of his mouth.

The mass of the Northern working class opposed slavery and wanted slaves emancipated. But they were largely foreign emigrants and many like the Irish met the competition of free Negro workers on arrival and fought for work in pitched battles. The newer emigrants were warned against Negro cheap competing labor and did not regard these dark strangers as fellow workmen. Employers threw white and black into competing groups. So that the National Labor Union representing the best of American labor, despite its brave repudiation of color discrimination was unable in 1869 to secure admission of Negro workers into unions. Negroes, rebuffed, tried to form their own unions but had to start with the demand for political power. For this they depended on the Republican party and that party reduced them

to serfdom in 1876. The Northern Unions in tight craft organisations so segregated the Negro worker that in 1902, the older trades like miners, longshoremen and cigarmakers admitted Negroes; but the newer and better paid trades, like blacksmiths, smelters, engineers, metal workers, boilermakers, electric workers, glassmakers, oil workers, textile workers and a host of similar unions admitted in the new century few or no Negroes. When, therefore, I essayed to study the Negro worker, I had no meeting ground with the white laboring class. I invited the secretary of the Georgia Federation of labor to our conference and he spoke, but his hearers knew that his federation discriminated against Negroes. We studied Negro employees in Southern factories. We corresponded with all the unions in the nation but with small result. The American working class remained split by the color line. My study therefore became a study not of a working class but of a small part of one and the relations of these groups became more important than relations between worker and employer.

Of the general life in Atlanta, a word must be said. I stayed upon the campus as much as possible. My contact with the surrounding white city was limited to some necessary shopping. I did not vote since the "white primary" which was the real election was closed to me. I did not enter parks nor museums. I assumed that when the public was invited to any place or function, either the white people were meant, or, if not, attendance of Negroes meant segregated parts or times. Once I remonstrated with a colored teacher of literature for attending the "jim-crow" section of a theater in the top balcony. She answered: "Where else can I see Shakespeare? I cannot afford to go to New York."

One of the most annoying sorts of race discrimination was on the railroads. Did you ever see a "jim-crow" waiting room? There are some exceptions but usually no heat in winter and no air in summer; undisturbed loafers and white train hands and broken disreputable settees; to buy a ticket is torture: you stand and stand and wait and wait until every white person at the "Other Window" is waited on. Then

49-9-310

719

the tired agent yells across, (because all the tickets and change are over there;) "What d'y' want? WHAT! WHERE?" He brow-beats and contradicts you, hurries and confuses the ignorant; gives many the wrong change; for lack of time compels a number to purchase tickets on the train at a higher price and sends all out on the platform burning with indignation and hatred.

The "jim-crow" car is up next the baggage car and engine. The train stops out beyond the covering in the rain or sun or dust. Usually there is no step to help one climb on, and often the car is a smoker cut in two and you must pass through the white smokers and then they pass through your part with swagger and noise and stares. Your apartment is a half or a quarter or an eighth of the oldest car in service on the road. Unless it happens to be a through express, the old plush is caked with dirt, the floor is gummy and the windows dirty.

49-9-211

An impertinent white newsboy occupies two seats at the end and importunes you to buy cheap candy, "Coca-Cola" and worthless if not vulgar books. He yells and swaggers and a continued stream of white men saunters back and forth from the smoker to buy and listen. The white train crew from the baggage car uses the "jim-crow" to lounge in and perform their toilet. The conductor appropriates two seats for himself and his papers and yells gruffly for your tickets before the train has scarcely started. It is best not to ask him for information even in the gentlest tones. His information is for whites chiefly. It is difficult to get lunch or drinking water. Lunch rooms either "don't serve niggers" or serve them at some dirty and ill-attended hole in the wall. Toilet rooms are often filthy. If you have to change cars be wary of junctions which are usually without accomodation and filled with quarrelsome whites who hate a "darky dressed up". You are apt to have the company of a sheriff and a couple of meek or sullen black prisoners on part of your way and the dirty colored section hands will pour in toward night and drive you to the smallest corner. "No" -- said the little lady in the corner (she looked like an ivory cameo and her dress flowed on her like a caress) -- "We don't travel much."

CHAPTER XIV

THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

In 1905 I was still a teacher at Atlanta University and was in my imagination a scientist, and neither a leader nor an agitator; I had ~~nothing but the greatest~~ much admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee, and I had in 1894 applied at both Tuskegee and Hampton for work. If Mr. Washington's telegram had reached me before the Wilberforce bid, I should have doubtless gone to Tuskegee. Certainly I knew no less about mathematics than I did about Latin and Greek.

Since the controversy between myself and Washington has become historic, it deserves more careful statement than it has had hitherto, both as to the matters and the motives involved. There was first of all the ideological controversy. I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. I knew that without this the Negro would have to accept white leadership, and that such leadership could not always be trusted to guide this group into self-realization and to its highest cultural possibilities. Mr. Washington, on the other hand, believed that the Negro as an efficient worker could gain wealth and that eventually through his ownership of capital he would be able to achieve a recognized place in American culture and could then educate his children as he might wish and develop their possibilities. For this reason he proposed to put the emphasis at present upon training in the skilled trades and encouragement in industry and common labor.

These two theories of Negro progress were not absolutely contradictory. Neither I nor Booker Washington, understood the nature of capitalistic exploitation of labor, and the necessity of a direct attack on the principle of exploitation as the beginning of labor uplift. I recognized the importance of the Negro gaining a foothold in trades and his encouragement in industry and common labor. Mr. Washington was not absolutely opposed to college training and sent his own children to college.

419-9-212

312

But he did minimize its importance, and discouraged the philanthropic support of higher education. He thought employers "gave" laborers work, thus opening the door to acquiring wealth. I openly and repeatedly criticized what seemed to me the poor work and small accomplishment of the Negro industrial school, but did not attack the fundamental wrong of giving the laborer less than he earned. It was characteristic of the Washington statesmanship that whatever he or anybody believed or wanted must be subordinated to dominant public opinion and that opinion deferred to and cajoled until it allowed a deviation toward better ways. It was my theory to guide and force public opinion by leadership. While my leadership was a matter of writing and teaching, the Washington leadership became a matter of organization and money. It was what I may call the Tuskegee Machine.

The years from 1899 to 1905 marked the culmination of the career of Booker T. Washington. In 1899 Mr. Washington, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and myself spoke on the same platform at the Hollis Street Theater, Boston, before a distinguished audience. Mr. Washington was not at his best and friends immediately raised a fund which sent him to Europe for a three months' rest. He was received with extraordinary honors: he had tea with the aged Queen Victoria, but two years before her death; he was entertained by two dukes and members of the aristocracy; he met James Bryce and Henry M. Stanley; he was received at the Peace Conference at The Hague and was greeted by many distinguished Americans, like ex-President Harrison, Archbishop Ireland and two justices of the Supreme Court. Only a few years before he had received an honorary A.M. from Harvard; in 1901, he received a LL.D. from Dartmouth; and that same year he dined with President Roosevelt to the consternation of the white South.

Returning to America he became during the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft, from 1901 to 1912, the political referee in all Federal appointments or action taken with reference to the Negro and in many regarding the white South. In 1903 Andrew Carnegie made the future of Tuskegee

49-9-214

certain by a gift of $600,000. There was no question of Booker T. Washington's undisputed leadership of the ten million Negroes in America, a leadership recognised gladly by the whites and conceded by most of the Negroes.

But there were discrepancies and paradoxes in this leadership. It did not seem fair, for instance, that on the one hand Mr. Washington should decry political activities among Negroes, and the other hand dictate Negro political objectives from Tuskegee. At a time when Negro civil rights called for organized and aggressive defense, he broke down that defense by advising acquiescence or at least no open agitation. During the period when laws disfranchising the Negro were being passed in all the Southern states, between 1890 and 1909, and when these were being supplemented by "Jim Crow" travel laws and other enactments making color caste legal, his public speeches, while they did not entirely ignore this development, tended continually to excuse it, to emphasize the shortcomings of the Negro, and were interpreted widely as putting the chief onus for his condition upon the Negro himself.

All this naturally aroused increasing opposition among Negroes and especially among the younger class of educated Negroes, who were beginning to emerge here and there, especially from Northern institutions. This opposition began to become vocal in 1901 when two men, Monroe Trotter, Harvard 1895, and George Forbes, Amherst 1895, began the publication of the Boston Guardian. The Guardian, a weekly periodical, was bitter, satirical, and personal; but it was well-edited, it was earnest, and it published facts. It attracted wide attention among colored people; it circulated among them all over the country; it was quoted and discussed. I did not wholly agree with the Guardian, and indeed only a few Negroes did, but nearly all read it and were influenced by it.

This beginning of organised opposition, together with other events, led to the growth at Tuskegee of what I have called the Tuskegee Machine. It arose first quite naturally. Not only did presidents of the United States consult Booker T. Washington, but governors and congressmen; philanthropists conferred with him,

scholars wrote to him. Tuskegee became a vast information bureau and center of advice. It was not merely passive in these matters but, guided by Emmett Scott a young secretary who was intelligent, suave and far-seeing, active efforts were made to concentrate influence at Tuskegee. After a time almost no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation or acquiescence of Mr. Washington. Few political appointments of Negroes were made anywhere in the United States without his consent. Even the careers of rising young colored men were very often determined by his advice and certainly his opposition was fatal. How much Mr. Washington knew of this work of the Tuskegee Machine and was directly responsible, one cannot say, but of its general activity and scope he must have been aware.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that this Tuskegee Machine was not solely the idea and activity of black folk at Tuskegee. It was largely encouraged and given financial aid through certain white groups and individuals in the North. This Northern group had clear objectives. They were capitalists and employers of labor and yet in most cases sons, relatives, or friends of the abolitionists who had sent teachers into the new Negro South after the war. These younger men believed that the Negro problem could not remain a matter of philanthropy. It must be a matter of business. These Negroes were not to be encouraged as voters in the new democracy, nor were they to be left at the mercy of the reactionary South. They were good laborers and they could be made of tremendous profit to the North. They could become a strong labor force and properly guided they would restrain the unbridled demands of white labor, born of the Northern labor unions and now spreading to the South and encouraged by European Socialism.

One danger must be avoided and that was to allow the silly idealism of Negroes, half-trained in missionary "colleges," to mislead the mass of laborers and keep them stirred-up by ambitions incapable of realization. To this school of thought, the philosophy of Booker T. Washington came as a godsend and it proposed by

building up his prestige and power, to control the Negro group. The control was to be drastic. The Negro intelligentsia was to be suppressed and hammered into conformity. The process involved some cruelty and disappointment, but that was inevitable. This was the real force back of the Tuskegee Machine. It had money and it had opportunity, and it found in Tuskegee tools to do its bidding.

There were some rather pitiful results in thwarted ambition and curtailed opportunity. I remember one case which always stands in my memory as typical. There was a young colored man, one of the most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, with smooth brown skin, velvet eyes of intelligence, and raven hair. He was educated and well-to-do. He proposed to use his father's Alabama farm and fortune to build a Negro town and independent economic unit in the South. He furnished a part of the capital but soon needed more and he came North to get it. He struggled for more than a decade; philanthropists and capitalists were fascinated by his personality and story; and when, according to current custom, they appealed to Tuskegee for confirmation, there was silence. Mr. Washington would not say a word in favor of the project. He simply kept still. Will Benson struggled on with ups and downs, but always balked by a whispering galley of suspicion, because his plan was never endorsed by Tuskegee. In the midst of what seemed to us who looked on the beginnings of certain success, Benson died of overwork, worry, and a broken heart.

From facts like this, one may gauge the bitterness of the fight of young Negroes against Mr. Washington and Tuskegee. The controversy as it developed was not entirely against Mr. Washington's ideas, but became the insistence upon the right of other Negroes to have and express their ideas. Things came to such a pass that when any Negro complained or advocated a course of action, he was silenced with the remark that Mr. Washington did not agree with this. Naturally the bumptious, irritated, young black intelligentsia of the day declared: "I don't care a damn what Booker Washington thinks! This is what I think, and I

912-9-44

have a right to think."

It was this point, and not merely disagreement with Mr. Washington's plans, that brought eventually violent outbreak. It was more than opposition to a program of education. It was opposition to a system and that system was part of the economic development of the United States at that time. The fight cut deep: it went into social relations; it divided friends; it made bitter enemies. I can remember that years later, when I went to live in New York and was once invited to a social gathering among Brooklyn colored people, one of the most prominent Negroes of the city refused to be present because of my attitude toward Mr. Washington.

When the Guardian began to increase in influence, determined effort was made to build up a Negro press for Tuskegee. Already Tuskegee filled the horizon so far as national magazines and the great newspapers were concerned. In 1901 the Outlook, then the leading weekly, chose two distinguished Americans for autobiographies. Mr. Washington's "Up From Slavery" was so popular that it was soon published and circulated all over the earth. Thereafter, every magazine editor sought articles with Washington's signature and publishing houses continued to ask for books. A number of talented "ghost writers," black and white, took service under Tuskegee, and books and articles poured out of the institution. An annual letter "To My People" went out from Tuskegee to the press. Tuskegee became the capital of the Negro nation. Negro newspapers were influenced and finally the oldest and largest was bought by white friends of Tuskegee. Most of the other papers found it to their advantage certainly not to oppose Mr. Washington, even if they did not wholly agree with him.

I was greatly disturbed at this time, not because I was in absolute opposition to the things that Mr. Washington was advocating, but because I was strongly in favor of more open agitation against wrongs and above all I resented the practical buying up of the Negro press and choking off of even mild and reasonable opposition to Mr. Washington in both the Negro press and the white.

217

Then, too, during these years there came a series of influences that were brought to bear upon me personally, which increased my discomfort and resentment. I had tried to keep in touch with Hampton and Tuskegee, for I regarded them as great institutions. I attended the conferences which for a long time were held at Hampton, and at one of them I was approached by a committee. It consisted of Walter Hines Page, editor of the Atlantic Monthly; William McVickar, Episcopal bishop of Rhode Island; and Dr. Frissel, principal of Hampton and brother of a leading New York banker. They asked me about the possibilities of my editing a periodical to be published at Hampton. I told them of my dreams and plans, and afterwards wrote them in detail. But one query came by mail: that was concerning the editorial direction. I replied firmly that editorial decisions were to be in my hands, if I edited the magazine. This was undiplomatic and too dogmatic; and yet, it brought to head the one real matter in controversy: would such a magazine be dominated by and subservient to the Tuskegee philosophy, or would it have freedom of thought and discussion? Perhaps if I had been more experienced, the question could have been discussed and some reasonable outcome obtained; but I doubt it. I think any such magazine launched at the time would have been seriously curtailed in its freedom of speech. At any rate, the project was dropped.

46-9-218

Beginning in 1902 pressure was put upon me to give up my work at Atlanta University and go to Tuskegee. There again I was not at first adverse in principle to Tuskegee, except that I wanted to continue the studies which I had begun and if my work was worth support, it was worth support at Atlanta University. I was unable to obtain assurance that my studies would be continued at Tuskegee, and that I would not sink to the level of a "ghost writer." I remember a letter came from Wallace Buttrick late in 1902, asking that I attend a private conference in New York with Felix Adler, William H. Baldwin, Jr., George Foster Peabody, and Robert Ogden. The object of the conference was ostensibly the condition of the Negro in New York City. I went to the conference and did not like it. Most of

the more distinguished persons named were not present. The conference itself amounted to little, but after adjournment I was whisked over to William H. Baldwin's beautiful Long Island home and there what seemed to me to be the real object of my coming was disclosed. Mr. Baldwin was at that time president of the Long Island Railroad and slated to be president of the Pennsylvania. He was the rising industrial leader of America; also he was a prime mover on the Tuskegee board of trustees. Both he and his wife insisted that my place was at Tuskegee; that Tuskegee was not yet a good school, and needed the kind of development that I had been trained to promote.

This was followed by two interviews with Mr. Washington himself. I was elated at the opportunity and we met twice in New York City. The results to me were disappointing. Booker T. Washington was not an easy person to know. He was wary and silent. He never expressed himself frankly or clearly until he knew exactly to whom he was talking and just what their wishes and desires were. He did not know me, and I think he was suspicious. On the other hand, I was quick, fast-speaking and voluble. I had nothing to conceal. I found at the end of the first interview that I had done practically all the talking and that no clear and definite offer or explanation of my proposed work at Tuskegee had been made. In fact, Mr. Washington had said about as near nothing as was possible.

The next interview did not go so well because I myself said little. Finally, we resorted to correspondence. Even then I could get no clear understanding of just what I was going to do at Tuskegee if I went. I was given to understand that the salary and accomodations would be satisfactory. In fact, I was invited to name my price. Later in the year I went to Bar Harbor for a series of speeches in behalf of Atlanta University, and while there met Jacob Schiff, the Schieffelins and Merriam of Webster's dictionary. I had dinner with the Schieffelins and their mother-in-law, whose father was once Chief Justice of the United States. Again I was urged to go to Tuskegee.

2 9

Early in the next year I received an invitation to join Mr. Washington and certain prominent white and colored friends in a conference to be held in New York. The conference was designed to talk over a common program for the American Negro and evidently it was hoped that the growing division of opinion and opposition to Mr. Washington within the ranks of Negroes would thus be overcome. I was enthusiastic over the idea. It seemed to me just what was needed to clear the air.

HP-9-220

There was difficulty, however, in deciding what persons ought to be invited to the conference; how far it should include Mr. Washington's extreme opponents, or how far it should be composed principally of his friends. There ensued a long delay and during this time it seemed to me that I ought to make my own position clearer than I had hitherto. I was increasingly uncomfortable under the statements of Mr. Washington's position: his depreciation of the value of the vote; his evident dislike of Negro colleges; and his general attitude which seemed to place the onus of blame for the status of Negroes upon the Negroes themselves rather than upon the whites. And above all I resented the Tuskegee Machine.

I had been asked sometime before by A.C. McClurg and Company of Chicago if I did not have some material for a book; I planned a social study which should be perhaps a summing up of the work of the Atlanta Conferences, or at any rate, a scientific investigation. They asked, however, if I did not have some essays that they might put together and issue immediately, mentioning my articles in the Atlantic Monthly and other places. I demurred because books of essays almost always fall so flat. Nevertheless, I got together a number of my fugitive pieces. I then added a chapter, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," in which I sought to make a frank evaluation of Booker T. Washington. I left out the more controversial matter: the bitter resentment which young Negroes felt at the continued and increasing activity of the Tuskegee Machine. I concentrated my thought and argument on Mr. Washington's general philosophy. As I read that

statement now, a generation later, I am satisfied with it. I see no word that I would change. I said:

"The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate -- a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds -- so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this -- we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"

Pressure came from white Northern friends, who I believed appreciated my work and on the whole wished me and my race well. But they were apprehensive; fearful because as perhaps the most conspicuously trained young Negro of my day, and, quite apart from any question of ability, my reaction toward the new understanding between North and South, and especially my attitude toward Mr. Washington, were bound to influence Negroes. As a matter of fact, at that time I was not over-critical of Booker Washington. I regarded his Atlanta speech as a statesman-like effort to reach understanding with the white South; I hoped the South would respond with equal generosity and thus the nation could come to understanding for both races. When, however, the South responded with "Jim-Crow" legislation, I became uneasy. Still I believed that my program of investigation and study was

221

just what was needed to bring understanding in the long run, based on truth. I tried to make this clear. I attended the conferences at Hampton for several years, and became increasingly critical of those Hampton opinions. In all the deliberations to which I listened, and resolutions, which were passed at Hampton, never once was the work of Atlanta University nor college work anywhere for Negroes, commended or approved. I ceased regular attendance at the conferences; but when later I was invited back I delivered a defense of higher training for Negroes and a scathing criticism of the "Hampton Idea." I was not asked to return to Hampton for twenty-five years.

40-9-223

My book settled pretty definitely any further question of my going to Tuskegee as an employee. But it also drew pretty hard and fast lines about my future career. Meantime, the matter of the conference in New York dragged on until finally in October, 1903, a circular letter was sent out setting January, 1904, as the date of meeting. The conference took place accordingly in Carnegie Hall, New York. About fifty persons were present, most of them colored and including many well-known persons. There was considerable plain speaking but the whole purpose of the conference seemed revealed by the invited white guests and the tone of their message. Several persons of high distinction came to speak to us, including Andrew Carnegie and Lyman Abbott. Their words were lyric, almost fulsome in praise of Mr. Washington and his work, and in support of his ideas. Even if all they said had been true, it was a wrong note to strike in a conference of conciliation. The conferences ended with two speeches by Mr. Washington and myself, and the appointment of a Committee of Twelve in which we were also included.

The Committee of Twelve which was thus instituted was unable to do any effective work as a steering committee for the Negro race in America. First of all, it was financed, through Mr. Washington, probably by Mr. Carnegie. This put effective control of the committee in Mr. Washington's hands. It was organized during my absence and laid down a plan of work which seemed to me of some value

but of no lasting importance and having little to do with the larger questions and issues. I therefore soon resigned so as not to be responsible for work and pronouncements over which I would have little influence. My friends and others accused me of refusing to play the game after I had assented to a program of cooperation. I still think, however, that my action was wise.

By this time I was pretty thoroughly disillusioned. It did not seem possible for me to occupy middle ground and try to appease the Guardian on the one hand and the Hampton-Tuskegee idea on the other. I began to feel the strength and implacability of the Tuskegee Machine; the Negro newspapers were definitely showing their reaction and publishing jibes and innuendoes at my expense. Filled with increasing indignation, I published in the Guardian a statement concerning the venality of certain Negro papers which I charged had sold out to Mr. Washington. It was a charge difficult of factual proof without an expenditure of time and funds not at my disposal. I was really at last openly tilting against the Tuskegee Machine and its methods. These methods have become common enough in our day for all sorts of purposes: the distribution of advertising and favors, the sending out of special correspondence, veiled and open attacks upon recalcitrants, the narrowing of opportunities for employment and promotion. All this is a common method of procedure today, but in 1904 it seemed to me monstrous and dishonest, and I resented it. On the other hand, the public expression of this resentment greatly exercised and annoyed Mr. Washington's friends. Some knew little about these activities at Tuskegee; others knew and approved. The New York Evening Post challenged me to present proof of my statements and refused to regard my answer as sufficient, which was of course true.

Then came a new and surprising turn to the whole situation which in the end quite changed my life. In the early summer of 1905, Mr. Washington went to Boston and arranged to speak in a colored church to colored people -- a thing which he did not often do in the North. Trotter and Forbes, editors of the

223

Guardian, determined to heckle him and make him answer publicly certain questions with regard to his attitude toward voting and education. William H. Lewis, a colored lawyer whom I myself had introduced to Mr. Washington, had charge of the meeting, and the result was a disturbance magnified by the newspapers into a "riot," which resulted in the arrest of Mr. Trotter. Finally he served a term in jail.

With this incident I had no direct connection whatsoever. I did not know beforehand of the meeting in Boston, nor of the projected plan to heckle Mr. Washington. But when Trotter went to jail, my indignation overflowed. I did not always agree with Trotter then or later. But he was an honest, brilliant, unselfish man, and to treat as a crime that which was at worst mistaken judgement was an outrage. I sent out from Atlanta in June, 1905, a call to a few selected persons "for organized determination and aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth." I proposed a conference during the summer "to oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticism; to organize intelligent and honest Negroes; and to support organs of news and public opinion."

49-9-224

Fifty-nine colored men from seventeen different states eventually signed a call for a meeting near Buffalo, New York, during the week of July 9, 1905. I went to Buffalo and hired a little hotel on the Canada side of the river at Fort Erie, and waited for the men to attend the meeting. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the hotel, I should certainly have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail; but as a matter of fact, twenty-nine men, representing fourteen states, came. The "Niagara Movement" was incorporated January 31, 1906, in the District of Columbia.

Its particular business and objects were to advocate and promote the following principles:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.

2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press.

3. Manhood suffrage.

4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.

5. The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.

6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.

7. A belief in the dignity of labor.

8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

The Niagara Movement raised a furor of the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader and being ashamed of the fact that I was a member of the Negro race. The leading weekly of the land, the New York Outlook, pilloried me with seathing articles. But the movement went on. The next year, 1906, instead of meeting in secret, we met openly at Harper's Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid, and had in significance if not in numbers one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes ever held. We made pilgrimage at dawn bare-footed to the scene of Brown's martyrdom and we talked some of the plainest English that had been given voice to by black men in America. The resolutions which I wrote expressed with tumult of emotion my creed of 1905:

"The men of the Niagara Movement, coming from the toil of the year's hard work, and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accomodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually

215

afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.

"Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the Thief and the home of the Slave -- a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment.

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens, born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness, the new American creed says: fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the white. And this in the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

"In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of our wives, the chastity of our daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to those who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accomodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

"Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk and be with them who wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

49-9-226

"Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of the Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no State allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

"The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions in the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

"Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance, or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education, we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

"These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote; by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob;

227

but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

Here at last I approached in my thinking the fundamental matter of the exploitation of the worker, regardless of race and color. The thought was not yet clear and the philosophy of Socialism was not yet applied. But the philosophy hovered in the background.

Meantime, I refused to give up the idea that a critical periodical for the American Negro might be founded. I had started in Memphis with the help of two graduates of Atlanta University the little printing shop that I have already mentioned, and from this was published weekly a paper called The Moon beginning in 1906. The Moon was in some sort precursor of The Crisis. It was published for a year in Memphis and then the printing office given up and in 1907 in conjunction with two friends in Washington there was issued a minature monthly called the Horizon. The Horizon was published from 1907 to 1910, and in the fall of 1910 The Crisis was born.

328-9-44

Gradually I began to realize that the difficulty about support for my work in Atlanta University was largely personal; that on account of my attitude toward Mr. Washington I had become persona non grata to powerful interests, and that Atlanta University would not be able to get support for its general work or for its study of the Negro problem so long as I remained at the institution. No one ever said this to me openly, but I sensed it in the worries which encompassed the new young President Ware who had succeeded Dr. Bumstead. I began to realize that I would better look out for work elsewhere.

About this time an offer came from the city of Washington. The merging of the white and colored school systems into one, had thrown colored folk into uproar lest their control of their own schools be eliminated and colored children

not admitted to white schools. The new and rather eccentric W.C. Chancellor, superintendent of schools, wanted an assistant superintendent to put in charge of the Negro schools. To my great surprise he offered the position to me, while I was on a chance visit to the city. I asked for time to consider it. My reaction was to refuse even though the salary was twice what I was getting; for I doubted my fitness for such a job; but when I thought the matter over further and my position at Atlanta University, I began to wonder if I should not accept.

I was not called upon to decide, for forces started moving in Washington. The Tuskegee Machine backed by white capital was definitely against me and they involved the local interests of the Negro group. A prominent colored member of the School Board took the matter straight to President Theodore Roosevelt and emphasized the "danger" of my appointment. He never forgot the "danger" of my personality as later events proved. The offer was never actually withdrawn, but it was not pressed, and I finally realised that it probably would not have gone through even if I had indicated my acceptance.

Still my eventual withdrawal from Atlanta University seemed wise. Young President Ware had received almost categorial promises that under certain circumstances increased contributions from the General Education Board and other sources might be expected, which would make the University secure, and perhaps even permit the continuance of the conference. I was sure that I was at least one of these "circumstances," and so my work in Atlanta and my dream of the settlement of the Negro problem by science faded. I began to be acutely conscious of the difficulty which my attitudes and beliefs were making for Atlanta University.

My career as a scientist was to be swallowed up in my role as master of propaganda. This was not wholly to my liking. I was no natural leader of men. I could not slap people on the back and make friends of strangers. I could not easily break down an inherited reserve; or at all times curb a biting, critical

tongue. Nevertheless, having put my hand to the plow, I had to go on. The Niagara Movement with less momentum met in Boston in 1907 and in Oberlin in 1908. It began to suffer internal strain from the dynamic personality of Trotter and my own inexperience with organizations. Finally it practically became merged with a new and enveloping organization of which I became a leading official -- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

49-9-229

CHAPTER XV

THE NAACP

The NAACP started with a lynching 100 years after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, and in the city, Springfield, Ohio, which was his long-time residence. William English Walling a white Southerner dramatized the gruesome happening and a group of liberals formed a committee in New York, which I was invited to join. A conference was held in 1909.

This conference contained four groups: scientists who knew the race problem; philanthropists willing to help worthy causes; social workers ready to take up a new task of Abolition; and Negroes ready to join a new crusade for their emancipation. An impressive number of scientists and social workers attended; friends of wealthy philanthropists were present and many Negroes but few followers of Booker Washington. In the end Trotter the most radical Negro leader and Ida Wells Barnet who was leading an anti-lynching crusade refused to join the new organization, being distrustful of white leadership. I myself and most of the Niagara Movement group were willing to join. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was formed, which without formal merger absorbed practically the whole membership of the Niagara Movement. With some hesitation I was asked to join the organization as Director of Publications and Research. My research work was to go on but my activities would be so held in check that the Association would not develop as a center of attack upon Tuskegee.

Here was an opportunity to enter the lists in a desperate fight aimed straight at the real difficulty: the question as to how far educated Negro opinion in the United States was going to have the right and opportunity to guide the Negro group. Back of this lay an unasked question as to the relation of the American Negro group to the whole labor movement. This was not yet raised but several of the group were socialists, including myself.

49-9-230

CHAPTER XV

THE NAACP

The NAACP started with a lynching 100 years after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, and in the city, Springfield, Ohio, which was his long-time residence. William English Walling a white Southerner dramatized the gruesome happening and a group of liberals formed a committee in New York, which I was invited to join. A conference was held in 1909.

This conference contained four groups: scientists who knew the race problem; philanthropists willing to help worthy causes; social workers ready to take up a new task of Abolition; and Negroes ready to join a new crusade for their emancipation. An impressive number of scientists and social workers attended; friends of wealthy philanthropists were present and many Negroes but few followers of Booker Washington. In the end Trotter the most radical Negro leader and Ida Wells Barnet who was leading an anti-lynching crusade refused to join the new organization, being distrustful of white leadership. I myself and most of the Niagara Movement group were willing to join. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was formed, which without formal merger absorbed practically the whole membership of the Niagara Movement. With some hesitation I was asked to join the organization as Director of Publications and Research. My research work was to go on but my activities would be so held in check that the Association would not develop as a center of attack upon Tuskegee.

Here was an opportunity to enter the lists in a desperate fight aimed straight at the real difficulty: the question as to how far educated Negro opinion in the United States was going to have the right and opportunity to guide the Negro group. Back of this lay an unasked question as to the relation of the American Negro group to the whole labor movement. This was not yet raised but several of the group were socialists, including myself.

49-9-230

One may consider the personal equations and clash of ideologies possible here as a matter of the actions and thoughts of certain men, or as a development of larger social forces beyond personal control. I suppose the latter aspect is the truer. My thoughts, the thoughts of Washington, Trotter and Villard were the expression of social forces more than of our own minds. These forces or ideologies embraced more than reasoned acts. They included physical, biological and psychological habits, conventions and enactments. Opposed to these came natural reaction: the physical recoil of the victims, the unconscious and irrational urges, as well as reasoned complaints and acts. The total result was the history of our day. That history may be epitomized in one word -- Empire; the domination of white Europe over black Africa and yellow Asia, through political power built on the economic control of labor, income and ideas. The echo of this industrial imperialism in America was the expulsion of black men from American democracy, their subjection to caste control and wage slavery. This ideology was triumphant in 1910.

I accepted the offer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910 to join their new organization in New York as Director of Publications and Research.

My new title showed that I had modified my program of research, but by no means abandoned it. First, I directed and edited my Atlanta study of 1912, <u>in absentia</u> with the help of my colleague, Augustus Dill, my student and successor as teacher in Atlanta. Then in our study of 1913, I secured the promise of Dr. Dillard, of the Slater Board, to join Atlanta University in keeping up the work of the conferences. The work of research was to be carried on in New York, with a conference and annual publication at Atlanta. I was jubilant at the projected survival of my work. But on advice of President Ware himself, this arrangement was not accepted by the trustees of Atlanta University. Ware was probably warned that his tie with a radical movement would hamper the University.

In August, 1910, I reported at my new office and new work at 20 Vesey Street, New York. As I have said elsewhere, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "proved between 1910 and the first World War, one of the most effective organizations of the liberal spirit and the fight for social progress which America has known." It fought frankly to make Negroes "politically free from disfranchisement; legally free from caste and socially free from insult."

This new field of endeavor represented a distinct break from my previous purely scientific program. While "research" was still among my duties, there were in fact no funds for such work. My chief efforts were devoted to editing and publishing the Crisis, which I founded on my own responsibility, and over the protest of many of my associates. With the Crisis, I essayed a new role of interpreting to the world the hindrances and aspirations of American Negroes. My older program appeared only as I supported my contentions with facts from current reports and observation or historic reference. My writing was reinforced by lecturing, and my knowledge increased by travel; my thought was broadened by study of Socialism.

We had on our board of directors many incongruous elements as was to be expected: philanthropists like Oswald Villard; social workers like Florence Kelly; liberal Christians like John Haynes Holmes and liberal Jews like the Spingarns; spiritual descendants of the Abolitionists like Mary Ovington and radical Negroes. Clashes now and then were inevitable.

To a white philanthropist like Villard, a Negro was quite naturally expected to be humble and thankful or certainly not assertive and aggressive; this Villard resented. I knew Villard's mother, who was Garrison's favorite child, and I liked her very much. His uncles were cordial and sympathetic. There was much that I liked in Villard himself, but one thing despite all my effort kept us far apart. He had married a wife from Georgia, a former slave state and consequently I could

49-9-232

never step foot in his house as a guest, nor could any other of his colored associates. Indeed I doubt if any of his Jewish co-workers were ever invited. I respected the reasons for this discrimination, but I could hardly be expected to be happy over them or to be his close friend.

My first rather bitter falling out with Villard was at a meeting of the Board of Directors. Villard presumed to tell me how to edit the Crisis, and suggested that with my monthly record of lynchings, I also publish a list of Negro crimes. I resented this, not only because it was logically silly, but because it was interfering with my business. It was for this reason and from similar clashes that he finally resigned the chairmanship of the board and was replaced by Joel Spingarn. Villard, however, kept his membership on the board and his interest in our work. Social workers like Florence Kelly criticized my status: I held the rather anamalous position of being both a member of the board and, as executive officer, the board's employee. This was not from any demand which I made, but was due to the inescapable fact that I knew the Negro problem better than any of the white members of the board, and at the same time I was the one colored man whom they could put their hands on to carry out the objects of the organization. My double capacity was repeatedly a matter of discussion, and sometimes dispute; but no answer was however forthcoming for 24 years.

Few of us realized what an organization of this sort had to be and what changes of form it had to go through. In early years it was a conference of men seeking agreement for common action, and finally carrying out the work decided upon by means of a committee of one or more. It was this form that the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People had in mind when it was organized in 1909. It needed money, and that Villard and some of the other members of the committee proposed to raise from their wealthy friends, or from well-known philanthropists. It became increasingly necessary for the organization to have a paid executive whose chief business was to raise money.

49-9-233

When I was called to join the group it was expected that I would become that executive, but that was just what I refused to do, because I know that raising money was not a job for which I was fitted. It called for a friendliness of approach and knowledge of human nature, and an adaptability which I did not have. What I had was knowledge of the Negro problem, and an ability to express my thoughts clearly, and a logical method of thought. I wanted then to write and lecture; and this became my job. We needed however an executive secretary, and after relying a few years on untrained services, we hired a white trained social worker at five thousand dollars a year. It seemed to many of us a huge sum and an impossible effort, but it worked out under three secretaries; the first white, the other two colored.

It was carried on in accordance with growing experiences among philanthropic organizations. The secretaries trained to raise money used approved and tried methods and expected and received cooperation from a Board of Directors whom they helped to select because of their money and their advertising value. This meant that the secretary had to have power put in its hands and the more money he raised for the objects of the organization, the more power he got. If he knew his job and had a broad conception of the purposes of his organization, things would go well. If he became more interested in money and power, and less clear as to ideal, the organization might not go as well. Changes due to these facts have occurred in the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People during its long and successful career.

The span of my life from 1910 to 1934 is chiefly the story of Crisis magazine under my editorship but it had also an astonishing variety of subsidiary interests and activities.

Beginning a little before this period I continued my visits to Europe. I went in 1900 to the Paris Exposition and again by the grace of an English friend

49-9-234

in 1906. I helped organize and took part in the great Races Congress in 1911 and went to France in December, 1918, just after the Armistice. This close touch with Europe and European developments had much to do with my understanding of social problems and trends of the world. I followed the development of English imperialism and the forces in England, France, Italy and Germany which resulted in the Balkan War, the World War and eventually the Russian Revolution. In the United States I studied the political development from the free silver controversy led by Bryan, through the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Taft, and especially the "Bull Moose" campaign and the election of Wilson.

I kept on writing and publishing not with as much concentration of effort as I ought to have, but with some effectiveness. In 1907 appeared "The Negro in the South" -- from lectures, two by myself and two by Mr. Washington. In 1909 I published "John Brown," one of the best written of my books, but one which aroused the unfortunate jealousy of Villard who had also written a biography of Brown. In 1915 I published my volume on "The Negro". To this must be added part of a bulletin in the Twelfth Census of the United States and several magazine articles.

I still clung to my idea of investigation in lines which would temper and guide my exposition of a racial philosophy; and for that reason I determined from the beginning to make my work with the Association not that of executive secretary but editor of its official organ. There was opposition to this organ from the first. First of all, organs of this sort were known to be usually costly and this organization had no money. Secondly, organs were of doubtful efficiency. My good friend, Albert E. Pillsbury, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, wrote feelingly: "If you have not decided upon a periodical, for heaven's sake don't. They are as numerous as flies" -- and he meant to conclude about as useful. I came to New York to occupy a bare office; associated with a treasurer, Villard

who said frankly, "I don't know who is going to pay your salary. I have no money;" and with a generally critical if not hostile public which expected the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to launch upon a bitter attack upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee.

My first job was to get the Crisis going; and arriving in August I got the first copy off the press in November, 1910. It came at the psychological moment and its success was phenomenal. From the one thousand which I ventured to publish first, it went up a thousand a month until by 1918 (due, of course, to special circumstances) we published and sold over a hundred thousand copies.

With this organ of propaganda and defense we were able to organize one of the most effective assaults of liberalism upon reaction that the modern world has seen. The NAACP secured extraordinary helpers; great lawyers like Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall; earnest liberals like Villard, Milholland, John Haynes Holmes, Jane Addams, and the Spingarns; socialists like Mary W. Ovington, Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling.

We gained a series of court victories before the highest courts of the land which perhaps never have been equalled, beginning with the recognition of the validity of the 15th amendment and the overthrow of the vicious Grandfather Clauses in 1915; and the breaking of the backbone of housing segregation in 1917. Above all, we could, through the Crisis and our officers, our secretaries and friends, place consistently and continuously before the country a clear-cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. We tried to organize his political power and make it felt and we started a campaign against lynching and mob law which was the most effective ever organized and at long last seemed to bring the end of the evil in sight.

With these efforts came other activities. I lectured widely in nearly every state in the Union. I furnished information to people everywhere on all sorts of subjects closely and remotely connected with race problems, and carried on from

49-9-236

time to time studies and investigations. I was held more responsible for the success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than I cared to confess to myself; than most other people wanted to admit. I had to spread myself over a whole field of activities when I would have done great deal better work if I could have confined myself to writing and study.

The development of the Crisis where most of my writing was done was interesting and difficult. It was impaired first and last by lack of trained business management. For the most part I was my own business manager which meant the loss of much time in details. Then there was the delicate matter of policy; of how far I should express my own ideas and reactions in the Crisis or the studied judgement of the organization. From first to last I thought strongly, and as I still think rightly, to make the opinion expressed in the Crisis a personal opinion; because as I argued, no organization can express definite and clear-cut opinions; so far as this organization comes to conclusions it states them in its annual resolutions; but the Crisis states openly the opinion of its editor so long as that opinion is in general agreement with that of the organization.

This of course was a dangerous and delicate matter bound eventually to break down in case there was any considerable divergence of opinion between the organization and the editor. It was perhaps rather unusual that for two decades the two lines of thinking ran so largely together. If on the other hand the Crisis had not been in a sense a personal organ and the expression of myself, it could not possibly have attained its popularity and effectiveness. It would have been the dry kind of organ that so many societies support for purposes of reference and not for reading. It took on the part of the organization, a great deal of patience and faith to allow me the latitude that they did for so many years; and on the other hand I was enabled to lay down for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a clear, strong and distinct body of doctrine that could not have been started by majority vote. It was probably inevitable that in the end a

distinct and clear-cut difference of opinion on majority policies should lead to the dissolution of this interesting partnership.

One of the first difficulties that the National Association met was the case of its attitude toward Mr. Washington. I carefully tried to avoid any exaggeration of our differences of thought; but to discuss the Negro question in 1910 was to discuss Booker T. Washington and almost before we were conscious of the inevitable trends we were challenged from Europe. Mr. Washington was in Europe in 1910 and made some speeches in England in his usual conciliatory lines. John Milholland who had been so influential in the organization of the National Association with paid employees and an office wrote me and said that American Negroes must combat the idea that they were satisfied with conditions. I therefore wrote an appeal to England and Europe.

"If Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true. We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilites have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. In flat contradiction, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the concensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems. We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony."

49-9-238

distinct and clear-cut difference of opinion on majority policies should lead to the dissolution of this interesting partnership.

One of the first difficulties that the National Association met was the case of its attitude toward Mr. Washington. I carefully tried to avoid any exaggeration of our differences of thought; but to discuss the Negro question in 1910 was to discuss Booker T. Washington and almost before we were conscious of the inevitable trends we were challenged from Europe. Mr. Washington was in Europe in 1910 and made some speeches in England in his usual conciliatory lines. John Milholland who had been so influential in the organization of the National Association with paid employees and an office wrote me and said that American Negroes must combat the idea that they were satisfied with conditions. I therefore wrote an appeal to England and Europe.

"If Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true. We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilites have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. In flat contradiction, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the concensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems. We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony."

H9-9-238

In furtherance of this statement and in anticipation of the meeting of the Races Congress in 1911 Mr. Milholland arranged that I should go early to the conference and make some addresses. The plan simmered down to a proposed address before the Lyceum Club, the leading woman's group of London,. There it ran against the opposition of an American woman who wrote: "I think there is serious objection to entertaining Dr. Du Bois at the Lyceum." The result was a rather acrimonious controversy, from which I tried gently to withdraw but was unable to; and finally led by Her Highness the Ranée of Sarawak and Dr. Etta Sayre, a luncheon was held at the Lyceum Club with a bishop and two countesses, several knights and ladies and with Maurice Hewlett and Sir Harry Johnston.

The Races Congress in 1911 would have marked an epoch in the racial history of the world if it had not been for the World War. Felix Adler and I were made secretaries of the American section of the Congress in London. It was a great and inspiring occasion bringing together representatives of numerous ethnic and cultural groups and bringing new and frank conceptions of scientific bases of racial and social relations of people. I had a chance twice to address the Congress in the great hall of the University of London and to write one of the two poems which greeted the assembly.

Returning to the United States I was plunged into the "Bull Moose" campaign. I thought I saw a splendid chance for a third party movement on a broad platform of votes for Negroes and industrial democracy. Sitting in the office of the Crisis I wrote out a proposed plank for the Progressives to adopt at their Chicago meeting: "The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 percent, deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voicein their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent

740

the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

This was taken to Chicago by Joel E. Spingarn and advocated by two other directors of the Association, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams. They worked in vain for its adoption. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He told Mr. Spingarn frankly that he should be "careful of that man Du Bois" who was in Roosevelt's opinion a "dangerous" person. The "Bull Moose" convention not only refused to seat most of the colored delegates; elected a Southern "lily white" to run on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt and finally succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson president of the United States.

Bishop Walters and myself conceived the idea that Mr. Wilson might be approachable. I proposed to throw the weight of the Crisis against Roosevelt and Taft and for Wilson, and Bishop Walters went to see him. He secured from Woodrow Wilson a categorical expression over his signature "of his earnest wish to see justice done the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. I want to assure them that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States."

49-9-240

In this effort to divide the Negro vote which was successful to an unusual degree, we were cruelly disappointed when the Democratic party won and the next Congress met. There was the greatest flood of discriminatory bills both in Congress and among the states that has probably ever been introduced since the Civil War. Only united and determined effort defeated bills against intermarriage and for other discriminations in eight states; and while most of the proposed legislation in Congress was kept from the statute books, the administration carried out a segregation by color in the various departments which we had to fight for years and vestiges of which remain even today.

749

the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

This was taken to Chicago by Joel E. Spingarn and advocated by two other directors of the Association, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams. They worked in vain for its adoption. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He told Mr. Spingarn frankly that he should be "careful of that man Du Bois" who was in Roosevelt's opinion a "dangerous" person. The "Bull Moose" convention not only refused to seat most of the colored delegates; elected a Southern "lily white" to run on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt and finally succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson president of the United States.

Bishop Walters and myself conceived the idea that Mr. Wilson might be approachable. I proposed to throw the weight of the Crisis against Roosevelt and Taft and for Wilson, and Bishop Walters went to see him. He secured from Woodrow Wilson a categorical expression over his signature "of his earnest wish to see justice done the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. I want to assure them that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States."

49-9-240

In this effort to divide the Negro vote which was successful to an unusual degree, we were cruelly disappointed when the Democratic party won and the next Congress met. There was the greatest flood of discriminatory bills both in Congress and among the states that has probably ever been introduced since the Civil War. Only united and determined effort defeated bills against intermarriage and for other discriminations in eight states; and while most of the proposed legislation in Congress was kept from the statute books, the administration carried out a segregation by color in the various departments which we had to fight for years and vestiges of which remain even today.

In other respects our lines were cast in difficult places. The Socialists began to consider the color line and to discriminate against the membership of colored people in the South, lest whites should not be attracted. Mr. Villard tried to get the President to appoint a National Race Commission to be privately financed to the extent of $50,000, but nothing was done. Suddenly war and revolution struck the world; the Chinese Revolution in 1912; the Balkan War in 1912-18; and finally, in 1914, the World War.

In that very year the National Council of Social Agencies met in Memphis without daring to discuss the color question but Spingarn and I went down and held open meetings advertising "for all who dared hear the truth." We had an interesting time. This success and the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 led to the first Amenia conference and tried to unite the American Negro in one program of advance.

Finally the World War touched America; with it and in anticipation of it, came a sudden increasing of lynching including the horrible burning alive of a Negro at Dyersburg; there came renewed efforts at segregation; the whole extraordinary difficulties of the draft and the question of Negro officers. We offered our service to fight. What happened? Most Americans have forgotten the extraordinary series of events which worked the feelings of black America to fever heat.

First was the refusal to accept Negro volunteers for the army except in the four black regiments already established. While the nation was combing the country for volunteers for the regualr army it would not let the American Negro furnish even his proportionate quota of regular soldiers. This led to some grim bantering among Negroes:

"Why do you want to volunteer?" asked many. "Why should you fight for this country?"

Before we had chance to reply to this there came the army draft bill and the proposal by Vardaman and his ilk to exempt Negroes. We protested to Washington in various ways and while we were insisting that colored men should be drafted

just as other citizens, the bill went through with two little "jokers."

First, it provided that Negroes should be drafted but trained in "separate" units and, secondly, it somewhat ambiguously permitted men to be drafted for "labor."

A wave of fear and unrest spread among Negroes; and while we were looking at both these provisions askance suddenly we received the draft registration blank. It directed persons "of African descent" to "tear off the corner;" Probably never before in the history of the United States has a portion of the citizens been so openly and crassly discriminated against by action of the general government. It was disheartening and on top of it came the celebrated "German plots". It was alleged in various parts of the country with singular unanimity that Germans were working among the Negroes and it was further intimated that this would make the Negroes too dangerous an element to trust with guns. To us, of course, it looked as though the discovery and the proposition came from the same thinly-veiled sources.

Considering carefully these series of happenings the American Negro sensed an approaching crisis and faced a puzzling dilemma. Here was evidently preparing fertile ground for the spread of disloyalty and resentment among the black masses as they were forced to choose apparently between forced labor or a "Jim Crow" draft. Manifestly when a minority group is thus segregated and forced out of the nation they can in reason do but one thing -- take advantage of the disadvantage. In this case we asked for colored officers for the colored troops.

General Wood was early approached and asked to admit suitable candidates to the Plattsburg Officers Camp. He refused. We thereupon pressed the government for a "separate" camp for the training of Negro officers. Not only did the War Department hesitate at this request but strong opposition arose among the colored people themselves. They said this really was going too far. "We will obey the law but

49-9-242

to ask for voluntary segregation is to insult ourselves." But strong, sober second thought came to rescue. We said to our protesting brothers: "We face a condition, not a theory. There is not the slightest chance of our being admitted to white camps, therefore, it is either a case of a "Jim Crow" officers training camp or no colored officers. Of the two things no colored officers would be the greatest calamity.

Thus we gradually made up our minds. But the War Department still hesitated. It was besieged and when it presented its final argument, "We have no place for such a camp," the trustees of Howard University said: "Take our campus." Eventually twelve hundred colored cadets were assembled at Fort Des Moines for training.

The city Des Moines promptly protested but it finally changed its mind. The city never before had seen such a class of colored men. They rapidly became popular with many classes and encomiums were passed upon their conduct. Especially was the money they spent popular with merchants. Their commanding colonel pronounced their work first class and declared that they presented excellent material for officers.

Meantime, with one accord, the thought of the colored people turned toward Colonel Young, their highest officer in the regular army. Charles Young was an heroic figure. He was the typical soldier -- silent, uncomplaining, brave and efficient. From his days at West Point throughout his twenty-eight years of service he has taken whatever task was assigned him and performed it efficiently and there is no doubt but that the army had been almost merciless in the requirements which it has put upon this splendid officer. He had been segregated, discriminated against and insulted. He came through everything with flying colors. In Haiti, Liberia, in Western camps, in the Sequoia Forests of California, and finally with Pershing in Mexico -- in every case he triumphed. Just at the time we were looking to the Government to call him to head the colored officers training at Des Moines, he was retired from the Army because of "high blood pressure!"

There is no disputing army surgeons and their judgement in this case may have been justified, but coming at the time it did, every Negro in the United States believed that the "high blood pressure" that retired Colonel Young was in the prejudiced heads of the southern army oligarchy who were determined that no Negro should ever wear the star of a General.

To say that Negroes of the United States were disheartened at the retirement of Colonel Young is to put it mildly; but there was more trouble. The provision that Negro troops must be trained separately looked simple and was simple in places where there were large Negro contingents; but in the North with solitary Negroes drafted here and there we had some extraordinary developments. Regiments appeared with one Negro and he had to be separated like a pest and put in a house or even a village by himself, while the Commander frantically telegraphed to Washington. Small wonder that one poor black fellow in Ohio solved the problem by cutting his throat. The whole process of drafting Negroes had to be held up until the Government could find methods and places for assembling them.

On the top of this came Houston. In a moment the nation forgot the whole record of one of the most celebrated regiments in the U.S. Army and their splendid service in the Indian Wars and in the Philippines. It was the first regiment mobilized in the Spanish American War and it was the regiment that volunteered to a man to clean up the yellow fever camps when others hesitated. It was one of the regiments to which Pershing said:

"Men, I am authorized by Congress to tell you all that our people back in the States are mighty glad and proud at the way the soldiers have conducted themselves while in Mexico, and I, General Pershing, can say with pride that a finer body of men never stood under the flag of our nation than we find here tonight."

The nation also forgot the deep resentment mixed with the pale ghost of fear which Negro soldiers call up in the breasts of the white South. It is not so much that they fear that the Negro will strike if he gets a chance, but rather that they assume with curious unanimity that he has REASON to strike; that any

49-9-244

other persons in his circumstances or treated as he is would rebel. Instead of seeking to relieve the cause of such a possible feeling, most of them strain every effort to bottle up the black man's resentment. Is it inconceivable that now and then it bursts all bounds?

So, in the midst of this mental turmoil came Houston and East St. Louis, in 1917. At Houston, black soldiers goaded and insulted suddenly went wild and "shot up" the town. At East St. Louis, white strikers on war work killed and mobbed Negro workingmen. And this is the result:

HOUSTON	EAST ST. LOUIS
Offense	Offense
17 white persons killed	126 Negroes killed
Punishment	Punishment
19 colored soldiers hanged	9 white men imprisoned 5 - 15 years
61 colored soldiers imprisoned for life	11 white men imprisoned 1 year
40 colored soldiers imprisoned	18 white men fined
	10 colored men imprisoned 14 years

My career had at this time a certain sense of drama. I had never before seen Theodore Roosevelt but in November, 1918, I presided at a meeting in Carnegie Hall where he made his last public speech, appearing together with Irwin Cobb and a representative of the French High Commission. I remember my introduction: "I have the honor to present Theodore Roosevelt." Then on my fiftieth birthday there was a public celebration and many kindly messages. The Crisis had reached a monthly circulation of 68,000 and during the year I had a little dinner with Glendowen Evans, Margaret DeLand and William James; and Albert Bushnell Hart wrote the words: "Out of his fifty years of life I have followed a good thirty -- and have counted him always among the ablest and keenest of our teacher-scholars, an American who viewed his country broadly."

The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three trips to Europe; but now between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the

close of the War and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia, and Constantinople in 1926. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in those stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breadth of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

But this was only part of my work: In the United States I was still fighting the battle of liberalism against race prejudice; trying to adjust war and post-war problems to the questions of racial justice; trying to show from the injustices of war time what the new vision must encompass; fighting mobs and lynchings; encouraging Negro migration; helping woman suffrage; encouraging the new rush of young Blacks to college; watching and explaining the political situation and travelling and lecturing over thousands of miles and in hundreds of centers.

In addition to this I was encouraging the writing of others and trying to help develop Negro art and literature. Besides editing the Crisis continuously, I published "Darkwater" in 1920; "The Gift of Black Folk" in 1924; the article on Georgia "In These United States" in 1924. This Georgia fought bitterly to keep from appearing. Ernest Gruening, now senator from Alaska, who edited the series, accepted it. The concluding chapter in "The New Negro" in 1925, besides a number of magazine articles I also wrote. Most of the young writers who began what was called the renaissance of Negro literature in the twenties saw their first publication in the Crisis magazine.

Above all in these days I made two efforts toward which I look back with infinite satisfaction: the two-year attempt in the Brownie's book to furnish a little magazine for Negro children in which my efforts were ably seconded by Augustus Dill and Jessie Fauset; and most especially my single-handed production

of the pageant "The Star of Ethiopia". The pageant was an attempt to put into dramatic form for the benefit of large masses of people, a history of the Negro race. It was first attempted in the New York celebration of Emancipation in 1913; it was repeated with magnificent and breath-taking success in Washington with 1200 participants; it was given again in Philadelphia in 1916; and in Los Angeles in 1924. Finally in New York I attempted a little theatre movement which went far enough to secure for our little group second prize in an international competition in New York.

When President Wilson was planning to attend the Congress of Versailles, I wrote him a letter saying:

"The International Peace Congress that is to decide whether or not peoples shall have the right to dispose of themselves will find in its midst delegates from a nation which champions the principle of the 'consent of the governed' and 'government by representation'. That nation is our own, and includes in itself more than twelve million souls whose consent to be governed is never asked. They have no members in the legislatures of states where they are in the majority, and not a single representative in the national Congress."

In 1918 I was asked rather suddenly by the N.A.A.C.P. to go to Europe right after the Armistice, to investigate the treatment of Negro soldiers and keep the record straight; and then at the behest of a group of American Negroes I considered that the interests of Africa ought to be represented during the peace efforts following the War. With infinite difficulty and through the cooperation of Blaise Diagne, the French Deputy from Senegal, I succeeded in gathering in February, 1919, at the Grand Hotel in Paris a Pan-African congress of fifty-seven delegates including sixteen American Negroes, twenty West Indians and twelve Africans. France, Belgium, and Portugal were represented by officials. This was to my mind but a beginning and in 1921 I returned and held a Second Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris from August 28 to September 6.

There were 113 accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups including thirty-five from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe. Among the speakers were Sir Sidney afterward Lord Olivier, Florence Kelly, Bishop Hurst, Paul Otlet, often called the father of the League of Nations, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, Dr. Vitellian, former physician to Menelik of Abyssinia, General Sorelas, Blaise Diagne, Norman Leys, and others.

The attention which the congress evoked all over Europe was astonishing. It was discussed in the London Times, Observer and Daily Graphic; in the Paris Petit Parisian, Matin and Temps; in the Manchester Guardian and in practically all the daily papers of Belgium. It led to heated debate in Brussels touching the rights of these delegates to discuss the relation of colonies and it emphasized in the minds of all of us the consequent importance of such discussions.

Two of us visited the League of Nations and the International Labor Office with petitions and suggestions. In 1923 a third Pan-African Congress, less broadly representative than the second, but nevertheless of some importance was held in London, Paris and Lisbon; and thence I went to Africa and for the first time saw the homeland of the black race.

It was the time when the U.S. had disappointed Liberia by not granting her a promised loan and a gesture of good will was in order. At the suggestion of William H. Lewis, Assistant Attorney-General in Washington, I was therefore designated by cable as special minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to represent President Coolidge at the inauguration of President King. In the presence of the diplomatic and consular representatives of England, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Panama of whom I was Dean I had the honor to tell the President of Liberia: "Your Excellency: ..... I am sure that in this special mark of the President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the

49-9-248

edge of this mighty continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in America the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

At the London meeting of the third Pan-African Congress, Harold Laski, H.G. Wells, and Sir Sidney Olivier spoke. Ramsay MacDonald had promised to speak to us but was hindered by the sudden opening of the campaign which eventually made him prime minister of England. Among other efforts, at this time we held conferences with members of the Labor Party of England at which Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mr. Clynes and others were present. We emphasized the importance of labor solidarity between white and black labor in England, America and elsewhere. They were not particularly impressed. In Portugal our meeting was attended by cabinet ministers and deputies and though small was of great interest.

To return again to the fight in the United States, there arose early in this decade the case of Marcus Garvey. I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica in 1915 when he sent a letter "presenting his compliments" and giving me "a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association." Later he came to the United States. In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealousy, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience.

In 1920 when his movement was beginning to grow in America I said in the Crisis that he was "an extraordinary leader of men" and declared that he had "with singular success capitalised and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." On the other hand, I noted his difficulties of temperament and training, inability to get on with his fellow workers, and denied categorically that I had ever interfered in any way with his work. Later when he began to collect money for his steamship

I characterised him as a sincere and hard working idealist but called his methods bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal and begged his friends not to allow him foolishly to overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern world.

But he went ahead, wasted his money, got into trouble with the authorities and was deported. As I said at the time: "When Garvey was sent to Atlanta, no word or action of ours accomplished the result. His release and deportation was a matter of law which no deed or wish of ours influenced in the slightest degree. We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideas. Let him do it. We will be the first to applaud any success that he may have."

I felt for a moment as the war progressed that I could be without reservation a patriotic American. The government was making sincere efforts to meet our demands. It had commissioned over seven hundred Negro officers; I had had a personal interview with Newton Baker, Secretary of War, and he had made categorical promises; Wilson had spoken out against lynching; and I myself had been offered a captaincy in the Intelligence Service, afterwards to be sure rather incontinently withdrawn as the higher command realised just who I was. Nevertheless, I tried to stand by the country and wrote the widely discussed editorial "Close Ranks" in which I said to the Negroes: "Forget your grievances for the moment and stand by your country."

I am not sure that I was right but certainly my intentions were. I did not believe in war, but I thought that in a fight with America against militarism and for democracy we would be fighting for the emancipation of the Negro race. With the armistice came disillusion. I saw the mud and dirt of the trenches; I

heard from the mouths of soldiers the kind of treatment that black men got in the American army; I was convinced and said that American white officers fought more valiantly against Negroes within our ranks than they did against the Germans. I still believe this was largely true. I collected some astonishing documents of systematic slander and attack upon Negroes and demands upon the French for insulting attitudes toward them, and when I published these documents in America the government started to interfere by refusing the Crisis mailing facilities; then, realizing that this was an admission of guilt, they quickly withdrew their prohibition.

I was especially upset by the mobs and lynchings during this time: by that extraordinary upheaval wherein for several hours black men fighting against a mob practically held the city of Washington in their hands; then the riot and murder in Chicago. We fought back through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the columns of the Crisis, through lectures and articles, with every force at hand. Mary Talbert started the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and with her help and that of our secretary, James Weldon Johnson, we raised a defense fund of $70,000 and put the Dyer Lynch Bill through the House of Representatives and on to the floor of the Senate. It was not until years after that I knew what killed that anti-lynching bill. It was a bargain between the South and the West by which lynching was permitted on condition that the Japanese were excluded.

Court cases kept pressing upon us: there were the Elaine riots and the Arkansas cases; there was the Sweet case in Detroit; and equally significant to my mind but to few other Negroes the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts. We continued winning court victories and yet somehow, despite them, we did not seem to be getting very far. We added to the Grandfather Case of 1915 and the Segregation Case of 1917, the victories in the Arkansas cases, the white primary case and another segregation case in the high courts, in addition to the eventual freeing of Dr. Sweet and his family. Still injustice prevailed. In the case of the Mississippi flood, the Red Cross allowed the Negroes to be treated as slaves

and peons, and in Oklahoma, the Episcopal church refused to prosecute a white murderer on its own school grounds. Above all there came disquieting situations among Negro students: a strike at Hampton, disturbed conditions at Wilberforce, turmoil at Howard, and an uprising at Fisk.

It was thus a decade of infinite effort and discouraging turmoil. I suppose it had to be. I suppose that with the best will, it would have been impossible for me to concentrate on a few great lines of creative effort. I had to be a part of the revolution through which the world was going and to feel in my own soul the scars of its battle. Two things made a sort of finale to the decade: the fourth Pan-African Congress held in New York in 1927 with Dantes Bellegarde, George Sylvain and other speakers; and news of the Congress of British West Africa which began its meetings in 1920 and forced the British government to the greatest step toward democratic method ever taken up to that time in black colonies.

Finally, to my surprise and quite against my best judgement, there was given for me upon my return from Africa at the Cafe Savarin in New York, a dinner. Among the speakers were Heywood Broun, Walter Hampden and Mrs. Bethune, and tributes were sent by Witter Bynner, Zona Gale and Eugene O'Neil. It was a very beautiful and touching tribute.

CHAPTER XVI

MY CHARACTER

When I was a young man, we talked much of Character. At Fisk University character was discussed and emphasized more than scholarship. I knew what was meant and agreed that the sort of person a man was would in the long run prove more important for the world than what he knew or how logically he could think. It is typical of our time that insistance on character today in the country has almost ceased. Freud and others have stressed the unknown factors of our personality so that today we do not advise youth about their development of character; we watch and count their actions with almost helpless disassociation from thought of advice.

Nevertheless from that older generation which formed my youth I still retain an interest in what men are rather than what they do; and at the age of fifty, I began to take stock of myself and ask what I really was as a person. Of course I knew that self-examination is not a true unbiassed picture; but on the other hand without it no picture is quite complete.

From childhood I tried to be honest; I did not mean to take anything which did not belong to me. I told the truth even when there was no call for the telling and when silence would have been golden. I did not usually speak in malice but often blurted out the truth when the story was incomplete and was therefore as seemed to me wrong. I had strict ideas about money and its earning. I worked and worked hard for the first 25 cents a week which I earned. I could never induce myself to gamble or take silly chances because I figured the less vividly in fatigue and pain. Once on a French train I played the pea in a shell game and lost two dollars. Forty years later in Mexico I won two dollars on a horse race. These were my first and last games of chance.

49-9-253

I was careful about debt. My folk were poor but seldom in debt. I have before me a statement of my indebtedness, September 1, 1894 when I started on my first life job. My salary was $800 a year and my living expense I calculated at: Board $100; Room $55; Clothes $65; Books $100; Debts $350; Sundries $25 -- Total $675; Savings $125. This proved too optimistic but still I kept out of debt. When I taught at Atlanta at a salary of $1200 a year for twelve years, I owed nobody. I had a wife and child and each year I took them somewhere north so as to give them fresh air and civilization. It took every cent of my salary, together with small fees from lectures and writing to pay our way and yet only once was I compelled to overdraw my salary for a month ahead.

Saving I neglected. I had had no experience in saving. My mother's family with whom I lived as a child never had a bank account nor insurance; and seldom a spare dollar. I took out a small life insurance of $1,000 when I was 27. I was cheated unmercifully by the white Pennsylvania company in the fee charged because I was colored. Later after marriage I took out $10,000 of insurance in a Negro Company, the Standard Life. Eventually the company went bankrupt and I lost every cent. I was then too old to obtain more insurance on terms which I could afford.

My income has always been low. During my 25 years with the NAACP, I received for the first 5 years $2500 a year. For the next 18 years, $5,000. With savings from this I bought a home and then sold it later for an apartment building in Harlem. There were five apartments, one of which my family was to occupy and the others I calculated would pay me a permanent income. But the house was overpriced; neglected orders for expensive sewer repairs were overdue. The down payment which I could afford was low and the property was overloaded with three mortgages on which I had to pay bonuses for renewal. Downtown banks began to squeeze black Harlem property holders and taxes increased. With the depression,

49-1-254

tenants could not pay or moved.

There was one recourse: to turn the property into a rooming house for prostitution and gambling. I gave it to the owners of the mortgagors and shouldered the loss of all my savings at 60 years of age. In all this I had followed the advice of a friend skilled in the handling of real estate but who assumed that I was trying to make money and not dreaming of model housing conditions. As many of my friends have since informed me, I was a fool; but I was not a thief which I count to my credit.

I returned to Atlanta University in 1933 at a salary of $4,600 a year but still out of debt. When ten years later I was retired without notice, I had no insurance and but small savings. A white classmate, grandson of a railway magnate, berated me for not wishing to give up work. He could not conceive of a man working for fifty years without saving enough to live on the rest of his days. In money matters I was surely negligent and ignorant; but that was not because I was gambling, drinking or carousing; it was because I spent my income in making myself and my family comfortable instead of "saving for a rainy day". I may have been wrong, but I am not sure of that.

49-9-255

On one aspect of my life, I look back upon with mixed feelings; and that is on matters of friendship and sex. I couple them designedly because I think they belong together. I have always had more friends among women than among men. This began with the close companionship I had with my Mother. Friends used to praise me for my attention to my mother; we always went out together arm in arm and had our few indoor amusements together. This seemed quite normal to me; my Mother was lame, why should I not guide her steps? And who knew better about my thoughts and ambitions? Later in my life among my own colored people the women began to have more education, while the men imitated an American culture which I did not share: I drank no alcoholic beverages until I went to Germany and there I drank light beer and Rhine wine. Most of the American men I knew drank

whiskey and frequented saloons which from my boyhood were out of bounds.

Indeed the chief blame which I lay on my New England schooling was the inexcusable ignorance of sex which I had when I went south to Fisk at seventeen. I was precipitated into a region, with loose sex morals among black and white, while I actually did not know the physical difference between men and women. At first my fellows jeered in disbelief and then became sorry and made many offers to guide my abysmal ignorance. This built for me inexcusable and startling temptations. It began to turn one of the most beautiful of earth's experiences into a thing of temptation and horror. I fought and feared amid what should have been a climax of true living. I avoided women about whom anybody gossipped and as I tried to solve the contradiction of virginity and motherhood, I was inevitably faced with the other contradiction of prostitution and adultery. In my home town sex was deliberately excluded from talk and if possible from thought. In public school there were no sexual indulgences of which I ever heard. We talked of girls, looked at their legs, and there was rare kissing of a most unsatisfactory sort. We teased about sweethearts, but quite innocently. When I went South, my fellow students being much older and reared in a region of loose sexual customs regarded me as liar or freak when I asserted my innocence. I liked girls and sought their company, but my wildest exploits were kissing them.

Then, as teacher in the rural districts of East Tennessee, I was literally raped by the unhappy wife who was my landlady. From that time through my college course at Harvard and my study in Europe, I went through a desperately recurring fight to keep the sex instinct in control. A brief trial with prostitution in Paris affronted my sense of decency. I lived more or less regularly with a shop girl in Berlin, but was ashamed. Then when I returned home to teach, I was faced with the connivance of certain fellow teachers at adultery with their wives. I was literally frightened into marriage before I was able to support a family. I married a girl whose rare beauty and excellent household training from her dead mother attracted and held me.

49-9-256

I married at twenty-nine and we lived together for fifty-three years. It was not an absolutely ideal union, but it was happier than most, so far as I could perceive. It suffered from the fundamental drawback of modern American marriage: a difference in aim and function between its partners; my wife and children were incidents of my main life work. I was not neglectful of my family: I furnished a good home. I educated the child and planned vacations and recreation. But my main work was out in the world and not at home. That work out there my wife appreciated but was too busy to share because of cooking, marketting sweeping and cleaning and the endless demands of children. This she did naturally without complaint until our firstborn died, -- died not out of neglect but because of a city's careless sewage. His death tore our lives in two. I threw myself more completely into my work, while most reason for living left the soul of my wife. Another child, a girl, came later, but my wife never forgave God for the unhealable wound.

49-9-257

As I wandered across the world to wider and higher goals, I sensed two complaints against the pairing of the sexes in modern life: one, that ties between human beings are usually assumed to be sexual if a man and woman are concerned; and two, that normal friendships between men and women could not exist without sex being assumed to be the main ingredient. Also, if a man and woman are friends, they must be married and their friendship may become a cloying intimacy, often lasting 24 hours a day, with few outside friends of the opposite sex on pain of gossip, scandal and even crime engulfing the family. My travel and work away from home saved us from this. One difficulty of married life we faced as many others must have. My wife's life-long training as a virgin, made it almost impossible for her ever to regard sexual intercourse as not fundamentally indecent. It took careful restraint on my part not to make her unhappy at this most beautiful of human experiences. This was no easy task for a normal and lusty young man.

Most of my friends and helpers have been women; from my mother, aunts and cousins, to my fellow teachers, students, secretaries, and dreamers toward a better world. Sex indulgence was never the cause or aim of these friendships. I do not think my women friends ever gave my wife harm or unease. I was thoughtful of her comfort and support and of her treatment in public and private. My absence from home so much helped in the household drudgery. I still make my own bed of mornings; for many years I prepared my own breakfast, especially my coffee; I always leave a bathroom cleaner than when I enter; but sewing and sweeping I neglect. But I have often wondered if her limitation to a few women friends and they chiefly housekeepers; and if her lack of contact with men, because of her conventional upbringing and her surroundings — if this did not make her life unnecessarily narrow and confined. My life on the other hand threw me widely with women of brains and great effort to work on the widest scale. I am endlessly grateful for these contacts.

My first married life lasted over half a century, and its ending was normal and sad, with the loneliness which is always the price of death. To fill this great gap, and let my work go on, I married again near the end of my days. She was a woman forty years my junior but her work and aim in life had been close to mine because her father had long believed in what I was trying to do. The faith of Shirley Graham in me was therefore inherited and received as a joy and not merely as a duty. She has made these days rich and rewarding.

In the midst of my career there burst on me a new and undreamed of aspect of sex. A young man, long my disciple and student, then my co-helper and successor to part of my work, was suddenly arrested for molesting men in public places. I had before that time no conception of homo-sexuality. I had never understood the tragedy of an Oscar Wilde. I dismissed my co-worker forthwith, and spent heavy days regretting my act.

49-9-258

I knew far too few of my contemporaries. I was on occassion incomprehensibly shy, and almost invariably loath to interrupt others in seeking to explain myself. This in the case of my fellow Negroes was balanced by our common experiences, and shared knowledge of what each other had lived through; but in the case of white companions, and especially those newly met, we could not talk together, we lived in different worlds. We belonged to no social clubs, and did not visit the same people or even stand at the same liquor bars. We did not lunch together. I did not play cards, and could never get wildly enthusiastic even over baseball. Naturally we could not share stories of sex.

Thus I did not seek white acquaintances, I let them make the advances, and they therefore thought me arrogant. In a sense I was, but after all I was in fact rather desparately hanging on to my self respect. I was not fighting to dominate others; I was fighting against my own degradation. I wanted to meet my fellows as an equal; they offered or seemed to offer only a status of inferiority and submission.

I did not for the most part meet my great contemporaries. Doubtless this was largely my own fault. I did not seek them. I deliberately refused invitations to spend week-ends with Henry James and H.G. Wells. I did not follow up an offer of the wife of Havelock Ellis to meet him and Bernard Shaw. Later, when I tried to call on Shaw he was coy. Several times I could have met Presidents of the United States and did not. Great statesmen, writers and artists of America, I might have met, and in some cases, might have known intimately. I did not try to accomplish this. This was partly because of my fear that color caste would interfere with our meeting and understanding; if not with the persons themselves, certainly with their friends. But even beyond this, I was not what Americans called a "good fellow".

This too illustrates a certain lack of sympathy and understanding which I had for my students. I was for instance a good teacher. I stimulated inquiry and accuracy. I met every question honestly and never dodged an earnest doubt.

49-9-259

I read my examination papers carefully and marked them with sedulous care. But I did not know my students as human beings; they were to me apt to be intellects and not souls. To the world in general I was nearly always the isolated outsider looking in and seldom part of that inner life. Partly that role was thrust upon me because of the color of my skin. But I was not a prig. I was a lusty man with all normal appetites. I loved "Wine, Women and Song". I worked hard and slept soundly; and if, as many said, I was hard to know, it was that with all my belligerency I was in reality unreasonably shy.

One thing I avoided: and that was envy. I tried to give the other fellow his due even when I disliked him personally and disagreed with him logically. It became to me a point of honor never to refuse appreciation to one who had earned it, no matter who he was. I loved living, physically as well as spiritually. I could not waste my time on baseball but I could appreciate a home run. My own exercise was walking, but there again I walked alone. I knew life and death. The passing of my first born boy was an experience from which I never quite recovered. I wrote:

"The world loved him; the women kissed his curls, the men looked gravely into his wonderful eyes, and the children hovered and fluttered about him. I can see him now, changing like the sky from sparkling laughter to darkening frowns, and then to wondering thoughtfulness as he watched the world. He knew no color-line, poor dear — and the veil, though it shadowed him, had not yet darkened half his sun. He loved the white matron, he loved his black nurse; and in his little world walked souls alone, uncolored and unclothed. I — yea, all men — are larger and purer by the infinite breadth of that one little life. She who in simple clearness of vision sees beyond the stars said when he had flown — 'He will be happy There; he ever loved beautiful things.' And I, far more ignorant, and blind by the web of my own weaving, sit alone winding words

49-9-260

and muttering, 'If still he be, and he be There, and there be a There, let him be happy, O Fate!'

"Blithe was the morning of his burial, with bird and song and sweet-smelling flowers. The trees whispered to the grass, but the children sat with hushed faces. And yet it seemed a ghostly unreal day -- the wraith of Life. We seemed to rumble down an unknown street behind a little white bundle of posies, with the shadow of a song in our ears. The busy city dinned about us; they did not say much, those pale-faced hurrying men and women; they did not say much -- they only glanced and said 'Niggers'."

My religious development has been slow and uncertain. I grew up in a liberal Congregational Sunday School and listened once a week to a sermon on doing good as a reasonable duty. Theology played a minor part and our teachers had to face some searching questions. At seventeen I was in a missionary college where religious orthodoxy was stressed; but I was more developed to meet it with argument, which I did. My "morals" were sound, even a bit puritanic, but when a hidebound old deacon inveighed against dancing I rebelled. By the time of graduation I was still a "believer" in orthodox religion, but had strong questions which were encouraged at Harvard. In Germany I became a freethinker and when I came to teach at an orthodox Methodist Negro school I was soon regarded with suspicion, especially when I refused to lead the students in public prayer. When I became head of a Department at Atlanta, the engagement was held up because again I balked at leading in prayer, but the liberal president let me substitute the Episcopal prayer book on most occasions. Later I improvised prayers on my own. Finally I faced a crisis: I was using Crapsey's "Religion and Politics" as a Sunday School text. When Crapsey was hauled up for heresy, I refused further to teach Sunday School. When Archdeacon Henry Phillips, my last rector, died, I flatly refused again to join any church or sign any church creed. From

49-9-261

my thirtieth year on I have increasingly regarded the Church as an institution which defended such evils as slavery, color caste, exploitation of labor and War. I think the greatest gift of the Soviet Union to modern civilisation was the dethronement of the clergy and the refusal to let religion be taught in the public schools.

Religion helped and hindered my artistic sense. I know the old English and German hymns by heart. I loved their music but ignored their silly words with studied inattention. Great music came at last in the religious oratorios which we learned at Fisk University but it burst on me in Berlin with the Ninth Symphony and its Hymn of Joy. I worshipped Cathedral and ceremony which I saw in Europe but I knew what I was looking at when in New York a Cardinal became a strike-breaker and the Church of Christ fought the Communism of Christianity.

I revered life. I have never killed a bird nor shot a rabbit. I never liked fishing and always let others kill even the chickens which I ate. Nearly all my schoolmates in the South carried pistols. I never owned one. I could never conceive myself killing a human being. But in 1906 I rushed back from Alabama to Atlanta where my wife and six year old child were living. A mob had raged for days killing Negroes. I bought a Winchester double-barrelled shot-gun and two dozen rounds of shells filled with buckshot. If a white mob had stepped on the campus where I lived I would without hesitation have sprayed their guts over the grass. They did not come. They went to south Atlanta where the police let them steal and kill. My gun was fired but once and then by error into a row of Congressional Records, which lined the lower shelf of my library.

My attitude toward current problems arose from my long habit of keeping in touch with world affairs by repeated trips to Europe and other parts of the world. I became internationally-minded during my four years at Harvard, two in college and two in the graduate school. Since that first trip in 1892, I have

119-9-262

made fifteen trips to Europe, one of which circled the globe. I have been in most European countries and travelled in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies. Travel became a habit and knowledge of current thought in modern countries was always a part of my study, since before the first World War when the best of American newspapers took but small account of what Europe was thinking.

I can remember meeting in London in 1911 a colored man who explained to me his plan of leading a black army out of Africa and across the Pyrenees. I was thrilled at his earnestness! But gradually all that disappeared, and I began building a new picture of human progress.

This picture was made more real in 1926 when it became possible for me to take a trip to Russia. I saw on this trip not only Russia, but prostrate Germany, which I had not seen for thirty years. It was a terrible contrast.

By 1945 all these contacts with foreign peoples and foreign problems and the combination of these problems with the race problem here was forced into one line of thought by the Second World War. This strengthened my growing conviction that the first step toward settling the world's problems was Peace on Earth.

49-9-263

Many men have judged me, favorably and harshly. But the verdict of two I cherish. One knew me in mid-life for ~~fifty~~ 50 years and was without doubt my closest friend. John Hope wrote me in 1918:

"Until the last minute I have been hoping that I would have an opportunity to be with you next Monday when you celebrate the rounding out of ~~fifty~~ 50 years in this turbulent but attractive world. But now I am absolutely certain that I cannot come, so I am writing Mr. Shillady expressing my regret and shall have to content myself with telling you in this letter how glad I am that your ~~fiftieth~~ 50th birthday is going to be such a happy one because you can look back on so much good work done. But not the good work alone. What you may look back upon with greatest comfort is

good intention. The fact that every step of the way you have purposed to be a man and to serve other people rather than yourself must be a tremendous comfort to you. Sometime soon if I chance to be back in New York I am going to have you take your deferred birthday dinner with me. You do not realize how much that hour or two which we usually spend together when I am in New York means to me."

Joel Spingarn said:

"I should like to have given public expression by my presence and by my words, not merely to the sense of personal friendship which has bound us together for fifteen years, but to the gratitude which in common with all other Americans I feel we owe you for your public service. It so happens that by an accident of fate, you have been in the forefront of the great American battle, not merely for justice to a single race, but against the universal prejudice which is in danger of clouding the whole American tradition of toleration and human equality.

"I congratulate you on your public service, and I congratulate you also on the power of language by which you have made it effective. I know that some people think that an artist is a man who has nothing to say and who writes in order to prove it. The great writers of the world have not so conceived their task, and neither have you. Though your service has been for the most part the noble one of teacher and prophet (not merely to one race or nation but to the world), I challenge the artists of America to show more beautiful passages than some of those in "Dark Water" and "The Souls of Black Folk."

Let one incident illustrate the paradox of my life.

Robert Morse Lovett was perhaps the closest white student friend I made at Harvard, when not long before his last visit to New York about 1950 he wanted to see and talk with me, he proposed the Harvard Club of which he was a member. I was not. No Negro graduate of Harvard was ever elected to membership in a Harvard club. For a while Jews were excluded, but no longer. I swallowed my pride and met Lovett at the Club. A few months later he died.

49-9-264

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEPRESSION

From 1910 to 1920, I had followed sociology as the path to social reform, and social uplift as a result of scientific investigation; then, in practice, I had conceived an interracial culture as superseding our goal of a purely American culture. Before I had conceived a program for this path, and after threes of bitter racial strife, I had emerged with a program of Pan-Africanism, as organized protection of the Negro world led by American Negroes. But American Negroes were not interested.

Abruptly, I had a beam of new light. Karl Marx was scarcely mentioned at Harvard and entirely unknown at Fisk. At Berlin, he was a living influence, but chiefly in the modification of his theories then dominant in the Social Democratic Party. I was attracted by the rise of this party and attended its meetings. I began to consider myself a socialist. After my work in Atlanta and my advent in New York, I followed some of my white colleagues -- Charles Edward Russell, Mary Ovington, and William English Walling, into the Socialist Party. I resigned when I regarded a vote for Wilson better for Negroes than a vote for Theodore Roosevelt, Taft or an unknown Socialist. Then came war, the Russian Revolution and the fight of England, France and the United States against the Bolsheviks. I began to read Karl Marx. I was astounded and wondered what other areas of learning had been roped off from my mind in the days of my "broad" education. I did not however jump to the conclusion that the new Russia had achieved the ideal of Marx. And when I was offered a chance to visit Russia in 1926, with expenses paid, I carefully stipulated in writing that the visit would not bind me in any way to set conclusions.

49-9-265

My visit to Germany and the Soviet Union in 1926 and then to Turkey and Italy on return, brought change in my thought and action. The marks of war were all over Russia -- of the war of France and England to turn back the clock of revolution. Wild children were in the sewers of Moscow; food was scarce, clothes were in rags, and the

fear of renewed Western aggression hung like a pall. Yet Russia was and still is to my mind, the most hopeful land in the modern world. Never before had I seen so many among a suppressed mass of poor, working people -- people as ignorant, poor, superstitious and cowed as my own American Negroes -- so lifted in hope and starry-eyed with new determination, as the peasants and workers of Russia, from Leningrad and Moscow to Gorki and from Kiev to Odessa. The art galleries were jammed, the theatres crowded, the schools opening in new places and with new programs each day; and work was beginning to be a joy. Their whole life was being renewed and filled with vigor and ideal, as Youth Day in the Red Square proclaimed.

I saw of course but little of Russia in one short month. I came to no conclusions as to whether the particular form of the Russian state was permanent or a passing phase. I met but few of their greater leaders; only Radek did I know fairly well, and he was imprisoned during the subsequent purge. I do not judge Russia in the matter of war and murder, no more than I judge France and England. But of one thing I am certain: I believe in the dictum of Karl Marx, that the economic foundation of a nation is widely decisive for its politics, its art and its culture. I saw clearly, when I left Russia, that our American Negro belief that the right to vote would give us work and decent wage; would abolish our illiteracy and decrease our sickness and crime; and that poverty was not our fault but our misfortune, the result and aim of our segregation and color caste; that the solution of letting a few of our capitalists share with whites in the exploitation of our masses, would never be a solution of our problem, but the forging of eternal chains, as India may learn to its sorrow.

I did not believe that the Communism of the Russians was the program for America; least of all for a minority group like the Negroes; I saw that the program of the American Communist party was inadequate for our plight. But I did believe that a people where the differentiation in classes because of wealth had only begun, could be so guided by intelligent leaders that they would develop into a consumer-conscious

49-2-266

people, producing for use and not primarily for profit and working into the surrounding industrial organization so as to reinforce the economic revolution bound to develop in the United States and all over Europe and Asia sooner or later. I believed that revolution in the production and distribution of wealth could be a slow, reasoned development and not necessarily a blood bath. I believed that 13 millions of people, increasing albeit slowly in intelligence, could so concentrate their thought and action on the abolition of their poverty, as to work in conjunction with the most intelligent body of American thought; and that in the future as in the past, out of the mass of American Negroes would arise a far-seeing leadership in lines of economic reform.

The Pan African congresses which I called in 1919, 1921, and 1923, were chiefly memorable for the excitement and opposition which they caused among the colonial imperialists. Scarcely a prominent newspaper in Europe but used them as a text of warning, and persisted in coupling them with the demagogic "Garvey Movement," then in its prime, as a warning for colonial governments to clamp down on colonial unrest. My only important action in this time, was a first trip to Africa, almost by accident, and a vaster conception of the role of black men in the future of civilization.

49-9-264

But here I was going too fast for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The board was not interested in Africa. Following post-war reaction it shrank back to its narrowest program: to make Negroes American citizens, forgetting that if the white European world persisted in upholding and strengthening the color bar, America would follow in its wake.

If it had not been for the depression, I think that through the Crisis, the little monthly which I had founded in 1910, and carried on with almost no financial assistance for twenty years, I could have started this program on the way to adoption by American Negroes. But the depression made the survival of the Crisis dependent on help from the main office of the N.A.A.C.P. This changed my whole conception of The Crisis as an independent organ leading a liberal organization toward radical reform.

It was this sting in The Crisis which for twenty-~~three~~ 23 years had made it what it was. But the Board was still mainly conservative; it represented largely Capital and Investment, and only to a small degree Labor and Socialism. If the Association had to pay for The Crisis it would have a right to determine its policy, not only in broad outline but in every detail. The financial relations of the Crisis and the NAACP were unusual. I was responsible for the cost of publishing of the magazine. The NAACP at first paid all my $2500 salary. After two years the Crisis paid half and after four years all the salary; but the NAACP always determined its amount. I was responsible for all the other expenses -- manufacture, distribution, salaries of all the clerks and employees, and finally our share of the rent. We could incur no debts nor accumulate a backlog.

At first we had no bank account but when Walter Sachs became treasurer he let me set up a "Crisis Fund" and we drew our own checks. But we could solicit no gifts nor organise any group of "Crisis Associates" to help support us in need. The NAACP originally promised to meet any deficit we might incur up to $50 a month, but we never called on it for a cent. At times, as for instance when I went abroad for the Second Pan-African Congress, the NAACP ordered my business manager to pay $700 from the Crisis Fund toward my expenses.

I made no complaint on this situation. After all, the NAACP was the object of the Crisis. It was never a profit-making institution. We could get few advertisements because we were classed as a propaganda organ. I was helped enormously in business matters by Robert Wood, the first Negro Tammany politician, who was also a printer contractor and gave me unselfish advice in buying paper and securing printers. For 23 years we paid our way. We left no debts and made the NAACP a universally known organisation. But when the Depression came we had nothing to fall back on and had to hand over control to the NAACP who legally owned the Crisis. It was suggested to me that I claim at least part ownership and try to run it as a personal organ. This I

49-9-1-268

refused to consider although I do not doubt but that a good lawyer might have made a case. But my attitude was that the Crisis belonged to the NAACP and that its future value depended on how the NAACP upheld its high ideals. However there was one circumstance which worried me and that was the change of secretaries which took place in 1931. James Weldon Johnson had resigned and Walter White had succeeded him, and was destined to head the organization for twenty-five years. I knew Walter White. I knew his father and mother; I taught in college his brother and sisters. When in 1917, James Weldon Johnson, our field secretary met White in Atlanta, he suggested to me that White would make a good assistant secretary. I readily concurred and urged his appointment.

White could be one of the most charming of men. He was small in stature, appealing in approach, with a ready smile and a sense of humor. Also he was an indefatigable worker, who seemed never to tire. On the other hand he was one of the most selfish men I ever knew. He was absolutely self-centered and egotistical to the point that he was almost unconscious of it. He seemed really to believe that his personal interests and the interest of his race and organization were identical. This led to curious complications, because to attain his objects he was often absolutely unscrupulous.

As assistant to James Weldon Johnson who became Secretary in 1920, White was an outstanding success. He investigated lynchings at great personal risk; and especially, he carried out the plans which Johnson laid down. It was Johnson's strong point to consult widely and decide carefully. White then took over and put the plans to work. For twelve years this team worked harmoniously and well. Then Johnson was invited to the Pacific to study race relations and given a fellowship by the Rosenwald fund. White ran the Association during his absence. After Johnson's return he came to me and said that White was not cooperating as usual. At the conference in Cleveland, White had simply done almost no work; Johnson intimated that he would have to resign if he lost

49-9-269

the cooperation of his executive helper. I think that White had already concluded that he should be secretary instead of working under Johnson. Nothing more was said but in 1931, Johnson resigned and went to Fisk University. Walter White was elected to succeed him.

White's assumption of office soon set off an explosion within a year. His attitude and actions were unbearable. The whole staff appealed to me as the senior executive officer to lead a protest to the Board of Directors. As editor of The Crisis, this was not in my line of duty; but on the other hand as one of the incorporators of the Association, and a member of the Board of Directors I could not shirk this appeal. I wrote a protest and all the staff signed it including the new assistant, Roy Wilkins; and all the older members, Pickens, Bagnall, and others. It was a strong and biting arraignment but all accepted it and signed it.

The Board was deeply moved and while it did not attempt to deny the charges, thought it was too strong and not quite fair. They asked us to withdraw our signatures and promised to investigate the situation. White abased himself before the Board and made every promise of reform. Nearly all the signers, at the urgent request of Joel Spingarn, President of the Board, withdrew their names. But I refused. I did not trust Walter White. The matter dropped and was not heard of afterwards. But White radically changed his attitude toward the staff. He became pleasant and approachable. Above all he went to work. He worked hard and went under-ground to accomplish many of his aims. Any employee who opposed him soon lost his job; but White never appeared as the cause. Everyone who signed the protest except Wilkins, lost his position and Wilkins yielded to White in every request.

White increased his prestige, and under his administration the Association grew in membership and influence.

It was evident by 1932 that The Crisis could survive only if the Association helped support it. As such, The Crisis would become the traditional "organ" of an organization. Moreover, White was increasingly raising the funds which helped keep the

49-9-240

NAACP alive. This would soon impose an impossible position for me and a difficult one for White.

I think I may say without boasting that in the period from 1910 to 1930 I was a main factor in revolutionising the attitude of the American Negro toward caste. My stinging hammer blows made Negroes aware of themselves, confident of their possibilities and determined in self-assertion. So much so that today common slogans among the Negro people are taken bodily from the words of my mouth.

But, of course, no idea is perfect and forever valid. Always to be living and apposite and timely, it must be modified and adapted to changing facts. I began to realise that the heights and fastnesses which we black folk were assailing, could not in America be gained by sheer force of assault, because of our relatively small numbers. They could only be gained as the majority of Americans were persuaded of the rightness of our cause and joined with us in demanding our recognition as full citizens. This process must deal not only with conscious rational action, but with irrational and unconscious habit, long buried in folkways and custom. Intelligent propaganda, legal enactment, and reasoned action must attack the conditioned reflexes of race hate and change them.

Slowly but surely I came to see that for many years, perhaps many generations, we could not count on any such majority; that the whole set of the white world in America, in Europe, and in the world was too determinedly against racial equality, to give power and persuasiveness to our agitation.

Therefore, I began to emphasize and restate certain implicit aspects of my former ideas. I tried to say to the American Negro: during the time of this frontal attack which you are making upon American and European prejudice, and with your unwavering statement and restatement of what is right and just, not only for us, but in the long run, for all men; during this time, there are certain things you must do for your own survival and self-preservation. You must work together and in unison; you must evolve and support your own social institutions; you must transform your attack from the form of self-assertive individuals to the massed might of an organised body. You must put

1482-6-64

behind your demands, not simply American Negroes, but West Indians and Africans, and all the colored races of the world.

These things I began to say with no lessening, or thought of lessening, of my emphasis upon the essential rightness of what we had been asking for a generation in political and civic and social equality. It was clear to me that agitation against race prejudice and a planned economy for bettering the economic condition of the American Negro were not antagonistic ideals but part of one ideal; that it did not increase segregation; the segregation was there and would remain for many years. But now I proposed that in economic lines, just as in lines of literature and religion, unified racial action should be planned and organized and carefully thought through. This plan would not establish a new segregation; it did not advocate segregation as the final solution of the race problem; exactly the contrary; but it did face the facts and faced them with thoughtfully mapped effort.

The NAACP from the beginning faced this bogey. It was not, never had been, and never could be an organization that took an absolute stand against race segregation of any sort under all circumstances. This would be a stupid stand in the face of clear and incontrovertible facts. When the NAACP was formed, the great mass of Negro children were being trained in Negro schools; the great mass of Negro church-goers were members of Negro churches; the great mass of Negro citizens lived in Negro neighborhoods; the great mass of Negro voters voted with the same political party; and the mass of Negroes joined with Negroes and cooperated with Negroes in order to fight the extension of this segregation and to move toward better conditions.

What was true in 1910 was still true in 1940 and will be true in 1970. But with this vast difference: that the segregated Negro institutions are better organized, more intelligently planned and more efficiently conducted, and today form in themselves the best and most compelling argument for the ultimate abolition of the color line.

49-C-270

It was a curious dilemma still unsolved for most American Negroes: the NAACP said "No discrimination based on race and color". But it did not say nor even contemplate what path Negroes would follow when they once became Americans who suffered no discrimination. I tried to face the problem of what to do, assuming that discrimination would last through our life time.

The legal department of the NAACP sought to attack discrimination head on. They were beginning to win and in 1954, they won. But this posed another dilemma: the court decision was not enforced and will not be for many years. Meantime what should be our program? We must accept and fight for integrated schools which we do not have in the overwhelming portion of the South where most Negroes live. That leaves the battle to our children and lets them learn nothing in school of Negro history; do nothing for Negro culture, have no program for themselves as Americans. I wavered for years, advocating Socialism first as a racial program; then as a national effort and after this trip of 1958 as a definite and direct step to join the world movement toward a Socialism leading toward Communism, and embracing the colored world and that part of the white world willing to give up colonialism and private capitalism. But as I say, this decision was slow in making. Meantime, I was fighting segregation but simultaneously advocating such segregation as would prepare my people for the struggle they were making.

49-9-273

No sooner had I come to this conclusion than I saw that I was out of touch with my organization and that the question of leaving it was only a matter of time, especially as the Crisis was no longer self-supporting. This was not an easy decision; to give up The Crisis was like giving up a child; to leave the National Association was leaving the friends of a quarter of a century. But on the other hand, staying meant silence, a repudiation of what I was thinking and planning. Under such circumstances, what could I do? I had seen the modern world as few of my

fellow workers had: West African villages, Jamaica homes, Russian communism, German disaster, Italian fascism, Portuguese and Spanish life, France and England repeatedly, and every state in the United States. I knew something of the seething world. I could seek through my editorship of The Crisis slowly but certainly to change the ideology of the NAACP and of the Negro race into a racial program for economic salvation along the paths of peace and Socialism.

When now I came advocating new, deliberate, and purposeful segregation for economic defense in precisely the lines of business and industry whither the NAACP was not prepared to follow, it was not an absolute difference of principle, but it was a grave difference as to further procedure. When I criticized the Secretary for his unsound explanation of the historic stand of the NAACP on segregation, the Board of Directors voted May 21, 1934, "that The Crisis is the organ of the Association and no salaried officer of the Association shall criticize the policy, work, or officers of the Association in the pages of The Crisis."

Thereupon I forthwith gave up my connection with the Association saying:

"In thirty-five years of public service my contribution to the settlement of the Negro problems has been mainly candid criticism based on a careful effort to know the facts. I have not always been right, but I have been sincere, and I am unwilling at this late day to be limited in the expression of my honest opinions in the way in which the Board proposes... I am, therefore, resigning, ... this resignation to take effect immediately."

The Board refused to accept this resignation and asked me to reconsider. I did so, but finally wrote, June 26, "I appreciate the good will and genuine desire to bridge an awkward break which your action indicated, and yet it is clear to me, and I think to the majority of the Board, that under the circumstances my resignation must stand." Negotiations followed but there was but one possible decision.

In finally accepting my resignation the Board was kind enough to say in part:

49-9-274

"He founded The Crisis without a cent of capital, and for many years made it completely self-supporting, reaching a maximum monthly circulation at the end of the World War of 100,000. This is an unprecedented achievement in American journalism, and in itself worthy of a distinguished tribute. But the ideas which he propounded in it and in his books and essays transformed the Negro world as well as a large portion of the liberal white world, so that the whole problem of the relation of black and white races has ever since had a completely new orientation. He created, what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia, and many who have never read a word of his writings are his spiritual disciples and descendants. Without him the Association could never have been what it was and is.

"The Board has not always seen eye to eye with him in regard to various matters, and cannot subscribe to some of his criticism of the Association and its officials. But such differences in the past have in no way interfered with his usefulness, but rather on the contrary. For he had been selected because of his independence of judgment, his fearlessness in expressing his convictions, and his acute and wide-reaching intelligence. A mere yes-man could not have attracted the attention of the world, could not even have stimulated the Board itself to further study of various important problems. We shall be the poorer for his loss, in intellectual stimulus, and in searching analysis of the vital problems of the American Negro; no one in the Association can fill his place with the same intellectual grasp. We therefore offer him our sincere thanks for the services he has rendered, and we wish him all happiness in all that he may now undertake."

I had already for some years begun to canvass the possibility of a change of work. This, of course, is not easy when a person is over sixty years of age. If he has not had the grace to die before this, he ought, in accordance with prevalent public opinion, at least be willing to stop acting and thinking. I did not agree

49-9-275

with that. I thought of many possibilities, but at last determined to accept an offer that had been made to me quietly in 1929, and periodically repeated from time to time when John Hope of Atlanta came to town. Every American should read the story of John Hope as told by Ridgely Torrence. He was "colored" -- a white man with Negro blood and American Negro culture. We had been close friends since 1897. We taught together until 1910. Hope had joined the Niagara movement and the NAACP. We met in France in 1918 while he was a Y.M.C.A. secretary, and I promoting Pan-Africa. Always when he came to New York, we did a theatre and a dinner, and discussed the reformation of the world. When he became President of the newly organized Atlanta University, he invited me to join him.

About 1925, the General Education Board adopted a new program. It had become clear that the studied neglect of the Negro college was going too far; and that the Hampton-Tuskegee program was inadequate even for its own objects. A plan was adopted which envisaged, by consolidation and endowment, the establishment in the South of five centers of University education for Negroes. Atlanta had to be one of these centers, and in 1929 Atlanta University became the graduate school of an affiliated system of colleges which promised a new era in higher education for Negroes. My life-long friend, John Hope, became president, and immediately began to sound me out on returning to Atlanta to help him in his great enterprise. He promised me leisure for thought and writing, and freedom of expression, so far, of course, as Georgia would permit it.

It seemed to me that a return to Atlanta would not only have a certain poetic justification, but would relieve the NAACP from financial burden during the depression, as well as free it for greater efforts of re-considering its essential program. I went to Atlanta in 1933 for a series of lectures and the next year became head of the Department of Sociology.

The untimely death of John Hope in 1936 marred the full fruition of our plans.

49-9-276

These plans in my mind fell into three categories; first, with leisure to write, I wanted to fill in the background of certain historical studies concerning the Negro race; secondly, I wanted to establish at Atlanta University a scholarly journal of comment and research on world race problems; finally, I wanted to restore in some form at Atlanta, the systematic study of the Negro problem.

The first thing which hindered this program was the set opposition of Florence Reed, President of Spelman College, the institution for women in the newly integrated Atlanta University. Laura Spelman was a Rockefeller and the Rockefellers had endowed this school. Miss Reed was a white woman. She was not a scholar but she was a capable executive who had worked for the Rockefellers and represented the Rockefeller interests in the new organization. She believed completely in American business methods and was put in her position by those who wanted to placate the white South in every reasonable way and keep the new institution from radical influences. She was very fond personally of John Hope at a time when he needed friendship. She respected me but feared my radical thought in many directions. She was set to act as a balance wheel to Hope's plans for accommodation and my plans for social reform.

49-9-277

She delayed the invitation for me to join the University and when I came, delayed some of my proposals. I proposed a quarterly magazine to record the situation of the colored world and guide its course of development. Her opposition delayed the starting of Phylon from 1934 until 1940. She made the reopening of the Atlanta University studies of the Negro Problems much slower than I had hoped and she made my opportunity to confer and plan with Hope very difficult. Indeed I fear that the very pressure exerted on him from two of his closest friends depressed Hope very much and contributed to his untimely death. Hope was sensitive and over careful to do no injustice. He was the perfect target for overwork at Atlanta University.

Between 1935 and 1941, I wrote and published three volumes: a study of the Negro in Reconstruction; a study of the black race in history and an autobiographical sketch of my concept of the American race problem. To these I was anxious to add an Encyclopedia of the Negro. I had planned an "Encyclopedia Africana" in 1909 but my leaving Atlanta for New York postponed this project and the World War prevented its renewal. In 1934 I was chosen to act as editor-in-chief of a new project of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to prepare and publish an Encyclopedia of the Negro. I spent nearly ten years of intermittent effort on this project and secured co-operation from many scholars, white and black, in America, Europe and Africa. But the necessary funds could not be secured. Perhaps again it was too soon to expect large aid for so ambitious a project directed by Negroes and built mainly on Negro scholarship. Nevertheless, a preliminary volume summarising this effort was published in 1944.

John Hope died in 1936 and after a year Rufus Clement became his successor. Clement was head of a colored municipal college in Louisville and while not experienced, came of a good family and had done some work in research for his doctorate. I greatly preferred him over Miss Reed who was an active candidate. On his advent I immediately began pushing for my delayed program.

At Atlanta University I celebrated quite elaborately my 70th anniversary. There was a bronze bust by Alexander Portnoff; J.E. Spingarn and James Weldon Johnson spoke; Braithwaite read a poem written for the occasion. I succeeded in getting Phylon published in 1940. I kept it going for the four years that I remained at the University with a subvention of only one thousand dollars a year from the University. We sold it for only a dollar a year. I then began to push the re-establishment of my plan of study of the Negro problem.

In this we faced the fact that in the twenty-three years which had passed since their discontinuance, the scientific study of the American Negro had spread widely and efficiently. Especially in the white institutions of the South had intelligent interest been aroused. There was, however, still need of systematic, comprehensive study and measurement, bringing to bear the indispensable point of view and inner knowledge of Negroes themselves. Something of this was being done at Fisk University, but for the widest efficiency, large funds were required for a South-wide study. I made a beginning in 1941.

The story of the depression as it affected American Negroes, has not yet been adequately attempted. In many great centers of population more than a third of the Negroes went on public charity and more ought to have gone but suffered deliberate discrimination in the South. In addition to this, the greater tragedy was the loss of thousands of farms and homes, the disappearance of savings among the rising Negro middle class, the collapse of Negro business -- banks, insurance, and retail businesses. The economic change deserves to be called revolutionary, because this "middle" class was the upper class in the Negro world in knowledge, training and wealth. Organizations demanded the displacement of the Negro in industry, and the Ku Klux Klan rose and flourished with new life, largely on this issue. The new organizations of "White Shirts," "Blue Shirts," and the like, spread in the South; and beyond such organized demand, was the widespread feeling in America that in the matter of re-employment and re-adjustment after the depression, the first duty of white Americans was toward white folk and that consideration of long service and desert and need ought not to be taken into account across the Color Line.

Under the New Deal the Negro came in for some attention, but the pressing question was chiefly as to how far discrimination against him should be recognized either in wage, hours of work, or employment under any circumstances. Also starting with the New Deal came a rationalisation of the displacement of the Negro worker due

49-9-279

to efforts toward raising wages. When minimum wages and standards of work have been enforced by law or made advisable by public opinion, in numberless cases poorly paid Negro workers were replaced by white workers with better wages and better hours of work. The resultant natural increase in efficiency has often been attributed to racial replacement alone. In the labor movement, the organization of the CIO gave Negroes far better recognition than the American Federation of Labor ever had. Despite all this, unemployment among Negroes reached a dangerous height.

This worked for social dislocation among Negroes. It is difficult to get figures, but certainly spread of disease must have greatly retarded the Negro population; and stealing and homicide must have been largely augmented. A general philosophy arose tinged with irritation and despair. Pressure groups demanding employment and even threatening violence appeared in Chicago, New York, and Washington. Their success both encouraged and appalled.

A rough calculation of Negro incomes which I essayed in 1939 had to be largely guesswork because of lack of data; and yet it seemed to indicate that of over 2,800,000 Negro families in the United States, 1,200,000 were receiving less than $500 a year and 1,000,000 between $500 and $1,000; leaving 600,000 families with $1,000 or more a year, of whom only one-tenth received more than $2,500. This estimate is not accurate, but I believe that it is not an unfair indication of the truth. Housing and youth projects have helped Negroes greatly, but only indirectly have they faced the basic problem of employment and income.

The years of the depression and of the New Deal illustrated the complicated currents which influenced me. I was for example born in a world which was not simply fundamentally capitalistic, but had no conception of any system except one in which capital was privately owned. Whatever was mentioned in school, or in books did not fundamentally contradict that what a man made or received as gift or inheritance was his to do with as he wished. A wages contract might be entered into in which the laborer's work was balanced against the savings of the man who hired him.

49-5-280

I remember hearing my grandmother in sharp and angry argument with a white land owner, for whose father she had worked. She was insisting that the wages paid had not been fair, and he was retorting that the fact that they had been received without complaint at the time, settled the matter. The truth concerning the wages contract remained largely hidden from me, because I had so little actual contact with artisans and workers. I never saw the inside of the cotton mills in our town. I knew little of the actual work of carpenters and plumbers. My relatives had moved from farming to house service, or to w rk in hotels, and not in factories.

In High School and college, socialism meant to me some amelioration of the wages contract, more human relations between employer and employee, but it involved no fundamental study of Marxism. What I wanted was the same economic opportunities that white Americans had. Beyond this I was not thinking, and did not realise what wretched exploitation white Americans and white workers of all sorts faced and had faced in the past, and would face in years to come. Although a student of social progress, I did not know the labor development in the United States. I was bitter at lynching, but not moved by the treatment of white miners in Colorado or Montana. I never sang the song of Joe Hill, and the terrible strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts did not stir me, because I knew that factory strikers like these would not let a Negro work beside them or live in the same town. It was hard for me to outgrow this mental isolation, and to see that the plight of the white workers was fundamentally the same as that of the black, even if the white worker helped enslave the black.

When now the depression came and thousands of workers, black and white, were starving in the thirties, I began to awake and to see in the socialism of the New Deal, emancipation for all workers, and the labor problem, which included the Negro problem. I knew that Hitler and Mussolini were fighting Communism, and using race prejudice to make some white people rich and all colored peoples poor. But it was

49-9-281

not until later that I realized that the colonialism of Great Britain and France had exactly the same object and methods as the facists and the Nazi's were trying clearly to use.

While going through this transformation, I found myself fighting for such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority, and also opposing Roosevelt because in his industrial organization he deliberately provided lower wages for southern Negro workers. I even brought myself to sympathize with Roosevelt when he strove to use American wealth to save the British empire, not realizing that the British empire had been built on the same exploitation of land and labor and race hate which Hitler and Mussolini were planning to establish, so that they could rule the world. I blamed the Communists when their agitation made the ignorant Scottsboro boys suffer for the sins of others, and failed to give those same Communists credit for making the Scottsboro case known to the civilized world. It was not until I saw the miracle of modern China that I realized how splendidly and surely the world could be led by the working class; even if at times they wavered and made vast mistakes.

The advent of the second World War found the Negro fighting desperately for a place in the new defense industry and accomplishing something; but in the long run that is a passing and minor matter as compared with the general economic future when the world is again sane and at peace, and when the world's whole pattern of income, work, and wage will be found radically altered.

There loomed, then, before colored men of education and vision the question as to what can be done by thought and planning for the future of Negro economy, for solving the question as to how the Negro is going to earn a decent living and be in position to take a normal part in the future world. If economic planning for nations presents great difficulties, similar planning for national minorities is unusually hazardous. It faces all the difficulties of racial segregation, of artificial

49-9-282

loyalties and increased animosities; so that among Negroes today there is serious difference of opinion, first as to whether any such economic planning is possible; and secondly, whether it is in any way advisable. Can a group within a group plan for its work and wage except as a part of a larger group and in accordance with the will of the majority? And even if it can, is not this a direct and dangerous way of increasing racial friction?

Whatever the answer to this question was, manifestly it was a time for careful conference and thought. Several such conferences had been held, notably at Hampton Institute, Fisk University, and elsewhere. But they have been primarily concerned with the integration of the Negro in the defense program. It seemed to me at Atlanta University that a further movement was necessary — that is, a series of conferences looking toward a long-time program of Negro economic stabilization after the war.

49-9-283

CHAPTER XVIII

NEW DEAL FOR NEGROES

John Hope and I set out to build in the Lower South, a university equal to if not superior to anything which this former seat of Negro slavery ever saw. As in my previous service at Atlanta University, half my time was to be devoted to teaching graduate students. I laid out two or three courses, one of which was on Communism. My text was the "Communist Manifesto" and I gathered a good classroom library on Socialism and Communism, probably at the time the best in the South. I had no thought of propaganda. I was not and never had been a member of the Communist Party. But I saw the growth of socialism and believed in the possibility of Communism. I was convinced that no course of education could ignore this great world movement. I was reading and learning with the class. I had a dozen or more excellent students, and with lectures, conferences and reports we had a fine course of study. Many of my students in this course received masters degrees and afterward in several cases became teachers in colored and white universities, here and abroad; others became successful social workers. I never heard of any criticism of this course, but it is quite possible that the course eventually stirred up opposition against me.

In 1934 Hope and I set out to revive the old Atlanta University conferences and studies of the Negro Problems. Hope sought unsuccessfuly to obtain funds for this enterprise. After his death I tried to see if some co-operative plan might supply funds. Frederick Keppell of the Carnegie Foundation gave us money for preliminary work in 1940 and 1941. I called the "First Phylon Conference" in April 1941. A good cross section of Negro leaders in education attended. Reports were made from each state on the economic conditions of Negroes. I tried to sum up the current conditions in this statement:

I. a. If thirteen million people starve to death, it is because they are stupid.

b. Many American Negroes today are virtually starving.

II.

a. There is no such thing as lack of useful, needed work.

b. There is wide and dangerous lack of adequate wage and income for certain individuals.

49-9-284

III.

a. Facing these paradoxes the world is changing its economic organisation today to meet them and is planning further change.

b. We as a minority group must plan also, not in opposition but in intelligent accord with this general world planning.

IV.

a. We must especially beware of propaganda and distortion as to the present economic conditions and changes in the world.

1. We must not assume that business enterprise and economic welfare are synonymous terms and assume that because a business is profitable it is for that reason beneficial to the race or nation.

2. We must not assume that because racial organisation cannot hire thirteen million Negroes, it cannot and should not hire thirteen thousand or more.

3. Because, as a minority group, we must in the main conform to the national economic patterns, is no proof that we cannot by intelligent action influence these patterns to our advantage.

V.

a. Finally, we must get at the facts by the latest scientific technique.

b. We must gather, study, test, and interpret these facts.

c. Within limits of law and order we must experiment with and test remedies.

d. We must remember that the starvation of Negroes in the United States benefits nobody; that full employment at a living wage for all Negroes as well as all whites is at once the greatest patriotism and the greatest defense against war and evil.

Atlanta University did not have funds to undertake any movement for investigation and publication, so I visited Negro Institutions from Virginia to Texas in order to see what co-operation I could start.

I became convinced of several things: first, the role of the government-supported land grant colleges in the development of Negro education was going to be large and progressively increasing. Second, these land grant colleges needed a program for social science studies which is at present undeveloped. Third, rapid changes are now

49-9-285

taking place in the Negro ethnic group and even more momentous ones impend. The war has upset conventional economy, exacerbated racial consciousness and already led to bitter clashes. The developments after the war are bound to add to these difficulties. There is one and only one fundamental and definitive way to meet this situation and that is to begin a systematic study of the essential facts of the present condition of the Negro race abd to establish a way of continuing and making more complete and effective such a study. Then in the event the nation can turn its attention and energies to remedial measures, it will not be necessary to waste time in belated efforts to get at the essential truth.

Careful and exact knowledge of conditions and changes then are imperative and ought to be in process of gathering now in order to be available during and after the war. Fourth, this should not be the conventional type of "social study" - an instantaneous photograph of a sample group; but should be planned so as eventually to approach the stature of a total study of a complete situation, continuously photographed, and re-photographed, measured and re-measured; so that our knowledge of the vast and momentous social experiment in race relations now making in the United States, would attain a completeness and authority that would be unquestioned and unquestionable and available in the post war world which will surely need this sort of information. I believe that here is a chance not only to serve the Negro race and America, but also to serve the world and social science in an unique way. Fifth, the Negro Land-Grant Colleges, distributed usually one to a state and manned by presidents chosen by boards of Southern whites, would in many respects be ideal centers of social studies in each state, on matters touching the condition in each state of the people for whom the school exists and for whose advancement the school was established. Each of these schools has proclaimed its aim to be the promotion of industry and lifting the social status of Negroes. Any such program needs exact knowledge of facts for its foundation.

Sixth, such studies to be effective must be well done and in accord with the latest scientific technique. They must not sink to mere propaganda nor white-washing. Most of the land-grant colleges are not at present equipped with personnel or funds for this work; a few are. All need expert advice and guidance, to integrate, synchronise

49-9-286

and direct this work and help in the proper interpretation of its results. Seventh, here is where the Negro private institution of higher learning could well cooperate with the states and call to aid the advice of other universities, north and south.

Three Negro universities seem best fitted for this work of guidance and integration: Howard, which holds to the federal government a position analogous to that of the land grant colleges to the states; Fisk, which has among Negroes the best equipped department of social sciences in the South; Atlanta, where the first attempt was made in America to carry on a scientific study of the Negro problems.

My first step toward realising this project was to seek to sell the idea to the Negro Land Grant Colleges. I talked the plan over with President Banks of Prairie View, who was a former student of mine, who, as I knew, had long had some such collaboration in mind, and who has the best social science department among Negro land grant colleges. He was enthusiastically in favor. I then secured permission to present the scheme to the annual conference of the presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges at Chicago, November, 1941.

In 1935, the Federal Government was giving, $18,000,000 million annually to Land-Grant Colleges in Southern states which had colleges separated by race. Negroes forming over a fifth of the population of these states received only about five percent of this money. For some time the Negro Colleges had been pressing for a larger share, but the reply had been that such work as research in agriculture or chemistry was being carried on in the white colleges and that it was not necessary to duplicate this work in Negro institutions. It occurred to me that a careful program of race studies planned for the Negro colleges might be the basis for a demand for a much larger Negro share of Federal funds. I therefor addressed the organization of Negro Land Grant College presidents in October 1941. I said:

"With a comparatively small group like that of the American Negro, in a country of great economic efficiency like America, and spurred by every high incentive, there is no real reason why cultivated brains among us may not guide the great mass of our folk to desired economic and cultural ends. This, of course, depends on the extent to which these potential leaders have the will to sacrifice their talent to this end; and also on the actual knowledge which they possess to guide the mass toward real

49-9-284

progress and not back to out-worn reaction.

"The problem before us [illegible] is this: to put fourteen million people to work so that they may receive an income which will insure a civilized standard of living; to make it possible for them to preserve their health; to keep crime down to a minimum and to educate their children; with the eventual object of giving this group sufficient leisure to advance by means of talented persons among them in science and art and cultural patterns. And with the further idea that in so far as these objects are successful, the group will become nearer to actual equality with their fellow Americans and to civilized people the world over, and will thus remove from color prejudice a very real reason for its perpetuation.

"How can the college help the community earn a living? First, it can train students for existent needs, for which the community now pays. Sometimes educational philosophers talk as though this were the one end of the college; and a situation could be easily imagined where that might be pretty nearly true; where you have settled normal culture and an arrangement of work which is suitable for that culture; and relatively stable economic organization. Under these circumstances if a college trained men efficiently for these jobs and at the same time supplied a broad cultural outlook toward the future it would come near doing its main work.

"The college today, however, must do more - far more - than prepare men for jobs at present in demand and socially needful. The college must anticipate the future needs of the community and prepare education to meet them.

"Unless the college goes further than training for current jobs and goes out to meet and cooperate with the community in such a way that the man awaiting and prepared to do a necessary future work for the community can be employed now according to his capacity; unless this is done, the college program is fatally handicapped and the community expansion is crippled. The same thing applies to work which although needed is not now available for Negroes and may not be during the present generation. In that case a careful survey of the possibilities among fourteen million people might give an opportunity to create such jobs within our own group or by cooperation with others. This even more than the other case, involves a broad study of the

49-9-288

259

economic conditions among Negroes and possibilities of their organizations. It would call not simply for the efforts of one college with its immediate community or its state, but the cooperative efforts of the Negro educational institutions of the South.

"This leads us to the fact that if the college is to make real and advantageous approach to its community, either its local or its general community, it must be helped by a careful, broad and continuous study of the social and economic set-up of that community; that is, we must know as we do not know today, the existing occupations of Negroes; not in the vague and general and necessarily inaccurate report of the decennial census, but by minute and complete survey and study of counties, towns and cities where the Negro population is resident. We must take such a beginning as Charles Johnson's regional study of Southern counties, extend the data to 1940 and then complete it and carry it on continuously from year to year. We must have a group to group and person to person knowledge of the condition of the laboring masses, of their opportunities and hindrances. And this kind of study ought to be made in accordance with the latest scientific techniques and on a national basis. There is no reason why a study like that of Allison Davis, "The Deep South", should not be made over the whole South so that we could paint with descriptions, facts and figures, the real social condition of the American Negro. The interpretation of this knowledge and its interaction with past history and current trends must be the continuously and critically examined conclusions of the best trained students of the social sciences. We must not depend on the narrow experience and conventional standards of business men; we must not resort to untried panaceas or emotional utopias. This study must be increasingly a matter of science, carried out to its incurable and tested conclusions.

"We need in sociology, a race regionalism which will narrow and concentrate on our Negroes the general regional studies of the South. Instead of the occasional snapshot of social conditions which was the social study of yesterday, we must aim at a continuous moving picture of ever increasing range and accuracy.

"A national planning institute must annually gather up and compare and interpret

49-9-289

this great body of facts. There must be provided for this work, sufficient research funds and sufficient time for research. And finally through a central office, there must be wide and carefully edited publication of results.

"It is not only illogical but it is an indictment of the Negro college that the chief studies of the Negro's condition today are not being done by Negroes and Negro colleges. The center of gravity as well as the truth of investigation should be brought back to the control of an association of Negro colleges; and this not for the purpose of creating a Negro science or purely racial facts; but in order to make sure that the whole undistorted picture is there and that the complete interpretation is made by those most competent to do it, through their own lives and training.

"Under the leadership of these same colleges, the communities must proceed to act, explore, experiment and build. They must organize their spending power to the last dollar, realizing that a carefully and intelligently spent dollar is a more powerful ballot than a vote for a coroner. Advantage must be taken of decentralized cheap power like the TVA to push a new era of home manufactures and producers' cooperation. The churches can branch into real social work; they might organize free legal defense for every accused Negro; the secret orders can further transform their regalias, rituals and parades into orphanages and student aid. We can have cooperative medicine and dentistry and field hospitals to replace private practice. We have an enormously fertile field for economic experiment, here on the threshold of a new industrial era. All it needs is scientific study, personal character and coordinated intelligence guided by the colleges. It is for the inception and carrying out of this program that I am appealing to you today."

I [redacted] proposed that this body agree to the following general plan:

1. A continuous and intensive study of the Negroes of each Southern state by each of the Negro Land-Grant Colleges.

2. Preparation for ability to do this scientifically by strengthening the division of Social Sciences in each institution (History, Political Science, Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics) and provision of time and funds for study and research.

49-9-290

5. Inauguration of a general program of subjects and methods of research, with annual conferences, at which experts and representatives of other colleges should be present. Periodical integration, interpretation and publication of results.

I suggested the following detailed program for each Land-Grant College:

1. A division of the "Social Sciences," teaching History, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Political Sciences.

2. The integration of this teaching into one closely articulated study of

A. History

History of Europe
History of Asia
History of Africa
History of America
History of the United States
History of the Negro people in:
  Africa
  South and Central America
  United States
  In each state.

B. Social Sciences

Social Institutions	) (	Modern world
Anthropology	) (	United States
Economic Organization	) (	among Americans
Government	) (	among Negroes
Psychological reactions	) (	among Negroes in this State

3. A study of the facts concerning the Negroes of the state by counties, subdivisions of counties, villages, towns, cities, wards, blocks and households. The study to be carried on by professors, instructors, fellows, social workers, volunteers and affiliated organizations.

The study to include: numbers of individuals, family groups, character of homes, location of homes; occupation of persons, incomes, expenditures, age, marital relations, education, property and recreation.

4. The scope of this study will include the observation and measurement of all facts and situations which have to do with the status of the Negro population in the state; becoming as funds and facilities increase, more and more intensive and comprehensive, until at last it virtually means a checking of every Negro family in the state including their activities, institutions and organizations.

49-9-291

5. The study will use all available data as the basis of its work, including the federal census of 1940, all state censuses, all reports of the state, the county and its subdivisions, concerning education, occupation, dependency and delinquency.

SPECIAL STUDIES OF

6. All organisations of Negroes or working with or for Negroes: details of work; including churches, lodges, cemeteries, clubs, etc.; their property and budgets.

7. All business conducted by Negroes and among Negroes; character, amount, approximate money value.

8. Commercialised recreations, movies, billiard rooms, gambling, prostitution, etc.

9. Public recreation; parks, playgrounds, etc., number, upkeep.

10. The participation of Negroes in government as voters and officials; tax payers, property-holders; officials and administrative methods.

49-9-292

METHODS, INTERPRETATION AND PUBLICATION

11. The methods and scope of these studies to be outlined by an annual conference, with each college represented and outside experts.

12. The resulting studies to be collected, interpreted and made public for an annual state meeting and for a public museum and laboratory of the social sciences with maps, charts, models.

13. All the college reports to be brought together, studied, tabulated, analyzed and interpreted and integrated into an annual joint report.

THE NORTHERN NEGRO

14. Arrangements to be entered into with private Negro institutions to join with departments of the social sciences in Northern colleges to make similar studies of northern Negroes.

RESULTANT BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

15. This body of knowledge, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted, and integrated, to be used as the basis of raising the standatd of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law, and social action.

RESULTANT WORK FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT

16. For every social problem, institutional failure, or individual maladjustment made evident, located and measured, organizations will then attempt to discover or promote in the locality and state, remedies in

EDUCATION: special kinds and specific methods; private, industrial, group, state and national efforts.

SOCIAL UPLIFT WORK: by hiring thoroughly trained social workers; by group effort; by voluntary effort.

HEALTH: by physicians and dentists; by group medical care; by hospitalization; by special campaigns against tuberculosis, cancer, heart diseases, syphilis; by childbirth and child welfare efforts.

RECREATION: Music, a folk theatre, playgrounds, library facilities, sports.

17. But of all these efforts, the college and community should concentrate their first and chief attention upon the problems of earning a living among Negroes, since these are fundamental to practically all other efforts. Attention should be paid especially to work now available, to openings for earning a living which may be made available, and for general economic re-organization, such as is involved in consumers' and producers' cooperation; whereby not only intelligent saving can be made in the expenditure of income, but that new occupations, especially in home industries and small manufacturers, can be established among Negroes.

18. Every attempt should be made to use existing institutions and organizations among Negroes, for undertaking efforts at social reform as outlined above: churches, fraternal lodges, women's clubs, schools, and in many cases, private businesses, can be used for increasing employment, finding new employment, furnishing legal defense, furnishing direct relief, improving health, organizing recreation, furnishing student aid and promoting consumers and producers cooperation.

49-9-293

E

FIRST STEPS

19. An immediate attempt on the part of the college in each state to reorganize their budgets so as to provide a gradually increasing minimum of funds for this program:

A. For teaching the Social Sciences.

B. For giving trained teachers, time and funds for investigation.

C. For providing, at the earliest moment, for the employment of social workers and fellows for investigation and social uplift.

D. For a publication fund.

E. For laying down a present program with plans for future expansion.

20. Minimum requirements for initiating the program:

1. One or two teachers of History.

2. One or two teachers of Anthropology and Sociology.

3. One teacher of Economics.

4. One teacher of Psychology, with laboratory.

5. A teaching Fellow with some time and funds for field work.

6. A Social Worker with whole time for investigation and advice.

The presidents of the Negro Land-Grant Colleges received this proposal with favor adopted this general plan, June 12, 1942:

To initiate a series of cooperative studies of the social condition of the American Negro and more especially of his economic situation during and after this war.

For this purpose they propose to use in their institutions the division of the Social Sciences including history, anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, psychology, and other cognate subjects so as to give their students unified knowledge of social conditions and modern trends.

In addition to this they propose to recommend the use of one or more of their qualified instructors, with sufficient time and funds for a series of social studies, whose subject, methods and scope shall be determined after conferences with executives and investigators in other institutions, and with outside experts in the social sciences, including students of conditions among the white population. This proposal

49-9-294

is subject to the approval of the governing boards in the various states.

The ultimate object of such conferences and studies shall be to accumulate a body of knowledge, intensively pursued according to the best scientific methods, continuously added to, checked and reviewed; improved in method and object; tabulated, interpreted and integrated to be used as the basis of raising the standard of living and cultural pattern of American Negroes through education, work, law, and social action.

We propose that the results of these studies by each college in its own state or section of state, shall be brought together, periodically compared, edited and published annually in some convenient form for the use of students, legislators and social reformers.

For these purposes of conference, investigation and publication we propose to set aside in our annual budget such sums as may be approved by the various state authorities.

This was signed by the Presidents of 20 Negro Land-Grant colleges and eventually by the Presidents of Atlanta, Fisk and Howard. Representatives of War Production Board, the American Council of Education, the North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science commended the plan as did School and Society and the Journal of Higher Education.

The Journal of Negro Education said in an article:

"Briefly, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois' proposal, agreed upon by the Presidents of the Land-Grant colleges, assumes first a core of social studies in each of our Negro colleges and graduate schools. It assumes that by internal administrative and staff effort these may be internally unified and coordinated for a joint, continuous attack upon the problem of the study of the Negro population in the area surrounding each college. It assumes that, pouring into a central headquarters, yet to be designated, for review and analysis by a central board, yet to be chosen, there would be a continuous flow of raw data and completed studies. It assumes central coordination, synthesis and report of these studies. It assumes that by this great increase in knowledge, sound and rich and full, we would have materials wholly convincing as to

49-9-295

the needs of local, regional, and national Negro populations. It assumes that with this knowledge we could so increase our wisdom as to be able both to make Negro higher education very much better than it is in all aspects and we would have the facts at last on which to base valid requests for support from foundations, individuals, and local, state, and national governments. By knowing what the problems are we could know also how to arrange them in priorities and further, much better than we know now, how to attack them each in turn with some expectation of success.

#

The plan was finally implemented by this vote of the Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents on October 28, 1942:

1. That Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois be designated the official coordinator of the proposed sociological studies to be instituted by the various land grant colleges.

2. That each President appoint from his faculty a liaison officer to serve as the agent for continued implementation of the project. This officer to report progress and seek further cooperation from the administration and faculty; preferably, though not necessarily, he should be a social scientist.

3. That each President agree to try to find funds in the college budget to permit attendance of liaison officer at a methodological conference to be called by Dr. Du Bois at a convenient time and place, after appropriate correspondence should have further clarified various issues.

4. That the Executive Committee at this meeting address itself to possible ways and means of further financing said study, conference, or other aspects of the program.

#

The 26th Atlanta University Conference met at Robert Hall, Morehouse College, Atlanta, April 19 and 20, 1943. It became the first conference of the Negro Land-Grant colleges, for coordinating a programme of cooperative social studies. Among those present were:

E. Franklin Frazier, Library of Congress

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina

E.B. Reuter, University of Iowa

T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University

49-9-296

Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University

Donald Young, Social Service Research Council

Thirty-four persons attended, representing thirty institutions. The sessions lasted two days and consisted of exhibits, reports, addresses and conferences.

By special invitation, there were present at the conference, eight well-known sociologists, from leading American institutions. These persons, after observation and consultation, have written the following opinions on the possibilities of this movement. The names are arranged in order of academic seniority.

Howard Washington Odum, Kenan Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina:

"It seems to me that in two or three ways a strong, integrated program for research in the land grant colleges would constitute an important step forward. In the first place, the area in which they work is still virgin and important, and their laboratories are adequate for genuine research and experimentation. They have a fine opportunity to combine the social studies with the physical sciences and to implement them in practical programs."

49-9-297

Edward Byron Reuter, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department, College of Commerce, University of Iowa:

"The plan for cooperative studies to be carried on by the Negro Land-Grant Colleges seems to me to be a very wise development and one that may lead to increasingly important results. It will make possible a pooling of resources - of time, staff, and funds - to discover and make known information that now gets too little public notice."

Edward Franklin Frazier, Professor of Sociology and Head of Department, Howard University; Consultant in Negro bibliography, Library of Congress.:

"To my mind, the Conference was significant because it represented the broadening and deepening of the stream of a great tradition which owes much to you. Moreover, the Conference was a distinct success in that it brought together and stimulated men and women who have generally been forced to work in isolation. Even if no other conferences were held, I am sure that many of those who attended this one would return to their work with a feeling that they were engaged in a worthwhile endeavor

and that they had the support and appreciation of their fellow workers."

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science, Fisk University; Trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Chairman of the Race Relations Committee of the American Missionary Association:

"The fact that so large a number of persons were present without direct financial aid from an outside source pointed to a reserve of interest that might be counted on to carry along a coordinated movement among the colleges. Not to be overlooked, however, is the prestige of an established and admired scholar in this field who has served as an effective catalysing agent."

Donald Ramsey Young, Research Secretary of the Social Science Research Council:

"I have no doubt whatever concerning the value of your objective. There is need for the encouragement and guidance of social and economic research at the Land-Grant Colleges, both in terms of the benefits which should be derived therefrom by the institutions and their faculties and also in terms of the practical social utility of the anticipated results."

49-9-298

Edgar Tristram Thompson, Associate Professor of Sociology, Duke University:

"I feel that you have a good idea and that you deserve support in your efforts to carry it out. I appreciate your including me among the invited sociologists and I feel that my efforts to contribute to the conference have taught me something."

William Earle Cole, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Tennessee; Acting Chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

"I think you are starting something which is very fundamental and which should go a long way in improving not only the Negroes of the South but other peoples as well. I was greatly impressed with what the Negro colleges have been doing and the prospects for the future."

Thomas Lynn Smith, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Louisiana:

"I think well of your plan for promoting research work on the part of the social science personnel at the land-grant colleges for Negroes.

"The advice of sociologists at institutions for whites should be sought from time to time as the work goes along; but not to the extent that there is any tendency

and that they had the support and appreciation of their fellow workers."

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science, Fisk University; Trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Chairman of the Race Relations Committee of the American Missionary Association:

"The fact that so large a number of persons were present without direct financial aid from an outside source pointed to a reserve of interest that might be counted on to carry along a coordinated movement among the colleges. Not to be overlooked, however, is the prestige of an established and admired scholar in this field who has served as an effective catalysing agent."

Donald Ramsey Young, Research Secretary of the Social Science Research Council:

"I have no doubt whatever concerning the value of your objective. There is need for the encouragement and guidance of social and economic research at the Land-Grant Colleges, both in terms of the benefits which should be derived therefrom by the institutions and their faculties and also in terms of the practical social utility of the anticipated results."

49-9-298

Edgar Tristram Thompson, Associate Professor of Sociology, Duke University:

"I feel that you have a good idea and that you deserve support in your efforts to carry it out. I appreciate your including me among the invited sociologists and I feel that my efforts to contribute to the conference have taught me something."

William Earle Cole, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Tennessee; Acting Chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

"I think you are starting something which is very fundamental and which should go a long way in improving not only the Negroes of the South but other peoples as well. I was greatly impressed with what the Negro colleges have been doing and the prospects for the future."

Thomas Lynn Smith, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department, University of Louisiana:

"I think well of your plan for promoting research work on the part of the social science personnel at the land-grant colleges for Negroes.

"The advice of sociologists at institutions for whites should be sought from time to time as the work goes along; but not to the extent that there is any tendency

at any institution for the white man to determine, even by suggestion, what shall be done by the Negro."

A second Conference was planned for the Spring of 1944, and I wrote in July 1943:

"This whole plan will come up for discussion and modification in the Second Land-Grant College Conference in the Spring of 1944. The main consideration is this: The economic situation of the Negro during and after the present war is a matter of critical and vital importance. There is going to be increased race friction and finally want and unemployment in the midst of violent social change. At such time we want accurate and carefully made social measurements, tested techniques and the machinery for further investigation. There will be neither time nor disposition during times of turmoil to initiate new and calm investigation. If now we begin this nation-wide study of economic and Social conditions, it can be continuously pursued through storm and stress and after the post-war calm and form a priceless guide to social survival and lasting peace."

49-2-289

Many other commendations came from across the nation, from white and black. Especially was the new cooperation among Negro institutions noted with Atlanta University as the acknowledged head and center of work.

Then at the moment of triumph of this carefully thought-out and carefully planned scheme, came catastrophe. Without notice to me of any kind, I was retired from my professorship and headship of the department of Sociology at Atlanta University. This was not merely a personal disaster. It was removing from leadership the one person who because of age and long experience; because of works published and a wide acquaintanceship based on the relation of teacher and student, happened to be the person to whom the presidents of Negro Land-Grant colleges and other Negroes of influence were willing to entrust this cooperative venture. President Clement of Atlanta University had quarrelled with the Land-Grant Colleges a few years past. So that many of them did not like him personally. Most of the others did not know him but they did know Atlanta University and they knew me. They were willing to put this plan into these hands but they would not consent to co-operate with President Clement. There were doubtless at other Negro institutions persons capable of doing this job, but they

were not as well known and in any case my selection gained unusual agreement and Atlanta University unprecedented prestige as the center of this venture.

My sudden retirement then savored of a deliberate plot, although this cannot be proven. The retirement age at Atlanta University was sixty-five. But I was sixty-five when President Hope called me to the University. Nothing was said between us about the conditions of eventual retirement -- due to my usual neglect of financial considerations and because my good health gave me no thought of stopping work at any near time. Hope must have mentioned the matter to Florence Reed, treasurer, but they reached no decision that I knew of. Later I opposed Miss Reed's election as president to succeed Hope and the new plan gained me wide acclaim. Even the General Education Board which handled Rockefeller funds favored my plan. President Clement while supporting the plan was not enthusiastic. As a new young unknown president, perhaps he saw my reputation overshadowing him. Letters came to me; visitors asked for me and no doubt Miss Reed encouraged his jealousy. I was conscious that this might occur and tried to be careful. On all my plans I consulted him. All invitations went out in his name. His delays and small objections seemed petty and I said so. Perhaps I was too brusque and not diplomatic enough in this and did not take into account his inexperience and lack of understanding. Doubtless too he had no desire to stop the development of the plan, but had no idea that I was at least for the time being so necessary for its firm establishment.

49-9-300

Neither Miss Reed nor President Clement said a word to me about retirement; but at the meeting of the Board of Trustees in 1944, Miss Reed proposed that I be retired. President Clement seconded the motion and apparently with little or no objection the Board passed the vote. Presumably most of the members assumed that the matter had been discussed with me and had my agreement. No pension was mentioned.

The result of this action was disastrous; not merely to me but to the American Negro. Up until this time the Negro himself had led in the study and interpretation of the condition of his race in the United States. Beginning with 1944, with accelerated speed the study of the Negro passed into the hands of whites and increasingly Southern whites. There were colored sociologists and historians but they

worked without coordinated plan, without adequate funds or under superiors who were not interested. Finally many Negro writers found it profitable to write what Business and the Government demanded and not the whole truth. Until in the last decade 1949 to 1959 with increasing unanimity, the thesis has been defended in a thousand books and papers that the Civil War was not a struggle to preserve and spread the slavery of black workers, but a holy crusade to ma intain the superior civilisation of white folk and today current historians can treat American history and take no account of American Negroes and their activities in the Twentieth century.

At any rate without a word of warning I found myself at the age of 76, without employment and with less than five thousand dollars of savings. Not only was a great plan of scientific work killed at birth, but my own life was thrown into confusion. I felt the world tottering beneath my feet and I fought back in despair. Finally the trustees gave me a year's full salary in lieu of my never having been given notice of retirement. Also after offering me a pension of $100 a month, they finally granted me $1800 a year for five years and $1200 a year thereafter.

49-9-301

A word from the poet Sara Teasdale expressed my mood:

"When I can look life in the eyes,
Grown calm and very coldly wise,
Life will have given me the Truth
And taken in exchange -- my youth."

(Poet was not thinking of children.)

*(insert) my youth that was passing; it was my old age; and yet

There were some earnest attempts to carry the proposed program on. It was transferred to Howard University, with E. Franklin Frazier in charge. An excellent conference was held in 1945. But Frazier was not given funds for continuing the project and the Land-Grant Colleges gradually ceased to cooperate. The whole scheme died within a year or two. It has never been revived.

There was another loss in the giving up of this plan, which I have never mentioned. Here was an unprecedented chance for an experiment in Sociology; for measuring and classifying human action, on a scale never before attempted; it would be reasonably sure of adequate funds and the best of trained cooperation and nation-wide if not world-wide criticism. On such a base a real science of Sociology could have been built. The opportunity was surrendered and the whole science of Sociology has suffered. Indeed today there is no recognised field of Sociology; almost no one

*(insert) My youth? I laughed grimly. It was not my youth that I was losing; it was my old age; and old age was worthless in the United States.

calls himself a Sociologist and few institutions grant a degree in sociology.
I even had projected a path of scientific approach: I was going to plot out beside the world of physical law, a science of Sociology which measured "the limits of change in human action." If this field proved narrow or non-existent, world law was proven. If not the resultant "change" was what men had always regarded as "Free Will". Meantime as students of human action hesitated and waited, Psychology measured nervous reaction; Physics merging with Chemistry rose to enormous accomplishment and helped by vast provision of mathematics, recast our whole conception of the universe. Finally Biology revealed new realms of what we now can name as nothing but Chance beyond the area of conscious mind. Sociology has been by-passed, and reduced to Social Work.

49-1-302

CHAPTER XIX

I RETURN TO THE NAACP

Howard University, Fisk University and North Carolina College for Negroes offered me work after my retirement. For the most part it was for lectures and part-time employment. Then came an unexpected offer for me to return to the employment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which I had helped found and from which I had resigned in 1933. I had had at various times requests to cooperate with the NAACP -- to attend mass meetings, to take part in Spingarn medal installations, to serve on committeess, etc. I had steadfastly refused in order to avoid seeming to interfere in any way with an organization from which I had parted. And especially because I never had come to trust the Secretary, Walter White. But now I was without employment to support me and my family and two men whom I regarded as close friends urged me to give serious heed to this invitation: Arthur Spingarn and Louis Wright. Spingarn's brother was one of my closest friends before his untimely death. I believed that Arthur was also a friend, although we had not been thrown as closely together. Louis Wright I had known from his youth. His step-father was my family physician and since I had come to New York Louis also a physician had willingly taken care of me and my family without charge.

49-9-303

These two friends assured me that a real welcome awaited me at the NAACP. They said that Walter White was the chief mover in this offer and urged my acceptance. I wrote them in detail and at last came to New York to consult Arthur Spingarn, Louis Wright, Walter White and Hubert Delany. I asked a salary of $5000; two offices, one for myself and library and one for my secretary; I wanted leisure to write and assured them that I expected no role in the executive department of the organization; that

I would be glad to revive the Pan-African movement and give general attention to the foreign aspects of the race problem. The committee assented to everything, willingly although nothing was reduced to writing except in my letters. As events soon proved, in my invitation to return to the NAACP, there were three conflicting ideas as to what my status would be. My own thought was that I was to have no power or place in the regular organization except to give such advice as I was asked for. I was to have freedom to write and express my opinions avoiding of course anything that would hurt the organization. I was to continue the long interrupted interest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Africa, by calling Pan-African Congresses and consulting with them. The NAACP might be able to help finance such Congresses, and perhaps other methods of assisting the Africans, but that naturally would be at the direction of the main organization under the secretary, Walter White. I naturally expected to work and to have an area of work which was mine. That I would continue to think and express and publish my thoughts; that in fine I would continue to be myself, working in cooperation but not in complete subordination to anybody. It did not occur to me that anyone would expect or ask that.

44-9-304

On the other hand, as his actions later developed, Walter White expected me to help him by writing such documents as he needed; by appearing for him on such public occasions as he wished; and in general to act as ghost writer and representative. It was for this reason that he did not want me to occupy separate offices, or to take any action which he did not initiate. The third theory of my new status was a theory of my two friends, my former physician, Louis Wright, who was chairman of the Board of Directors, and the brother of one of my closest friends, Arthur Spingarn, who was President of the Association. They assumed with some others that

at seventy-six my life work was done. That what I wanted was leisure and comfort and that what I would willingly give in return to act as window dressing, to say a proper word now and than and give the Association and its secretary moral support. This theory did not occur to me. I had no thought of doing nothing or of subordinating myself entirely to anybody in thought or deed. I was determined not to try to run the Association and I wanted to cooperate with Walter White in every possible way.

"Since the donations from the philanthropists never became large, the NAACP depended more and more on membership dues. The three first of the secretaries, Shillady, Johnson and White increased this source of support, until Negroes were themselves paying mainly the cost of their emancipation. Especially under White, the income increased rapidly, and with it his power and independence. The Board of Directors became chiefly window dressing, and real power of the organization lay in the hands of an executive committee, most of whom were selected by White from among his subordinate appointees.

I returned to the NAACP after an absence of ten years during which I had not followed closely its development. The results astonished me. The income had quadrupled, the membership approached a half-million; the staff had tripled or more. It had become a big business, smoothly run and extraordinarily influential. The newspapers vied for its releases, courts listened to its attorneys, and men of prominence accepted readily places on its Board of Directors.

One thing, however, filled me with foreboding; almost every vestige of democratic method and control had disappeared from the organization. This change slapped me hard in the face within three months. I had hesitated in accepting this work; repeatedly during my sojourn

49-9-305

at Atlanta, I had refused invitations from Mr. White to attend NAACP meetings and to cooperate in other ways. Invariably I had refused because I did not like Mr. White's methods nor did I trust his personal attitude toward me.

No sooner however had I reached New York than ominous things occurred which I tried to ignore. I was expected to join the NAACP in August; but the United States Government invited me to join their organization in Haiti and lecture before the teachers at a Summer conference. I thought this an ideal start of my work, but White objected. When I pressed the necessity of acceptance, White declared that my salary could not be paid while I was in Haiti. However Spingarn and Wright intervened and in the end all was amicably adjusted.

H9-9-306

However when in September I reported for my duties at the NAACP, I found that despite the rush for my presence, my promised office space was not ready for me, and indeed for the four years that I remained I was never furnished the offices promised. I was jammed --- books, desk and secretary - in one office about five by ten feet, where the voices of the whole organization were plainly audible. Most of my books and office paraphernalia had to be stored. No one but a writer can realize what lack of office facilities means to an author. I had had beautiful and commodious offices in Atlanta. My first request on considering coming back to the NAACP was office accomodations. I remembered my offices which I occupied from 1910 to 1933 and while I did not insist on similar accomodations I did want comfort, space and quiet. I asked this clearly and there was no whisper of objection. It proved however that this was the one thing to which White objected. He wanted me visibly at his elbow so that at no point could my subordination to him be doubted. I did not dream of this reaction of his and could not understand why in all

New York he could not find me office space. I asked and protested about adequate quarters but got no results until the secretary took a trip to the military front in Asia and loaned me his own office during his absence.

This was in 1945 and the meeting of the UNO in San Francisco was projected. The NAACP was asked to send a consultant and the Board of Directors selected me. I corresponded with interested persons, especially Negroes and was making ready to start to San Francisco when White without notice appeared on the scene and took back his offices. Also when final authorisation came from Washington, White was set down as Consultant and I was as assistant. The NAACP Board was not consulted. I made no complaint since as secretary he undoubtedly would have been so designated had he been in the country. Yet it was his maneuvering in Washington which enabled him without notice to me or the Board to change my designation. I went with him and rendered every service I could. I wrote statements and appeals; wrote a daily column in the San Francisco Chronicle and consulted men like John Foster Dulles. Yet White was the official representative of the NAACP and was consulted in many cases where I was not invited.

49-9-307

When I returned to New York, no offices were yet ready. I protested to Spingarn and Wright and to the Board of Directors, but got no results. This seemed to me wretchedly unfair. However it was true that the NAACP offices were crowded and that the organization was moving into a new building which was being purchased on 40th Street. I hoped to have the space promised. Finally I hired offices for myself on Sixth Avenue and 42nd Street in the suite of a friend. I paid $476 for these out of my own pocket. I laid my plight before Mr. Spingarn in person, with plans based on the new building.

By this time after much delay I had finally arranged for attending

the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England. In the four years in which I remained with the NAACP I attended the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England, wrote two books on colonies and Africa, edited two others and wrote many articles, pamphlets and newspaper columns. I attended several conferences and traveled 20,000 miles to deliver 150 lectures on subjects connected with my work for the NAACP as I conceived it. I was instructor for two semesters at the New School for Social Research in New York and I was guest speaker at Vassar, Yale and Princeton.

I was however taken aback when I saw how the organization was being conducted. At first I attended meetings of the Board of which I was not a member. Few Directors usually attended. Their work was to accept the report of the Committee on Administration which consisted of the secretary, his five assistants whom he appointed; and nine members of the Board, only two or three of whom usually attended. Unfinished business of the Board was referred to this committee. There was little discussion at Board meetings and the chief work was to accept the report of the Committee of Administration after brief discussion.

49-9-308

Once the secretary summoned a staff conference for general criticism. I was included in the invitation and thought my opinion was desired. It was elaborately conducted at a suburban resort. I wrote a general criticism pointing out that the executive was trying to do too many things and not giving his helpers enough initiative and authority. The statement won wide assent, but it was given no executive attention and no further conferences were called.

The result of this close dictatorship was soon apparent in my work. I tried to confine myself to my department of relations of the organization to Africa, other colored people and colonies. But try as I did I could get no action nor direction as to this work.

Walter White soon undoubtedly set out to get rid of me. In 1946, he

accused me before the Board of Directors of appearing before a Congressional Committee without his consent. This was Connelly's committee on assent to the Charter of the United Nations. They invited me as an individual and not as representative of the NAACP. My first words in testifying were that I spoke for no organization and only for myself. Walter White was also invited but he did not go.

Next he accused me of interfering with a court case on school segregation being tried by the NAACP in Dayton, Ohio. This was my answer to one of dozens of letters asking my opinion on many subjects. In this case I was asked my present interpretation of a passage in my "Dusk of Dawn". My answer expressed my personal opinion. Finally White demanded the right to open and read my mail for the reason that many persons wrote me as an officer of the NAACP rather than as an individual. I assured the secretary that I would turn over to him immediately any letter which came to me but belonged in his hands; but that under no circumstances could he open mail addressed to me. I saw the handwriting on the wall, but I was sure that my two sponsoring friends would see the attack being made on me and stand by me.

49-9-309

In 1946 I was asked to visit Columbia, S. C. and speak to a meeting of the Southern Negro Race Congress, whose leaders, James Jackson and Louis Burnham, I knew and admired for their hard work and sacrifice. They had called a "Southern Youth Legislature" in the former center of secession with white and Negro members. I went and said in part:

"The future of American Negroes is in the South. Here three hundred and twenty-seven years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America; here they have made their greatest contribution to American culture; and here they have suffered the damnation of slavery, the frustration of reconstruction and the lynching of emancipation. I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South

as the battle-ground of a great crusade. Here is the magnificent climate; here is the fruitful earth under the beauty of the Southern sun; and here if anywhere on earth, is the need of the thinker, the worker and the dreamer. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the colored races; and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalistic monopoly."

"There could be no more splendid vocation beckoning to the youthh of the twentieth century, after the flat failures of white civilization, after the flamboyant establishment of an industrial system which creates poverty and the children of poverty which are ignorance and disease and crime; after the crazy boasting of a white culture that finally ended in wars which ruined civilization in the whole world; in the midst of allied peoples who have yelled about democracy and never practiced it either in the British Empire or in the American Commonwealth or in South Carolina."

In 1945 I had planned an appeal to the Commission on Human Rights of the UN, in behalf of American Negroes and their disabilities. I had proposed a pamphlet which I would edit and to which a group of experts would contribute articles. The Directors assented. I secured the cooperation of Earl Dickerson, Milton Konvitz, William R. Ming, Jr., Leslie S. Perry and Rayford Logan. To this appeal of 80 pages I wrote an introduction.

When the appeal was ready for the press, the secretary, without consulting me as editor, held it up for weeks because he wanted to add an introduction by himself. I pointed out that for a pamphlet of less than 100 pages there was no call for two introductions and that my introduction of 14 pages was an integral part of the plan. After further

49-9-310

and unnecessary delay the appeal was issued. At first the Human Rights Commission refused to receive it except for filing. At last however the appeal was received formally by an undersecretary and at a public meeting. Walter White made the speech of presentation.

One other development of the NAACP gradually dawned on me. The organization had divided into two parts: A Legal Department under Arthur Spingarn as chairman and Thurgood Marshall as legal director, occupied separate offices and was supported by a separate fund. Although still a department of the NAACP, they were largely independent of the executive secretary and their work was decided by decision of a few men. They achieved unexpected and extraordinary success in a series of court decisions which culminated in the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954, outlawing race segregation in the schools and other public facilities.

49-9-311

To me this success was beyond anything I had dreamed. But it proved two things which the public did not realize: 1. No such decision would have been possible without the world pressure of Communism led by the Soviet Union. It was simply impossible for the United States to continue to lead a "Free World" with race segregation kept legal over a third of its territory. 2. Legal enactment and decision in the United States is necessary but it does not ensure action. The South is rebelling against the Supreme Court decision and for many years will have its way; not forever but long enough to ruin the education of millions of black and white children.

Then came the political campaign of 1948. I had never belonged to an active political organization, but I had expressed my views on candidates since the election of 1912. I early donned a Wallace button and let it be known that I was going to support him. A poll in the NAACP office showed that 70% of the staff favored Wallace. I was then warned by the secretary not to take part in "politics". I replied that I certainly

would be careful not to appear to speak for the NAACP nor to take the time for active political work; but I assumed that I had the right to vote and to tell my choice; that this was what the NAACP had stood for for 30 years. The secretary merely reiterated that the Board insisted that no salaried employee should take part in politics. When later at a non-political meeting in Philadelphia, I advised the audience to vote for Wallace, I was careful tp preface my remarks by saying that I did not officially speak for the NAACP or any official. I was rebuked by the secretary for this, while at the same time he was making a nation-wide drive for Truman, by letter, newspaper articles, telegrams and public speech.

In 1947 the Human Rights Commission of the UN scheduled a meeting in Paris at which our Appeal would be considered. Walter White decided himself to attend. Naturally I regarded White's trip at this point as interfering into a matter which was in my domain (but I said nothing) He asked for a memoranda from me which I furnished. Then he asked for a second memorandum from me which I refused to write until the Board of Directors took some action on the matter of just what my area of work was. Here again I quite misconceived the attitude of the Board toward me and my work. I was to have no area of work which was mine. I was to be completely at the direction of the secretary. He could direct or interfere as he chose and he was the judge as to what was the proper procedure. In a tight modern business corporation this had become standard procedure. But I could not conceive being asked to function in such a capacity. Surely in my nearly fifty years of work for the American Negro I had earned the right to some small niche where I could think and act with reasonable freedom. The Board paid not the slightest attention to my request. Indeed since I sent it in care of the secretary it is quite

49-9-312

possible that the Board never received it at all. White prepared to sail before the next meeting of the Board.

At Geneva nothing important took place. The Soviet delegate tried to take up our appeal and another appeal from women. But Mrs. Roosevelt and Daniels objected. Mr. White not being a member of the Commission did not even have the right to attend the meeting.

I then took a decisive step. I sent a memorandum to each member of the Board protesting against the handling of thise case which lay in my department. And protesting also against the political activity of the Secretary and his representation of his appointment as consultant to the UNO as reason for supporting Truman. I pointed out that the Annual Meeting of the NAACP to which I was not invited, was turned into a Truman rally. I sent copies of this protest to the Board, and the office staff. I did not send any copy of this protest to any newspaper nor did I speak to any newspaper reporter.

44-9-313

The Board promptly dismissed me from my position effective December 31. They did not discuss at all the facts, but dismissed me for refusing "to cooperate" with the secretary and for distributing my memorandum before the meeting of the Board.

A considerable number of persons now urged me to lead a fight protesting my treatment and planning a reorganization of the NAACP. I refused. I was too old for such a task which was the duty of younger persons. Moreover White was not wholly responsible for what had happened. Much of the blame lay on the shoulders of my two friends at whose insistence I had returned to the NAACP. I now realized that between Spingarn and Wright on the one hand and the secretary on the other, there had been an understanding that at any time White could not get along with me, I was to go. They assumed that my days of work were over and they wanted me

to furnish me leisure and dignity before death. White, on the other hand, wanted me for window dressing, as one who would boost his prestige with reports which he would use and speeches made at his direction. On the other hand I myself had not even at the age of eighty felt any serious dimunition of my power to work or to follow my ideals. I could not work as long or reason so quickly; but in joining the NAACP I had no thought of sitting down and doing nothing; and it never occurred to me that I would be expected to act as show piece or figure head for someone else.

I started in to do a job and I was succeeding when White decided that my work interfered with his and he asked Spingarn and Wright to redeem their promise. They hesitated. They asked me once when I had appealed to them about office space. "Why do you work so hard? Why not take it more leisurely?" I did not understand. I merely smiled and proceeded to point out that in the newly purchased headquarters I had been alloted a small office of some 10 by 12 feet for myself and secretary, 2500 books, ten file cases and office furniture. They pointed out that the new offices were already too small and that the growing legal department was seriously cramped and needed even the space that I was occupying.

Finally I was not dismissed because of my radical thought - this was never discussed; nor for disobeying the secretary or the rules of the organization. I was dismissed on the technical charge of sending to the newspapers facts about a difference of opinion between the secretary and myself over furnishing him more data for his trip to the Human Relations Conference in Paris. This in fact I had not done and told this to the Board. But I added that if the newspapers had asked me

49-9-3,4

about this difference I would have stated the facts. For this the Board dismissed me.

The NAACP has a noble record of which all Negroes and all Americans should be proud. All the more reason that its future path be guided by wisdom and by use of that vast reservoir of human knowledge and experience which can be called into use by democracy. It is difficult to guide a mass of people. Continually we are tempted to use our own limited knowledge and experience to push through decisions and compel action, instead of trusting the slower, muddled and hesitating development of mass action. Yet without this action we land in tyranny and fatal mistake. The hundred thousands of members of the NAACP are not people of the highest education or widest experience. But that is no excuse for turning their most effective organ of protest and progress into a fascist dictatorship, virtually under the control of one man. We see too much of this attitude already in current America, in the broad areas of business and industry; in the organized church; in social reform and uplift of every sort; in politics and government; it is the growing custom to narrow control, concentrate power, disregard and disfranchise the public; and assuming that certain persons by divine right of money raising or by sheer assumption, have the power to do as they think best without consulting the wisdom of mankind.

It is the tragedy of the day that the democracy of which we prate so glibly is being murdered in the house of its friends, and in the everyday life far more than in broad governmental decisions. The nation which cannot conduct its philanthropy in a democratic manner, will not in the end convince the world that it knows more of good government abroad than it does at home.

49-9-315

The present condition of the NAACP illustrates what I have said. The NAACP is today divided in two parts, with separate offices, officials and funds. The Legal Department is under the control of two lawyers; one a conservative white man, honest and careful, trained as an expert in conserving the private funds of the rich and well-to-do. He has had broad human contacts, but he has no sympathy with radical thought or experiment. The other lawyer is a talented colored man, trained in the strict field of current law and with narrow cultural background. These men have collected a fund which they administer and pursued a line of legal attack on color caste with extraordinary success, culminating with the epoch-making decision of the Supreme Court against segregation by race in the public schools. They have drawn around them a number of able young helpers and are supported by the strong public opinion of the nation, black and white. Walter White tried several times in vain to interfere with their work but never succeeded.

The remaining field of the NAACP has to do with social uplift of all sorts: education, housing, occupations, race relations, literature and art, history, science and social progress. Here rests the whole theory of the future of the Negro race in America and its relation to the Negroes of Africa and the West Indies, and the Colored peoples of the world. It matters not how many may think that these relations may be ignored, the fact is that they must be considered. Moreover and beyond this, the relations of American Negroes to the working people of America and to the Socialist and Communist movements of the world have got to be matters of grave and present consideration. The whole world is confronting these problems, while the NAACP the greatest organization among fifteen million of the most advanced group of Negroes in the world has no program or leadership; no experts, no commentators or leaders

49-9-316

but can only answer each problem with the parrot-like call "No Discrimination". This was the slogan of the last generation. It is desperately inadequate today. Given no race discrimination, Negro citizens still face modern problems and for a long time face them as a group, working together because of blood relationship and cultural ties. For this they must organise, plan and work: how can they plan to live with friends and acquaintances: how shall the history of Negroes be taught; what occupations shall their children be prepared to follow, what shall their attitude be toward Socialism and Communism, and especially toward the Soviet Union and China who above all nations fight the very color bar which we try to get rid of. All these matters call for trained knowledge and expert advice and wide experience.

49-9-317

This the main office of the NAACP today lacks. Its secretary has been trained as a newspaper reporter; he is intelligent and good-willed but lacks all training in social science, has traveled little and has no broad background of education. He has a staff of excellent clerks but few if any professional social workers, artists, writers or research specialists. The branches and their officials have no scientifically planned program except to raise money and defend cases of injustice or discrimination in courts. The organization fears the processes of democracy and avoids discussion. All meetings and programs are "fixed". When a North Carolina official voices what every Negro at sometime has thought -- namely retaliation for attack and injustice -- there is no discussion, but he is buried by a prepared vote. What is demanded is wide planning, thoughtful cooperation, organized social work and the selection of men and women of genius and training to solve one of the most difficult of modern problems of race relations.

Above all the American Negro needs to be taught to read and to support a school of art and literature which will preserve his history and culture and add to the great treasure of human accomplishment; rather than let the unique and marvelous life and experience of the black race in America be distorted or even lost to memory as it threatens to be today.

813-6-318

CHAPTER XX

Work for Peace

I am not sure just when I began to feel an interest in Africa. Some folks seem to assume that just as Irish Americans have a sentimental regard for Ireland, and German Americans and Americans of Scandinavian descent look back to their mother countries, either through their own experience of that of their parents, so in similar ways Negro Americans should regard Africa.

This was true in the 17th and early 18th centuries, when there actually were, in the United States, Negroes who either remembered Africa or inherited memories from their fathers or grandfathers. Among Negroes of my generation there was not only little direct acquaintance or consciously inherited knowledge of Africa, but much distaste and recoil because of what the white world taught them about the Dark Continent. There arose resentment that a group like ours, born and bred in the United States for centuries, should be regarded as Africans at all. They were, as most of them began gradually to assert, Americans. My father's father was particularly bitter about this. He would not accept an invitation to a "Negro" picnic. He would not segregate himself in any way.

Notwithstanding all this, I became interested in Africa by a sort of logical deduction. I was tired of finding in newspapers, textbooks, and history, fulsome lauding of white folk, and either no mention of dark peoples, or mention in disparaging and apologetic phrase. I made up my mind that it must be true that Africa had a history and destiny, and that one of my jobs was to disinter this unknown past, and help make certain a splendid future. Along this line I did, over a stretch of years, a great deal of reading, writing, research, and planning.

When I returned to New York from Atlanta in 1944 to become Director

49-9-319

of Special Research for the NAACP, it was in my mind specifically for the purpose of concentrating on study of colonial peoples and people of Negro descent throughout the world, and to revive the Pan-African Congresses. From this plan came the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England, 1945; and my book, The World and Africa, in 1947. I should have liked to join the Council on African Affairs, and expected to be invited, but the secretary, Max Yergan, did not seem to want my co-operation.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the hysteria of our times than the career of the Council on African Affairs. It had been the dream of idealists in earlier days that the stain of American slavery would eventually be wiped out by the service which American descendants of African slaves would render Africa. Most of those American Negroes who gained their freedom in the 18th century looked forward to a return to Africa as their logical end. They often named their clubs and churches, their chief social institutions, "African." But the Cotton Kingdom and Colonial Imperialism gradually drove this dream entirely from their minds until the Negroes of the post-Civil War era regarded Africa as renewal of color caste and slavery. They regarded the colonization and "back to Africa" movements of Lincoln and Bishop Turner with lack-luster eye; and when in 1918 I tried to found a social and spiritual Pan-African movement, my American Negro following was small.

The Council on African Affairs was planned in London in 1939, when Max Yergan, a colored Y.M.C.A. secretary, returning from long and trying service in South Africa, met Paul Robeson returning from a visit to West Africa. They set up an organization in New York. In 1943 they were joined by Alphaeus Hunton, son of the greatest Negro secretary the American Y.M.C.A. ever had; himself a doctor of philosophy in English, and a professor for seventeen years at Howard University.

49-9-320

With the cooperation of Frederick V. Field, a fine African library and collection of African art, along with offices for the new organization, were secured. A monthly fact sheet devoted to developments in new Africa was issued. Money was raised for starving people in South Africa and striking miners in West Africa. African visitors were welcomed, and lectures delivered.

Then came the witch-hunting scare, and the Council was put on the Attorney-General's list of "subversive" organizations. Immediately, without consulting his board, Yergan as secretary, issued a newspaper release attacking "Communists". Robeson protested. His position was that the Council was not a Communist organization even if some of the supporters were Communists. It was doing a specific and needed work; that the political or religious opinions of its members or officials were their own business, so long as the actions of the organization as such were legal.

49-9-321

A division immediately arose within the ranks of the Council and many of the members of the board resigned. At this time, on invitation of Robeson, I was asked to join the Council, which I did. I joined on account of my faith in his sincerity, and my belief in the necessary function of the Council on African Affairs. Since Yergan now was at odds with the board, he was dismissed from his office. Legal complications followed, due to Yergan's claims to property which the Council and Mr. Field considered theirs. When settlement was finally made, the Council resumed work, hampered by its proscription by the Attorney-General.

When I was dismissed by the NAACP as Director of Special Research in 1948, I was offered the honorary position of Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, without salary but with an office rent-free, and the services of a secretary to be furnished by the Council. I accepted for two reasons: first, because of my belief in the work which the Council should do for Africa; and secondly, because of my belief that no man or

organization should be denied the right to a career because of political or religious beliefs.

The Council was, however, on shaky foundations so far as funds were concerned. Membership fell, and money-raising efforts were not very successful. One promising effort presented itself in May, 1950. We had received from South Africa a moving appeal for assistance from a native musician, Michael Moerane. We turned to the brilliant, black orchestra leader, Dean Dixon, and asked him to arrange a concert of symphonic music by Negro composers of all lands, including Moerane. The concert was successful. We gave it at Town Hall. A thousand persons paid to listen. Critics applauded.

49-9-322

But alas for our dream! The concert cost $4,617, and our receipts were $3,236, leaving a loss of $1,381. This was not bad in itself; but since we had very limited funds and a dwindling income this result made any plans for repeating the concert annually, as Dixon so ardently desired, impossible. Yet the "Voice of America" broadcast news of this concert as proof of the encouragement of Negro culture by the United States! It failed to add that this was done by an organization listed by the United States as "subversive."

The ability of the Council to finance even my rent and clerical help decreased, and by 1950 it seemed my duty to relieve them of this obligation. However, the officers came to me and asked me earnestly not to do this, and disclosed a plan which they had considered; and that was that I would consent to a celebration of my 83rd birthday in February 1951, for the declared purpose of raising a publication fund; that this fund would go to maintaining my office and my connection with the Council on African Affairs, and also for re-publication of some of my works long out of print, and for new

publications of certain unprinted manuscripts. They were sure that such a proposition would be welcomed by a large number of people, and would mean not only forwarding my work, but the renewed activity of the Council on African Affairs, at a time when its services were greatly needed.

It was a particularly difficult situation because the increased costs called for a high charge a plate, and other expenses meant a great outlay of money. Yet I did not feel free to refuse. I consented. A committee was organized, and the dinner planned. Publicity sent out by Dr. E. Franklin Frazier of Howard University, past president of the American Sociological Association and chairman of the sponsoring group said:

"More than 200 prominent individuals from all sections of the United States, among them Dr. Albert Einstein, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Langston Hughes, Lion Feuchtwanger, and Hon. J. Finley Wilson, have joined in sponsoring a testimonial dinner honoring W.E.B. Du Bois on the occasion of his eighty-third birthday this month.

"Honorary chairmen of the sponsoring group for the dinner include Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland; Thomas Mann, noted author; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell of Washington; Miss Mary White Ovington, a founder of the NAACP: Dr. Alain Locke; Dr. William H. Jernagin; Carey McWilliams; and Bishop William J. Walls."

"At the peak of his unparalleled experience, learning, and skill, we have the rare opportunity of paying tribute to him in a tangible way by assuring continuing facilities for his research, writings, and publications. His priceless library must be kept intact and preserved. His unique collection of scores of thousands of letters and manuscripts must be edited and published. Most important of all, his basic works now out of print must be made available through the publishing of The Collected

49-9-323

Works of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois."

Then suddenly came news of my indictment. I was indicted as a criminal by a grand jury in Washington, on February 9, 1951 for not registering as an agent of a foreign power in the peace movement.

My connection with the peace movement had been long. Even in my college days I had vowed never to take up arms. I wrote in the Crisis in 1913 concerning the meeting of the peace societies at St. Louis:

> "Peace today, if it means anything, means the stopping of the slaughter of the weaker by the stronger in the name of Christianity and culture. The modern lust for land and slaves in Africa, Asia, and the South Seas is the greatest and almost the only cause of war between the so-called civilized peoples. For such 'colonial' aggression and 'imperial' expansion, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Austria are straining every nerve to arm themselves; against such policies Japan and China are arming desperately. And yet the American peace movement thinks it bad policy to take up this problem of machine guns, natives, and rubber, and wants 'constructive' work in 'arbitration treaties and international law.' For our part we think that a little less dignity and dollars and a little more humanity would make the peace movement in America a great democratic philanthropy instead of an aristocratic refuge."

49-9-324

At the Congress of Versailles in 1919, my contribution was the Pan-African Congresses, and appeals to the Mandate Commission and the International Labor Organization. In 1945, as Consultant to the American delegation to the U.N.O. in San Francisco, I tried to stress the colonial question. I wrote May 16, 1945:

> "The attempt to write an International Bill of Rights into the San Francisco Conference without any specific mention of the people living in colonies seems to me a most unfortunate procedure. If it were clearly understood that freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from fear, which the nations are asked to guarantee, would without question be extended to the 750 million people who live in colonial areas, this would be a great and fateful step. But the very fact that these people, forming the most depressed peoples in the world, with 90 per cent illiteracy, extreme poverty and a prey to disease, who hitherto for the

most part have been considered as sources of profit and not included in the democratic development of the world; and whose exploitation for three centuries has been a prime cause of war, turmoil, and suffering; -- the omission of specific reference to these peoples is almost advertisement of their tacit exclusion as not citizens of free states, and that their welfare and freedom would be considered only at the will of the countries owning them and not at the demand of enlightened world public opinion."

On February 5, 1949, O. John Rogge, formerly Assistant Attorney-General of the U. S., wrote me:

"The recent development in American-Soviet relations places a new emphasis on the need for a meeting such as our Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. Certainly intellectuals today are faced with no greater challenge than to give the best of their talent, skills, and special knowledge to the problem of how we achieve a real peace.

"We are most eager to make this Conference a real contribution to the solution of the problems that now block the way to peace. For that reason we are asking you and a small group of key individuals among our sponsors to meet with us to help in the preparation of the subject matter and program as well as speakers for this Conference . . . ."

49-9-325

The Conference took place in March 1949, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, N. Y. and marked an era in the cultural history of the United States. It was sponsored by 550 of the outstanding leaders of American cultural and liberal thought. It succeeded in bringing together an extraordinary representation of the leaders of modern culture, and especially cultural leaders of the Soviet Union.

So rabid was its reception by the American press, that a concerted and directed movement against peace and in favor of war against the Soviet Union was made clear. Distinguished cultural figures like Picasso were refused visas to attend. The meeting became a matter of bitter recrimination; the sessions were picketed, and the distortion of the whole enterprise in the press was unprecedented.

Thus a conference called by persons of the highest standing in science, literature, and art, and conceived with the best motives, became as the New York Times said, one of "the most controversial meetings in recent New York history"; and a signal expression of the witch-hunting and calumny in this nation which has driven free speech and the right to inquire and reason into almost total eclipse.

At the final meeting in Madison Square Garden I said in introducing the Chairman, Harlow Shapley:

> "We know and the saner nations know that we are not traitors nor conspirators; and far from plotting force and violence it is precisely force and violence that we bitterly oppose. This conference was not called to defend communism nor socialism nor the American way of life. It was called to promote peace! It was called to say and say again that no matter how right or wrong differing systems of beliefs in religion, industry, or government may be, war is not the method by which their differences can successfully be settled for the good of mankind."

49-9-306

The next month I was urged by O. John Rogge, Albert E. Kahn, and others to attend a world peace meeting in Paris. The American committee offered to pay a part of my expense, and I paid the rest. I went to what seems to me to have been the greatest demonstration for peace in modern times. For four days witnesses from nearly every country in the world set forth the horrors of war and the necessity of peace if civilization was to survive. On the concluding Sunday, 500,000 pilgrims from all parts of France, coming on foot, by automobiles, by train and plane, filed through the vast Buffalo Stadium crying "Peace, no more war!" At this Conference I emphasized colonialism and said:

> "Let us not be misled. The real cause of the differences which threaten world war is not the spread of socialism or even of the complete socialism which Communism envisages. Socialism is spreading all over the world and even in the United States .... Against this spread of socialism, one modern institution is working desperately

> and that is colonialism, and colonialism has been and is and ever will be one of the chief causes of war . . . Leading this new Colonial Imperialism comes my own native land, built by my father's toil and blood, the United States. The United States is a great nation; rich by grace of God and prosperous by the hard work of its humblest citizens... Drunk with power we are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery which once ruined us; and to a Third World War which will ruin the world."

On Monday, April 25th, during the last session of the Congress, a Peace Manifesto was adopted. This historic document whose Preamble declared it was drawn up by representatives of the people of seventy-two countries, "men and women of every creed, philosophy, color, and type of civilization," solemnly proclaimed that "the defense of Peace is henceforth the concern of all peoples." In the name of the 600 million represented, the Congress sent out this message: "We are ready and resolved to win the battle for Peace, which means to win the battle for life."

The Congress adjourned and the delegates returned to their seventy-two countries.

In July, 1949, I joined with Linus Pauling, John Clark, Uta Hagen and O. John Rogge to call an "American Continental Congress for World Peace" to be held in Mexico City in September.

Again in August, 1949, twenty-five prominent Americans were asked to attend an all-Soviet peace conference in Moscow. For reasons which arose directly from the violent reception given the peace congress in March, I was the only one who accepted the invitation. I addressed the 1,000 persons present.

> "I represent millions of citizens of the United States who are just as opposed to war as you are. But it is not easy for American citizens either to know the truth about the world or to express it. This is true despite the intelligence and wealth and energy of the United States. Perhaps I can best perform my duty to my country and to the cause of world peace by taking a short time to explain the

HQ-9-327

historic reasons for the part which the United States is playing in the world today. I can do this the more appropriately because I represent that large group of fourteen million Americans, one tenth of the nation, who in a sense explain America's pressing problems.

"The two great advantages of the United States have been vast natural resources and effective labor force. The first effective labor force were slaves, at first both white and black; but increasingly as time went on black Africans brought in by an intense effort made by the English especially in the 18th century. That succeeded in landing 15 million black laborers in all the Americas from 1500 to 1800, at a cost of 100,000,000 souls to Africa, disrupting its culture and ruining its economy. This labor gave the world tobacco, cotton, sugar, and numbers of other crops and opened America to the world. There followed an increasing migration of millions of workers chiefly from Europe who became energetic laborers with initiative and skill encouraged by the large and immediate returns from their efforts. With free land, favorable climate and freedom of trade, the individual laborer could make a living and often become rich without the necessity of any wide social control for the common good. Plenty for most workers, without socialism, marked America from 1800 to 1900.

"But this was possible not only because of vast resources but also because of the slavery of the blacks. So long as a depressed class of slaves with no political nor social rights supplied a rich mass of basic materials and a whole area of personal service the share of white capital and white labor was abnormally large. Even when the expanding mass of white labor tried to build a democratic form of government, inspired by the thinkers of the late 18th century, they faced the uncomfortable fact of slavery in the land of liberty. Some wanted to abolish Negro slavery forthwith: but slaves represented too much invested property and income for this to be easy. In 1787, the United States, beginning work on the drafting of a Constitution, and having previously declared that "All men are created equal" faced the problem of slavery and the slave trade. The phrase "All men are created equal" was not complete hypocrisy. Most persons believed that Negro slavery could not continue without a slave trade so they arranged to suppress this African slave trade in 20 years and thus gradually they hoped the slave labor would disappear.

323.44-9-308

"This did not happen, because slave labor in the United States even with a curtailed slave trade began to raise so valuable a cotton crop that this crop by use of newly invented machinery became one of the most profitable investments of the modern world. The spindles for spinning cotton cloth in Europe increased from five million in 1800 to 150 million in 1900 and black labor furnished the raw material. This was the Cotton Kingdom and it represented vast capital and the income of millions of people. Slavery therefore in the United States by 1820, had so firm an economic foundation that emancipation became impossible without cataclysm.

"This pressure for social upheaval naturally did not come from the organizers of industry, nor from property owners, nor even at first from white workers, who had been taught that their high wages depended on the slavery of Negroes. The pressure came primarily from the Negroes; first by their sheer physical expansion from 750,000 in 1790 to 3 million in 1860, of whom nearly 400,000 had gained their freedom by purchase, escape, or philanthropy. They organized systematic escapes from the territory where the slave system prevailed: they joined with white men in an abolition movement; and their kin in Haiti and other West Indies Islands shook the world with bloody revolt.

"But the struggle of the black slave for freedom did not gain the sympathy of the majority of citizens of the United States. This was because a persistent propaganda campaign had been spread as slave labor began to increase in value, to prove by science and religion that black men were not real men; that they were a subspecies fit only for slavery. Consequently the fight for democracy and especially the struggle for a broader social control of wealth and of individual effort was hindered and turned aside by widespread contempt for the lowest class of labor and the consequent undue emphasis put on unhampered freedom of individual effort, even at the cost of social loss and degradation. Therefore at the time when socialism and broad social control for the common good should have spread in the United States as it was spreading in Europe, there grew on the contrary exaltation of industrial anarchy, tightening of the slave system and belief in individual or group success even at the expense of national welfare.

"The catastrophe was precipitated as the workers gradually discovered that slavery of their black fellows was not to their advantage if slave labor spread to the free soil of the West. The nation went to Civil War therefore not to abolish slavery, but to limit it to the cotton states. The South was determined to spread

49-9-329

slavery in the North and if not there, into the Caribbean and South America. This would cut Northern capital off from its most valuable market, and the North fought to preserve this market. But the North could not win without the cooperation of the slaves themselves, since the slaves were raising food for the Southern armies. Gradually by a general strike the Negroes began to desert to the Northern armies as laborers, servants, and spies, until at last 300,000 of them became armed soldiers while a million more stood ready to fight. Thus American Negroes gained their freedom.

"Now came the problem as to what to do with them. They were ignorant, poverty-stricken, sick. The Northerners wanted to let them drift. The freedmen desperately wanted land and education. A plan of socialistic control with schools and land distribution was worked out by philanthropists, but industry rejected it as too costly and as alien to American individualism. Then came a hitch; unless the slaves were given the right to vote, their numerical voting strength would go to their white former masters, who would vote to lower the tariff on which war industry flourished and to scale the war debt owned by Northern banks. Suddenly industry gave the black freedmen the vote, expecting them to fail but meantime to break the power of the planters. The Negroes did not fail; they enfranchised their fellow workers, establishing public schools for all and began a modern socialistic legislation for hospitals, prisons, and land distribution. Immediately the former slave owners made a deal with Northern industrial leaders for the disfranchisement of the freedmen. The South would support the tariff and the debt. The freedmen lost the right to vote but retained their schools, poorly supported as they were by their own meager wages and Northern philanthropy.

"The history of the United States in the last 75 years has been one of the great series of events in human history. With marvelous technique based on scientific knowledge with organized expert management, vast natural resources, and world wide commerce, this country has built the greatest industrial machine in history -- still capable of wide expansion. This organization is socialistic in its planning and coordination and methods but it is not under democratic control, nor are its objects those of the welfare state.

"Our industry is today controlled, as George Seldes tells us, by 1,000 individuals and is conducted primarily for their profit and power. This does not exclude a great deal which is for the progress of America and the world, but human progress is not its main object nor its

49-9-330

sole result. The American philosophy brought over from pioneer days was that individual success was necessarily social uplift, and today large numbers of Americans firmly believe that the success of monopolized industry controlled by an oligarchy is the success of this nation. It is not; and the high standard of living in the United States and its productive capacity is not due to monopoly and private profit, but has come in spite of this and indicates clearly how much higher standards of living might have been reached not only in America but throughout the world, if the bounty of the United States and its industrial planning had been administered for the progress of the masses instead of the power and luxury of the few.

"The power of private corporate wealth in the United States has throttled democracy and this was made possible by the color caste which followed Reconstruction after the Civil War. When the Negro was disfranchised in the South, the white South was and is owned increasingly by the industrial North. Thus, caste which deprived the mass of Negroes of political and Civil Rights and compelled them to accept the lowest wage, lay underneath the vast industrial profit of the years 1890 to 1900 when the greatest combinations of capital took place.

"The fight of Negroes for democracy in these years was the main movement of the kind in the United States. They began to gain the sympathy and cooperation of those liberal whites who succeeded the Abolitionists and who now realised that physical emancipation of a working class must be followed by political and economic emancipation or means nothing. For more than a half century this battle of a group of black and white Americans for the abolition of color caste has gone on and made striking progress: The American Negro is beginning to vote, to be admitted to labor unions and to be granted many Civil Rights. But the mischief and long neglect of democracy has already spread throughout the Nation. A large percentage of eligible voters do not get to the polls. Democracy has no part in industry, save through the violence or threatened violence of the strike. No great American industry admits that it could or should be controlled by those who do its work. But unless democratic methods enter industry, democracy fails to function in other parts of life. Our political life is admittedly under the control of organised wealth and while the socialised organisation of all our work proceeds, its management remains under oligarchical control and its objects are what that oligarchy decide. They may be beneficial decisions, they may be detrimental, but in no case are they arrived at by democratic methods.

49-9-331

"The claim of the United States that it represents democracy in contrast to fascism or communism is patently false. Fascism is oligarchy in control of a socialized state which isrun for the benefit of the oligarchs and their friends. Communism is a socialized state conducted by a group of workers for the benefit of the mass of the people. There may be little difference in the nature of the controls exercised in the United States, Fascist Germany, and the Soviet republics. There is a world of difference in the objects of that control. In the United States today the object is to center and increase the power of those who control organized wealth and they seek to prove to Americans that no other system is so successful in human progress. But instead of leaving proof of this to the free investigation of science, the reports of a free press, and the discussion of the public platform, today in the United States, organized wealth owns the press and chief news gathering organs and is exercising increased control over the schools and making public discussion and even free thinking difficult and often impossible.

"The cure for this and the way to change the socially planned United States into a welfare state is for the American people to take over the control of the nation in industry as well as government. This is proceeding gradually. Many Americans are not aware of this, but it is true: we conduct the post office; we are in the express and banking business; we have built the great Tennessee Valley river control system; we exercise control in varying degrees over railroads, radio, city planning, air and water traffic; in a thousand other ways, social control for general welfare is growing and must grow in our country. But knowledge of this, of its success and of its prevalence in other lands, does not reach the mass of people. They are being carried away by almost hysterical propaganda that the freedoms which they have and such individual initiative as remains are being threatened and that a third world war is the only remedy.

"Not all America has succumbed to this indefensible belief. The Progressive Party ... has challenged this program, the voters in 1948 declared wide agreement but were induced by fear to vote for a man who has not carried out his promises; the Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions assembled a vast protest against war last year and the religious sect of Quakers have just issued a fine balanced statement in the same line. There are millions of other Americans who agree with these leaders of the Peace Movement. I bring you their greetings."

My trip to the Soviet Union made it impossible for me to get to the Congress in Mexico City, but I watched with interest other peace conferences: in Cuba in August; in Australia in April, 1950; the delegations to the Parliaments of the world, projected by the Defenders of Peace in Paris in February, 1950. I joined a group to welcome persons selected to come here,

49-9-332

including the Dean of Canterbury, and the great painter, Picasso. They were refused visas. A Mid-Century Conference for Peace was called by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives in May, 1950, in which I was asked to conduct a panel; but a previous engagement kept me away. I was asked to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Paris Defenders for Peace in Prague in August, 1951, and accepted. This meeting was to call a Second World Congress and make a new plea for disarmament.

But before this meeting, we had succeeded in forming in the United States an organization to work for peace. This was the Peace Information Center. There were about sixty Americans who attended the World Congress of the Defenders in Paris in April, 1950. We were all tremendously impressed and discussed many times the question as to what we could do when we returned to America. We did nothing for nearly a year, because in the state of hysteria and warmongering which we found in the United States, it was not at all clear as to what could be done legally.

49-9-333

Finally I received this telegram from O. John Rogge:

> "Strongly urge your participation meeting my house 400 East 52 Street at 8 o'clock Wednesday evening March 1st. Purpose is to discuss certain vital problems relating to current activities for promotion of world peace."

I went to the meeting and found that the thirty or forty persons attending had already in previous meetings been exploring methods of organizing for peace in the United States. The first idea seemed to have been a federation of the various peace movements in the United States already in existence. That had fallen through. Then a committee to welcome the prominent advocates of peace who proposed to visit the United States proved useless when they were refused visas. We appointed a committee to explore possibilities.

A number of the participants in this initial meeting went to Europe to attend a meeting of the Bureau of the Partisans of Peace in Stockholm, and

also to visit Russia under the plan of approaching Parliaments in the interests of peace. Our committee adopted a plan which seemed to us all unusually apt and legal, and that was, as we decided at a later meeting in a private home, to form a Peace Information Center, the object of which should be simply to tell the people of the United States what other nations were doing and thinking about war.

Johannes Steele suggested that we publish what he called a "Peacegram" at intervals, and in that way we could collect information and send it over the United States. The proposal to organise was made by the chairman of the committee, Elizabeth Moos, and we proceeded to locate offices and start organised work. In July, Mrs. Moos, on account of ill-health, resigned with regret after having put the organisation on its feet.

49-9-334

Abbott Simon, a young veteran interested in work among youth, was her obvious successor and became our executive secretary from July to our dissolution. Kyrle Elkin was a young business man, educated at Harvard, and engaged in small manufacturing. He had never been especially active in social work, but was attracted by our program, and in his quiet way helped us by accepting the duties of treasurer.

We all worked together smoothly and effectively. We issued the "Peacegrams," and then reprinted and circulated the "Stockholm Appeal" to abolish the atom bomb. We distributed this over the nation, and collected in all 2,500,000 signatures. We printed and distributed other demands and arguments for peace, like the Red Cross Appeal, the statement of the Friends, and many others.

The half billion persons in the world who signed the Stockholm Appeal and the billion who would have signed if given the chance, were moved not by the thought of defending the Soviet Union so much as by the desire to prevent modern culture from relapsing into primitive barbarism.

The first direct public attack on the Peace Information Center came in a broadside from the United States Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, released July 12: *

> "I am sure that the American people will not be fooled by the so-called 'world peace appeal' or 'Stockholm resolution' now being circulated in this country for signatures. It should be recognized for what it is -- a propaganda trick in the spurious 'peace offensive' of the Soviet Union . . . . "

I replied immediately on July 14, saying in a release to the press:

> "The main burden of your opposition to this Appeal and to our efforts lies in the charge that we are part of a 'spurious peace offensive' of the Soviet Union. Is it our strategy that when the Soviet Union asks for peace, we insist on war? Must any proposals for averting atomic catastrophe be sanctified by Soviet opposition? Have we come to the tragic pass where, by declaration of our own Secretary of State, there is no possibility of mediating our differences with the Soviet Union? Does it not occur to you, Sir, that there are honest Americans who, regardless of their differences on other questions, hate and fear war and are determined to do something to avert it? .....
>
> "We have got to live in the world with Russia and China. If we worked together with the Soviet Union against the menace of Hitler, can we not work with them again at a time when only faith can save us from utter atomic disaster? Certainly hundreds of millions of colonial peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, conscious of our support of Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai and the colonial system, and mindful of the oppressive discrimination against the Negro people in the United States, would feel that our intentions also must be accepted on faith.
>
> "Today in this country it is becoming standard reaction to call anything 'communist' and therefore subversive and unpatriotic, which anybody for any reason dislikes. We feel strongly that this tactic has already gone too far; that it is not sufficient today to trace a proposal to a communist source in order to dismiss it with contempt.
>
> "We are a group of Americans, who upon reading this Peace Appeal, regard it as a true, fair statement of what we ourselves and many countless other Americans believed. Regardless of our other beliefs and affiliations, we united in this organization for the one and only purpose of informing the American people on the issues of peace."

49-9-335

* The New York Times, July 13, 1950

The Peace Information Center continued its work. The evidence of the desire for peace came in from all parts of the United States, and especially from those regions where the newspapers were suppressing information. Surprising interest and support came to us especially from the West and South.

In August, I had a cablegram from Paris inviting me to attend as a guest the meeting of the Bureau of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace in Prague. They were meeting for two main purposes: to broaden the Stockholm Appeal by asking for disarmament; and to arrange a Second World Peace Congress. I regarded this as important and applied for a visa on my unexpired passport.

49-9-336

It took ten days of deliberation in Washington and two telephone calls before my visa came. Even then it was carefully limited to sixty days in Czechoslovakia and "necessary lands" en route, and "was not to be validated for additional countries without the express authorization of the Department of State." I felt like a prisoner on parole.

When asked at Prague to speak, I said:

> "For fifty years I have been in touch with social currents in the United States. Never before has organized reaction wielded the power it does today: by ownership of press and radio, by curtailment of free speech, by imprisonment of liberal thinkers and writers. It has become almost impossible today in my country even to hold a public rally for peace. This has been accomplished by inducing Americans to believe that America is in imminent danger of aggression from communism, socialism and liberalism, and that the peace movement cloaks this threat ....
>
> "Manifestly, to meet this hysteria, it is not so much a question of the concept of war under any circumstances, as the far deeper problem of getting the truth to the masses of the citizens of the United States who still in overwhelming majority hate murder, crippling destruction and insanity, as a means of progress. By personal contact, by honest appeal, by knowing the truth ourselves, we can yet win the peace in America. But it is going to take guts and the willingness to jeopardize jobs and respectability ... "

After this meeting in Prague where the Bureau of the Defenders of Peace finally voted to broaden the "Stockholm Appeal" so as to ask disarmament and condemn aggression and armed intervention, I started home; but on my way I received two messages in Paris, which ledto a political campaign and a criminal indictment.

The Peace Information Center was in existence from April 3, 1951, to October 12 of that year, when it formally disbanded. After that, the closing down of our activities, answering continued correspondence, paying our bills, and ending our lease, kept our office partially in existence until the end of the year. During the seven months of active work, we took in a total of $25,000 from small donations, public and house meetings, and sale of literature for which there was a large demand. We printed and distributed 750,000 pieces, of which 485,000 were petitions for signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. These sold for a cent and cost us a half cent. We also issued a hundred thousand stickers, and thousands of pamphlets for children, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Spanish and Italian speaking minorities whom we tried to interest in peace. In addition came the regular "Peacegram" with its news of the world peace movement. Our largest two items of expense were about $9,000 for printing and $8,000 for rent and salaries. We had, finally, a mailing list of 6,000 persons in all parts of the nation especially interested in peace.

49-9-337

CHAPTER XXI

AN INDICTED CRIMINAL

As I started home from Prague in August, 1950, I received two cabled messages from the United States. One was from John Abt of the American Labor Party, asking if I would run for United States Senator from New York in the current campaign. The other was from Abbott Simon, executive secretary of the Peace Information Center, informing me that the Department of Justice had demanded our registration as "agents of a foreign principal."

I proceeded to remind Abt of my age and political inexperience, and my unwillingness to run for public office. But Abt said a number of things, of which two sunk in: (1) That this campaign would afford a chance for me to speak for peace which could be voiced in no other way. (2) My candidacy would help the campaign of Vito Marcantonio.

Of all members of Congress, Vito Marcantonio had acted with courage, intelligence and steadfast integrity in the face of ridicule, mud-slinging and cheating. If I could do anything for Marcantonio, I decided to try. On August 31, I wired, "Accept. Du Bois."

My experience in practical politics had been small. First of all I had been reared in the New England tradition of regarding politics as no fit career for a man of serious aims, and particularly unsuitable for a college-bred man. Respectable participation in political life as voter, thinker, writer, and, on rare occasions as speaker, was my ideal. This preoccupation was strengthened by the fact that for Negroes entrance into political life was especially difficult. Spending as I did the thirteen years of my early, active life in Georgia, I was disfranchised from the "White Primary" on account of my race, and confined my political work to advice to my students and to writing.

49-9-338

I went into the campaign for Senator knowing well from the first that I did not have a ghost of a chance for election, and that my efforts would bring me ridicule at best and jail at worst. On the other hand, I did have a message which was worth attention and which in the long run could not fail to have influence. The leaders of the American Labor Party and my colleagues on the ticket were more than kind and solicitous; they reduced my participation to a minimum, themselves bore an unfair part of the work, and gave me every help to keep my efforts within my strength and ability.

I delivered, in all, ten speeches and made seven broadcasts. I began with a press conference in Harlem, to which the Times and Herald Tribune sent reporters, and the Associated Press; but only one Negro paper was represented. I addressed mass meetings in Harlem, Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx, each attended by 1,000 to 2,500 persons, who gave me careful attention and generous applause. My last speech in the city of New York was at that marvelous gathering of 17,000 persons at Madison Square Garden on October 24, news of which was nearly blacked out by the press.

On an upstate tour from Buffalo to Albany beginning October 15, I spoke four times to audiences of a few hundred persons in small and rather obscure halls. There was a distinct air of fear and repression. "Free" Americans slipped into the halls furtively and whispered many stories of how the industries of Rochester and Syracuse threatened their workers. In Albany political pressure was tense. While the press was courteous, we evidently were permitted just to touch the edges of real publicity.

My main thesis was thus summed up:

49-4-339

"The most sinister evil of this day is the widespread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgement realise just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeated occasions when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress. But as civilisation has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear; one, that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay, no matter what the alternative; and two, that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party. In modern world war all contestants lose and not only lose the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture."

49-9-340

Above all, I was amazed and exasperated by the overwhelming use and influence of money in politics. Millionaires and corporations, not record and logic, defeated Marcantonio. Dewey could afford to spend $35,000 for one day on radio; when friends of mine the nation over sent $600 to further my campaign, it represented more honesty and guts than all the millions spent on Lehman and Hanley. Small wonder the result of this election throughout the land sounded like a "tale told by an idiot."

Five million persons voted in this election; of these, 4 per cent voted for me (15 per cent in Harlem), which was far more than I expected. More than a million of the voters stayed away from the polls. As for myself, Having expectexpected anything but defeat I would not have been surprised if no more than 10,000 persons had voted for me. I was astonished by a vote of 205,729, a vote from men and women of courage, without the prejudice against color which I always expect and usually experience. This meant that these faced poverty and jail to stand and be counted for peace and civil rights. For this I was happy.

"The most sinister evil of this day is the widespread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgement realize just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeated occasions when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress. But as civilization has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear; one, that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay, no matter what the alternative; and two, that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party. In modern world war all contestants lose and not only lose the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture."

49-9-340

Above all, I was amazed and exasperated by the overwhelming use and influence of money in politics. Millionaires and corporations, not record and logic, defeated Marcantonio. Dewey could afford to spend $35,000 for one day on radio; when friends of mine the nation over sent $600 to further my campaign, it represented more honesty and guts than all the millions spent on Lehman and Hanley. Small wonder the result of this election throughout the land sounded like a "tale told by an idiot."

Five million persons voted in this election; of these, 4 per cent voted for me (15 per cent in Harlem), which was far more than I expected. More than a million of the voters stayed away from the polls. As for myself, Having expectexpected anything but defeat I would not have been surprised if no more than 10,000 persons had voted for me. I was astonished by a vote of 205,729, a vote from men and women of courage, without the prejudice against color which I always expect and usually experience. This meant that these faced poverty and jail to stand and be counted for peace and civil rights. For this I was happy.

The first letter from the Department of Justice to the Peace Information Center was received August, 1950. It read:

> "The Peace Information Center is engaged in activities within the United States which require registration with the Department under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended ....
>
> "In view of the length and time that has elapsed since the Peace Information Center has been acting as an agent of a foreign principal without having filed its registration statement as required by law, it is expected that the registration statement will be submitted forthwith."

The executive secretary, Abbott Simon, replied:

> "The Peace Information Center is American in its conception and formation. Its activities were intended to and do relate only to the people of the United States. It acts and is responsible only to itsâáf and to the people of this country. It has never agreed, either by contract or otherwise, to act as a 'publicity agent' for a 'foreign principal' as defined in the Act, nor does it purport or assume to act as one."

49-9-341

At the same time Mr. Simon sent our attorney, Gloria Agrin, to Washington, and she verbally and in writing, reiterated the position of the Peace Information Center.

> "The inference which you and the Department have made seems to be founded only on the fact that there are people throughout the world who may have, and be expressing, ideas and concepts similar to those expressed by the Peace Information Center. In fact, it might even be surprising to find that this were not so. The minds and desires of men have always transcended national barriers. This is so in every field of endeavor, whether it be art, music, literature, science, or politics. Respect for an Einstein, a Mann, a Picasso, a Pasteur, or a Disraeli, has never beenddiminished by the fact that they were not American aborigines, nor has esteem for their ideas lessened. It would seem, therefore, to be a startlingly new pattern of reasoning that any idea or activity which is not indigenous to, and confined to, the United States, will subject the holder to the inference that he acts for some person abroad. Concomitantly, such a concept would limit the thought processes of American citizens to the four corners of the United States boundaries."

On September 19, Mr. Foley of the Department of Justice wrote us that the Center's registration "should be submitted without further delay" and added, "Again, let me stress the point that registration under the act is in no way intended to interfere with the operation of the Peace Information Center in its present program." We need not stop our work but must lie as to why we were doing it.

Finally, on February 8, we were notified that the Grand Jury in Washington had indicted the Peace Information Center and its officers for "failure to register as agent of a foreign principal."

The indictment said in part:

> "Continuously during the period from April 3, 1950 to and including the date of the return of this indictment, Peace Information Center has been an agent of a foreign principal, because within the United States (1) it has acted as, and has held itself out to be a publicity center for; (2) it has reported information to; and (3) it has acted at the request of, the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace and its successor the World Peace Council . . . "

The Bill of Particulars added:

> "During the period mentioned in the indictment, the officers, directors, and representatives of the Peace Information Center, at the request of its said foreign principal, published and disseminated in the United States the 'Stockholm Peace Appeal' and related information pertaining primarily to prohibition of the use of atomic weapons as instruments of war . . . "

To this indictment the Peace Information Center replied in a release to the public, setting forth the truth about the organization:

> "The defendants deny that Peace is a foreign idea; but they gladly admit that they gathered and publicized ideas and news of action for peace from everywhere they could obtain them. They assert that any attempt to curtail such free interchange of thought, opinion, and knowledge of fact the world over is clearly an interference with the constitutional rights of American citizens. The function of this Center was to give to the citizens of this country those facts concerning the world-wide efforts for peace which the American press for the most part was ignoring or suppressing. It did this with the same object that other Americans have spread information of medical advance, efforts for labor uplift, scientific discoveries, plans for housing, suppression of crime and education of youth. The United States has as

49-9-342

yet laid no embargo on the importation of ideas, or knowledge of international effort for social uplift; and surely there can be today no greater need for information than in the peace movement and the effort to remove the horrible threat of a Third World War."

Our board of advisers however voted October 12 to dissolve the Center. We had no intention of running counter to the government, but only wished to make it clear that we did not believe we should register under the law. But closing the office of such a movement takes time. Letters kept pouring in asking for petitions, asking about further peace congresses, asking what anyone could do to help. We answered the letters and used our remaining stock of stationery for this correspondence. We tried to break our lease on the office, but could not do this immediately. Above all we tried to turn all public interest in peace into other channels: into local peace organisations and especially toward a second world peace congress to be held in England. A special committee was organized for this end, and they opened a separate office. But all this closing activity was held against us eventually by the Government as evidence of our deliberate flouting of orders. The Department of Justice thus assumed that our real crime was peace and not foreign agency. It was reiterated that the Peace Information Center continued to exist until the indictment was handed down in February, 1951. This was technically true.

49-9-343

In 1950 the month of February had for me special meaning. I was a widower. The wife of fifty-three years lay buried in the New England hills beside her first-born boy. I was lonesome because so many boyhood friends had died, and because a certain illogical reticence on my part had never brought me many intimate friends. But there was a young woman, a minister's daughter, to whom I had been a sort of father confessor in literary affairs and difficulties of life for many years, especially after her father's death fifteen years before. I knew her hardships and I had rejoiced in her successes.

Shirley Graham, with her beautiful martyr complex, finally persuaded herself that I needed her help and companionship, as I certainly did; so we decided to get married a few days after my next birthday, when I would be 83 years old.

Preparation for a birthday dinner to be held at the Essex House, New York City, were being made at the request of the Council on African Affairs of which I had become vice-chairman after leaving the NAACP. The list of sponsors was imposing and growing daily. Before the indictment about three hundred people had made reservations and paid over $2,000.

Then came a strange series of events: on February 9 I was indicted for an alleged crime; on February 14, I was married secretly to Shirley, lest if I were found guilty she might have no right to visit me in jail; February 16 I was arraigned in Washington and on February 19, four days before the dinner, the hotel at which the dinner was planned cancelled our contract by telegram saying:

> "Pursuant to our rules and regulations and for other sufficient reasons we hereby advise you that reservations of our facilities for Friday evening, February 23 for the W.E.B. Du Bois testimonial dinner is cancelled. Deposit is being returned. Vincent J. Coyle, Vice-President and Managing Director, Essex House Hotel, Inc."

We had five days before the dinner to find a place to entertain our 300 guests. In addition to this, three of our speakers, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mordecai Johnson, and Rabbi Hillel Silver, hastily declined to appear. Some of the sponsors withdrew, but I do not know how many of the original list remained.

I can stand a good deal, and have done so during my life; but this experience was rather more than I felt like bearing, especially as the blows continued to fall. I had meantime been finger-printed, handcuffed, bailed and remanded for trial. I was more than ready to drop all thought of the birthday dinner.

49-9-344

But my remaining friends said No! I could do no less than stand beside them, although without Shirley's faith and strength I probably would not have allowed the dinner to take place. Franklin Frazier, the chairman, stood firm. He said the dinner must and would go on.

There ensued a period of wild search for a place of meeting; of securing other speakers and of notifying participants. Subtly the whole picture changed; instead of a polite, friendly social gesture, this dinner became a fight for civil rights, and into the seats of timid and withdrawing guests slipped a new set of firmer men and women who were willing to face even the United States government in my defense and for the preservation of American freedom. They carried on the battle while I sat uneasily in the background.

49-9-345

The program was hastily rearranged. No white downtown hotel would harbor us, and turning to Harlem we found Small's Paradis, well-known to the Cabaret world, much too small but with a proprietor willing and eager even to lose money by the venture. At the dinner Belford Lawson, head of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, volunteered and made a fighting speech; Paul Robeson spoke courageously and feelingly. A strong letter from Judge Hubert Delany was read. Franklin Frazier presided and spoke. The room was crowded to suffocation, and many could not get to their seats. But the spirit was what the Germans call "feierlich!" Finally, amid cheers, birthday cakes and flowers, I made my speech. There were about 700 persons present who paid $6,557 in dinner fees and donations.

In this indictment of the Peace Information Center, I received a severe jolt, because in fact I found myself being punished before I was tried. In the first place, the Department of Justice allowed the impression

to spread that my colleagues and I had in some way betrayed our country. Although the charge was not treason, it was widely understood and said that the Peace Information Center had been discovered to be an agent of the Soviet Union.

When we were arraigned in Washington February 16, the proceedings were brusque and unsympathetic. We were not treated as innocent people whose guilt was to be inquired into, but distinctly as criminals whose innocence was to be proven, which was assumed to be doubtful.

The white commercial press treated our case either with silence or violent condemnation. The New York Herald Tribune had this editorial, February 11:

"The Du Bois outfit was set up to promote a tricky appeal of Soviet origin, poisonous in its surface innocence, which made it appear that a signature against the use of atomic weapons would forthwith insure world peace. It was, in short, an attempt to disarm America and yet ignore every form of Communist aggression. A lot of 'men and women of good will through the world,' to quote the petition's bland phrasing, were snared into signing without quite realizing that this thing came straight out of the Cominform."

So far as the nation was concerned, Alice Barrows secured 220 leaders of the arts, sciences, clergy and other professions in thirty-three states, including thirty-five universities, to sign "A Statement to the American People," released June 27, calling for the withdrawal of the prosecution. The statement, initiated by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, described the indictment as "but one of numerous recent actions against individuals and organizations that advocate peaceful solutions to the world's crisis. In this time of hysteria, the attempted labeling of 'foreign agent' on a distinguished

49-9-346

scholar and leader of a peace movement can fairly be interpreted as an effort to intimidate and silence all advocates of peace."

The response of Negroes in general was slow. At first many Negroes were puzzled. They did not understand the indictment and assumed that I had let myself be drawn into some treasonable acts or movements in retaliation for continued discrimination in this land, which I had long fought. They understood this and forgave it, but thought my action ill-advised. The Norfolk Journal and Guide expressed this clearly. The Chicago Defender said:

"Dr. Du Bois has earned many honors and it is a supreme tragedy that he should have become embroiled in activities that have been exposed as subversive in the twilight of his years." But on the other hand, editors like Percival Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier, Carl Murphy of the Afro-American, and columnists like Marjorie McKenzie, J. A. Rogers, and others, showed a courage and real intellectual leadership which was lacking elsewhere. The reaction of Negroes revealed a distinct cleavage not hitherto clear in American Negro opinion. The intelligentsia, the "Talented Tenth," the successful business and professional men, were not, for the most part, outspoken in my defense. There were many and notable exceptions, but as a group this class was either silent or actually antagonistic. The reasons were clear; many believed that the government had actual proof of subversive activities on our part; until the very end they awaited their disclosure.

Other Negroes of intelligence and prosperity had become American in their acceptance of exploitation as defensible, and in their imitation of American "conspicuous expenditure." They proposed to make money and spend it as pleased them. They had beautiful homes, large and expensive cars and fur coats. They hated "Communism" and "Socialism" as much as

HQ-6-294

any white American. Their reaction toward Paul Robeson was typical; they simply could not understand his surrendering a thousand dollars a night for a moral conviction.

This dichotomy in the Negro group, this development of class structure, was to be expected, and will be more manifest in the future, as discrimination against Negroes as such decreases. There will gradually arise among American Negroes a separation according to their attitudes toward labor, wealth and work. It is still my hope that the Negro's experience in the past will, in the end, lead the majority of his intelligentsia into the ranks of those advocating social control of wealth, abolition of exploitation of labor, and equality of opportunity for all.

49-9-348

I have belonged to a Negro graduate fraternity for forty-five years -- indeed helped [illegible] its first formation. Today it contains in its membership a large numberof leading business and professional Negroes in the United States. Yet of its thirty or more chapters covering the nation, only one expressed any sympathy with me, and none offered aid. It is probable that individual members of the fraternity gave my cause support, but no official action was taken save in one case. In my own New York chapter I was bitterly criticised.

Another of our projects was to secure the names of a dozen nationally-prominent Negroes to this statement:

" .... We are not here concerned with the political or social beliefs of Dr. Du Bois. Many of us do not agree with him on these and other matters. But we are concerned with the right of a man to say within the law what he thinks without being subject to threat and intimidation. Especially we are concerned with Dr. Du Bois as a leader of the Negro American for 50 years. In that time until now his integrity and absolute sincerity has never been questioned .... "

any white American. Their reaction toward Paul Robeson was typical; they simply could not understand his surrendering a thousand dollars a night for a moral conviction.

This dichotomy in the Negro group, this development of class structure, was to be expected, and will be more manifest in the future, as discrimination against Negroes as such decreases. There will gradually arise among American Negroes a separation according to their attitudes toward labor, wealth and work. It is still my hope that the Negro's experience in the past will, in the end, lead the majority of his intelligentsia into the ranks of those advocating social control of wealth, abolition of exploitation of labor, and equality of opportunity for all.

I have belonged to a Negro graduate fraternity for forty-five years -- indeed helped [redacted] its first formation. Today it contains in its membership a large numberof leading business and professional Negroes in the United States. Yet of its thirty or more chapters covering the nation, only one expressed any sympathy with me, and none offered aid. It is probable that individual members of the fraternity gave my cause support, but no official action was taken save in one case. In my own New York chapter I was bitterly criticised.

Another of our projects was to secure the names of a dozen nationally-prominent Negroes to this statement:

" .... We are not here concerned with the political or social beliefs of Dr. Du Bois. Many of us do not agree with him on these and other matters. But we are concerned with the right of a man to say within the law what he thinks without being subject to threat and intimidation. Especially we are concerned with Dr. Du Bois as a leader of the Negro American for 50 years. In that time until now his integrity and absolute sincerity has never been questioned .... "

46-9-348

We did not, however, succeed in getting enough such signatures to this statement to warrant its circulation. I recognized the fear in the Negro group, especially among the educated and well-to-do. One said to me sadly, "I have a son in government employ; he has a well-paid position and is in line for promotion. He has worked long for this start and has had many disappointments. I am sorry but I dare not sign this."

I served the NAACP for twenty-eight years in all. When this case came up, although I was no longer officially connected with the organization, branches and members all over the nation wanted to help me and urged the main office to join in. The president of the Board of Directors said frankly to Shirley Graham that undoubtedly the Peace Information Center was supported by funds from the Soviet Union. He admitted that it was possible that I did not know this. At a meeting, March 12, of the Board of Directors, it was urged that the Board take a position on the indictment, and as one branch said, "give active, tangible aid to Dr. Du Bois in his present plight." However, the Secretary, Walter White reported that he had talked with Peyton Ford, Assistant to the Attorney-General in Washington, and was told that there was definite evidence of guilt in the hands of the Department of Justice and that the four associates of Dr. Du Bois could not be prosecuted without prosecuting Dr. Du Bois.

A white member of the board had offered to take up the matter of asking the legal department of the NAACP to join in our defense. After this member heard our "certain guilt" stated he made no further effort.

The Board finally passed this resolution:

46-9-349

"Without passing on the merits of the recent indictment of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the board of directors of the NAACP expresses the opinion that this action against one of the great champions of civil rights lends color to the charge that efforts are being made to silence spokesman for full equality of Negroes. The board also reaffirms its determination to continue its aggressive fight for full citizenship rights for all Americans."

Even this resolution was not given much publicity, and the main office advised the branches strongly "not to touch" this case. Some branches vigorously complained, and despite the attitude of the New York office, many branches of the NAACP supported our campaign.

Our appeal to the officials of the World Defenders of Peace resulted in wide publicity for our case all over the world. Messages began to pour to us from Europe, Asia and Africa; from the West Indies and South America. We receivedletters from England, Scotland, and France; from Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and Scandinavia; from Germany, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Albania, Hungary, Trieste, and Switzerland; from Canada, Cuba, Martinique, Jamaica, British Guiana and Brazil; from West Africa, South Africa, Southeast Asia, China, Viet Nam, Indonesia, India and Australia. International bodies sent their support, including the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, the International Federation of Women, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, and others.

An "International Committee in Defense of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and his Colleagues" was formed. The original signers included a university professor from Holland; two professors from Switzerland; a Judge of the Court of Appeals and a federal judge in Brazil; two magistrates from Colombia and Iran; an Italian senator; and the president of the French

49-9-350

"Without passing on the merits of the recent indictment of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the board of directors of the NAACP expresses the opinion that this action against one of the great champions of civil rights lends color to the charge that efforts are being made to silence spokesman for full equality of Negroes. The board also reaffirms its determination to continue its aggressive fight for full citizenship rights for all Americans."

Even this resolution was not given much publicity, and the main office advised the branches strongly "not to touch" this case. Some branches vigorously complained, and despite the attitude of the New York office, many branches of the NAACP supported our campaign.

Our appeal to the officials of the World Defenders of Peace resulted in wide publicity for our case all over the world. Messages began to pour to us from Europe, Asia and Africa; from the West Indies and South America. We receivedletters from England, Scotland, and France; from Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and Scandinavia; from Germany, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Albania, Hungary, Trieste, and Switzerland; from Canada, Cuba, Martinique, Jamaica, British Guiana and Brazil; from West Africa, South Africa, Southeast Asia, China, Viet Nam, Indonesia, India and Australia. International bodies sent their support, including the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, the International Federation of Women, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, and others.

An "International Committee in Defense of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and his Colleagues" was formed. The original signers included a university professor from Holland; two professors from Switzerland; a Judge of the Court of Appeals and a federal judge in Brazil; two magistrates from Colombia and Iran; an Italian senator; and the president of the French

49-9-350

Court of Cassation; together with ten Americans, eight white and two Negro. Eventually this committee grew to 200 with 33 Frenchmen, 30 poles, 12 Belgians, 11 Germans, 7 Englishmen, 6 Italians, 5 Brazilians, 4 each from Switzerland, the Soviet Union, Hungary and China; one to three each from Romania, Bulgaria, Iran, Lebanon, Martinique, Holland, Austria; and 59 from the United States, of whom six were colored. Isabelle Blum of Belgium was chairman.

Articles were published in Austria, India, the Soviet Union, the Shanghai China News and Edinburgh Review in Scotland. The story was told in at least a dozen different languages. From the West Indies came letters, from the Professors of the University of Havana and outstanding Cubans like Dr. Fernando Ortiz, Latin America's most famous sociologist; Dr. Domingo Villamil, eminent Catholic jurist; and Juan Marinello, Senator and poet.

The International Union of Students wrote to the Department of Justice:

"On behalf of over 5,000,000 students in 71 countries, the International Union of Students expresses indignation at the prosecution of Dr. Du Bois and associates. Du Bois is an internationally known scholar and spokesman for peace. His work for peace is in best traditions of the American people. Prosecution is an attack upon peace supporters, upon Negro people and upon right of professors and students to act for peace. We join with peace-loving people throughout the world in demanding that you dismiss Du Bois' indictment and end persecution of United States peace supporters."

Despite the difficulty of securing meeting places in New York where we could defend our cause, we succeeded late in September in organizing a meeting in Town Hall. The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and

49-9-351

Professions put on an interesting program, with Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild presiding. Here Bishop Wright, Corliss Lamont, and Lawrence D. Reddick, former curator of the Schomburg Collection and then Librarian of Atlanta University, spoke. Dr. Reddick said in part:

"I have just come from a part of our country where the flag of the Confederacy is more popular than the flag of the United States of America; where Robert E. Lee is not only more of a hero than Ulysses S. Grant but also more than George Washington; and where the Governor threatens to close down the State's entire system of education if the courts should compel the public, tax-supported institutions that are presently maintained for whites only to admit a single Negro."

I wrote this statement for the defendants:

"This case is a blow at civilization: by instituting thought control; by seeking to stop the circulation of ideas; by seeking to shut off the free flow of culture around the world and reducing all American culture to the level of Mississippi and Nevada; by making it a crime to think as others think, if your thought is against the prejudices or graft of barbarism of some backwoods partisan; by making it treason to brand the hoary lie that War is the path to Peace; by crucifying fathers and mothers who do not want their sons raised to murder men, women and children ....

"The Government can put into absolute control of our thinking, feeling and culture any set of half-educated fanatics from Southern rotten boroughs or western mining camps or Missouri gang politics in order to: curtail and misdirect education in America; limit thought and twist ambition; send school children hiding under desks instead of learning to read and write; make saints of spies, informers and professional liars; make a prisoned nation call Freedom that which is slavery and to change a Democracy into a police state!

49-9-352

Professions put on an interesting program, with Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild presiding. Here Bishop Wright, Corliss Lamont, and Lawrence D. Reddick, former curator of the Schomburg Collection and then Librarian of Atlanta University, spoke. Dr. Reddick said in part:

"I have just come from a part of our country where the flag of the Confederacy is more popular than the flag of the United States of America; where Robert E. Lee is not only more of a hero than Ulysses S. Grant but also more than George Washington; and where the Governor threatens to close down the State's entire system of education if the courts should compel the public, tax-supported institutions that are presently maintained for whites only to admit a single Negro."

I wrote this statement for the defendants:

"This case is a blow at civilization: by instituting thought control; by seeking to stop the circulation of ideas; by seeking to shut off the free flow of culture around the world and reducing all American culture to the level of Mississippi and Nevada; by making it a crime to think as others think, if your thought is against the prejudices or graft of barbarism of some backwoods partisan; by making it treason to brand the hoary lie that War is the path to Peace; by crucifying fathers and mothers who do not want their sons raised to murder men, women and children ....

"The Government can put into absolute control of our thinking, feeling and culture any set of half-educated fanatics from Southern rotten boroughs or western mining camps or Missouri gang politics in order to: curtail and misdirect education in America; limit thought and twist ambition; send school children hiding under desks instead of learning to read and write; make saints of spies, informers and professional liars; make a prisoned nation call Freedom that which is slavery and to change a Democracy into a police state!

49-9-352

"Wake up, America. Your liberties are being stolen before your very eyes. What Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln fought for, Truman, Acheson, and McGrath are striving desperately to nullify. Wake up, Americans and dare to think and say and do. Dare to cry: No More War!"

This brought forward the whole question of costs. It had not occurred to us how costly justice in the United States is. It is not enough to be innocent in order to escape punishment. You must have money and a lot of it. In the end it cost us $35,150 to prosecute this case to a successful end, not counting the fee refused by the Chief Counsel. If, as we had confidently expected, the case had gone to higher courts to determine the constitutionality of this foreign agents Act, it might have cost us $100,000. Before this prospect of sheer cost, we stood for many weeks appalled and discouraged. We realised more than ever that this trial was not going to be simply a legal process, but a political persecution, the outcome of which would depend on public opinion; and that to raise the funds necessary for our defense, we would need the contributions of large numbers of poor people and need have no hope for gifts from the rich.

49-9-353

There followed an appeal to the people of the United States, by lecture trips undertaken by myself and my wife, Shirley Graham. We wished to meet the blackout in the press by explaining our case; and to collect funds for our legal expenses. But before we started West, a central committee was formed in New York. Former Minnesota Governor Elmer Benson and artist Paul Robeson were elected co-chairmen. First came all the difficulties of setting up an office, enhanced by the nature of our particular case and the usual problems of race. After two or three volunteer workers, we secured Alice Citron as secretary. She was one of the public school teachers of New York City who had been a victim of the witch-hunt.

Alice Citron taught colored children eighteen years in Harlem. She was regarded widely as "the best of the best teachers in our system." On May 3, 1950, Superintendent Jansen of the New York City schools suspended her without pay "because she had not answered the question: "Are you or were you ever a member of the Communist Party?" He said that he knew nothing of her record in the classroom or in the community. He might have added that he cared less. Miss Citron was dismissed. She took charge of our defense office. She became our executive secretary and threw herself into the work with unfaltering sacrifice and at a nominal salary.

100-6-354

We started out in the Spring, in June. Our plan was for Shirley to speak first and explain the case. Shirley spoke easily and interestingly, without notes and with an intense vigor which set the audiences on the edges of their seats. Then came the collection directed by some local person of standing. Then I spoke:

"The world is astonished at recent developments in the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed with puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the world. Reluctantly the world is coming to believe that we actually want War; that we must have War; that in no other way can we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending 70 thousand million dollars a year for war preparations and adding to the vast debt of 218 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war in the past .....

"If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain; and that is: Why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique; with our commerce belting the earth; and goods and

services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses; why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease, and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

"That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer ...

"It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based on or seeks to base itself on, the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember, it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor; it is American enterprise that fattens off Central African copper; it is American investors that seek to dominate China, India, Korea, and Burma, and who are throttling the starved workers of the Near East, the Caribbean and South America ...

"I have never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today, when students in our colleges may not hear or discuss the Truth. Today, in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence, or even of keeping out of jail! — unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims that:

He hates Russia

He opposes Socialism and Communism

He supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea

He is ready to spend any amount for further war, anywhere or anytime

He is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country, or all countries together

He believes in the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction, and regards anyone opposed as a traitor

49-9-355

To that great audience of 15,000 people in the Coliseum of Chicago my address had a clear thesis. I wanted to dispel in the minds of the government and of the public any lingering doubt as to my determination to thinkaand speak freely on the economic foundation of the wars and frustration of the wars and frustration of the twentieth century. I think even the sponsors of this congress shrank at my outspoken analysis. I am sure the government gave up all hope that I would succumb to fear and sink to acquiescence and silence. I said in part:

"Big Business in the United States is forcing this nation into war, transforming our administration into a military dictatorship, paralyzing all democratic controls and depriving us of knowledge we need. The United States is ruled today by great industrial corporations controlling vast aggregations of capital and wealth. The acts and aims of this unprecedented integration of power, employing some of the best brain and ability of the land, are not and never have been under democratic control. Its dictatorship has varied from absolute monarchy to oligarchy, limited by organized labor and by often ineffective public opinion, trying repeatedly and desperately to express itself through free elections.

"If sincere dislike of this state of affairs is Communism, then by the living God, no force of arms,nor power of wealth, nor smartness of intellect will ever stop it. Denial of this right to think will manufacture Communists faster than you can jail or kill them. Nothing will stop such Communism but something better than Communism. If our present policies are examples of free enterprise and individual initiative, they free crime and initiate suffering, as well as make wealth; if this is the American way of life, God save America.

HQ-9-359

To that great audience of 15,000 people in the Coliseum of Chicago my address had a clear thesis. I wanted to dispel in the minds of the government and of the public any lingering doubt as to my determination to thinkaand speak freely on the economic foundation of the wars and frustration of the wars and frustration of the twentieth century. I think even the sponsors of this congress shrank at my outspoken analysis. I am sure the government gave up all hope that I would succumb to fear and sink to acquiescence and silence. I said in part:

"Big Business in the United States is forcing this nation into war, transforming our administration into a military dictatorship, paralyzing all democratic controls and depriving us of knowledge we need. The United States is ruled today by great industrial corporations controlling vast aggregations of capital and wealth. The acts and aims of this unprecedented integration of power, employing some of the best brain and ability of the land, are not and never have been under democratic control. Its dictatorship has varied from absolute monarchy to oligarchy, limited by organized labor and by often ineffective public opinion, trying repeatedly and desperately to express itself through free elections.

"If sincere dislike of this state of affairs is Communism, then by the living God, no force of arms,nor power of wealth, nor smartness of intellect will ever stop it. Denial of this right to think will manufacture Communists faster than you can jail or kill them. Nothing will stop such Communism but something better than Communism. If our present policies are examples of free enterprise and individual initiative, they free crime and initiate suffering, as well as make wealth; if this is the American way of life, God save America.

9-55-6-44-356

"There is no way in the world for us to preserve the ideals of a democratic America, save by drastically curbing the present power of concentrated wealth; by assuming ownership of some natural resources, by administering many of our key industries, and by socializing our services for public welfare. This need not mean the adoption of the communism of the Soviet Union, nor the socialism of Britain, nor even of the near-socialism of France, Italy, or Scandinavia; but either in some way or to some degree we socialize our economy, restore the New Deal, and inaugurate the welfare state, or we descend into military fascism which will kill all dreams of Democracy; of the abolition of poverty, disease and ignorance; or of peace instead of war.

"There must come vast social change in the United States; a change not violent, but by the will of the people certain and inexorable, carried out 'with malice toward none but charity for all'; with meticulous justice to the rich and thrifty, and complete sympathy for the poor, the sick and the ignorant; with Freedom and Democracy for America, and on earth, Peace, Good-will toward men."

The government not only went to trouble and large expense, risked its own reputation, but also forced us to extraordinary and world-wide effort, to escape punishment. Personally, I had no funds for such a case. I am retired from work, with a pension too small for normal expenses of living. My wife's work and income were seriously curtailed by her complete immersion in this case. We had no rich friends. None of the defendants were able personally to finance this case. Had it not been for the almost miraculous rise of American friends, we would have gone to jail by default. Not a cent of money for the trial came from abroad. Even had this been possible, it would have been

49-9-354

used to convict us. But in this nation by popular appeal to poor and middle-class folk, Negroes and white, trade unions and other groups, we raised funds for these purposes:

Legal fees	$18,400
Publicity	5,600
Office	5,250
Salaries	3,600
Travel	2,365

To this should be added additional legal fees of at least $13,000; $3,000 paid to an attorney hired by one of the defendants and not paid for by the Committee, and at least $10,000 which Marcantonio earned but would not accept. This amounts to a total of $40,215. To this should be added at least $2,000 in travel expenses paid by localities. How much the case cost the government we cannot know, but it could not have been less than $100,000 and it might have been much more.

49-9-358

I have faced during my life many unpleasant experiences; the growl of a mob; the personal threat of murder; the scowling distaste of an audience. But nothing has so cowed me as that day, November 8, 1951, when I took my seat in a Washington courtroom as an indicted criminal. I was not a criminal. I had broken no law, consciously or unwittingly. Yet I sat with four other American citizens of unblemished character, never before accused even of misdemeanor, in the seats often occupied by murderers, forgers and thieves; accused of a felony and liable to be sentenced before leaving this court to five years of imprisonment, a fine of $10,000 and loss of my civil and political rights as a citizen, representing five generations of Americans.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TRIAL

In strictly legal aspect, remember what this trial was: it was not a question of our opinions and beliefs; it involved no question as to whether we were Communists, Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses or Nudists; it involved no imputation of moral turpitude except in so far as it is a statutory crime to say what foreigners are saying at the command of those foreigners. The judge said:

"The point in this case is whether or not this organization acted as an agent or in a capacity similar to that for a foreign organization or foreign political power, whether advocating peace, advocating this, or advocating that. They can advocate the distribution of wealth; they can advocate that all red-headed men be shot. It doesn't make any difference what they advocate."

HQ-9-559

In our case there came another angle — the colored juror. In many parts of the nation, Negroes seldom or never serve on juries. But in the District of Columbia, lately, continually there are many Negro jurors drawn, so much so that there has been a distinct movement to curb their choice. Something of this was heard by the lawyers in our case, and they were prepared to fight it. But on the other hand, we sensed another and more hurtful method of opposition. There is a considerable proportion of Negroes in government employ: in the post office, as teachers in the public schools, as civil servants in dozens of branches. All such employees in Washington, white as well as black, are in fear of attack by witch hunts and loyalty tests.

It was not even fully admitted until the third week of the trial that the government did not allege that the Soviet Union was the "foreign principal" accused in the indictment. It was never alleged that we had no right to

advocate peace. It was only the question: were we "agents" of a foreign principal? Yet and despite all this, the public was deliberately given to understand by spokesmen of government and by the press that we were accused of lying, spying, and treason in the pay of the Soviet Union. As one of the attendants said in the ante-room of the court, scowling at us: "If the damned Communists don't like this country, why don't they go back to Russia?"

The chief dependence of the prosecution was on John Rogge. Rogge the witness was a caricature of Rogge the crusader for Peace and Reform. In place of the erect self-confident if not arrogant leader, came a worn man, whose clothes hung loosely on him, and who in a courtroom where he had conducted many cases, had difficulty locating me in the defendant's chairs. I voluntarily stood up to help him out.

149-9-360

He admitted his membership in the Peace Information Center. He admitted his attendance at the World Peace Congress; but declared that its actual objective was not peace, but that it was an agency for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The Court asked the prosecution:

"Do you expect to show that the World Countil for Peace was in fact an agent of another principal, namely the Soviet Union?"

Mr. Maddrix answered: "We do not intend to show that the Committee of the Congress of the World Defenders of Peace was an agent of the Soviet Union."

As a result of this admission the Court said:

"I thought I ought to be advised at this juncture just exactly what the Government expected to show with reference to the Soviet Union being the principal of the Peace Information Center."

The prosecution then again admitted: We do not charge in our indictment that the foreign principal in any way involves an element of agency

as I understand this case, between the foreign principal, the Committee of the World Congress, and the Soviet Union."

The Court then asked Mr. Maddrix if her considered Mr. Bogge an expert. He said no, but that no one was in a better position than Mr. Bogge to know what was going on and to answer this particular question. He was a member of the policy-making group and had attended its meetings. The Court then said:

"I am not trying any propaganda lines. I am not trying any foreign policy questions involving any country, including our own. You have a very simple case here. You charged this Peace Information Center and these individuals, as officers and directors, as being agent of a foreign principal, and disseminating propaganda in the United States. You have got to show a tie-up between the principal so-called and the so-called agent. If you don't do that, you are out of court.

Thereupon, when the jury had returned, the judge addressed them saying that when Bogge was on the stand he was asked what the purpose of the World Council for Peace was, and he answered. The judge went on:

"You are now instructed by the Court, as emphatically as I can make words that lend emphasis to what I say, that you are to disregard Mr. Bogge's opinion of what he thought the purpose of the Stockholm Peace Appeal was. It is a very simple rule of evidence that excludes that type of opinion, because opinion is excluded, and the only opinion that is permitted to be introduced in a court of law, in certain circumstances, is the opinion of an expert. So, therefore, you will disregard entirely the characterisation of the witness Bogge with reference to what he thought the World Council for Peace had in view."

Although we did not at the time realize it, and still watched narrowly for trumped up testimony, it was right here that we won our case. The pro-

HQ-5-361

secution had rested its whole case on Bogge's testimony that we were representing the Soviet Union through the Defenders of Peace organization in Paris. They had naturally not an iota of real proof of this, but they planned to depend on public opinion. But Bogge's own testimony convicted him. He was a member of the Peace Information Center; he was a member of the policy-making bureau of the Defenders of Peace. He had visited the Soviet Union and spoken as a representative of the Defenders of Peace and the Peace Information Center. He had sworn on oath when he himself became an agent of Yugoslavia that he was not a member of any other foreign agency.

49-9-382

The prosecutor tried now to say that the Peace Information Center acted and held itself out to be a publicity agent, "that the proof of that does not require the showing of any nexus or any direct connection between the Peace Information Center and the foreign principal."

The Court: "Let's stop right there. Why doesn't the statute require that?" Mr. Cunningham tried to refer to the legislative history of the bill, but this the Court refused to allow, and said: "You have got to show nexus and you have got to show nexus either by direct or circumstantial evidence."

Armistice Day, November the 11th, had interrupted the trial and given a three day recess. I took the occasion to fill a conditional promise to speak at the Community Church in Boston, where for some years I have made annual addresses. Mr. Lathrop, the minister, in introducing me, reminded the congregation that a spiritual founder of this church, Theodore Parker, had once also been an indicted criminal. I said in part:

"The real cause of World War will persist and threaten so long as peoples of Europe and America are determined to control the wealth of most of the world by means of cheap labor and monoplies. Against this a resurgence of the revolt of the poor will raise a new Russia from the dead if we kill this one, and birth a new theory of communism so long as Africa, Asia and

South America see the impossibility of otherwise escaping poverty, ignorance and disease.....

"We who have known a better America find the present scene almost unbelievable. A great silence has fallen on the real soul of the nation. We are smearing loyal citizens on the paid testimony of self-confessed liars, traitors and spies. We are making the voice of America the babble of cowards paid to travel ....

"My words are not a counsel of despair. Rather they are a call to new courage and determination to know the Truth. Four times this nation has faced disaster and recovered: Once at the end of the 18th century when we hesitated between separate independent colonies and a disciplined federal state; again when in the age of Jackson, the uncouth, democratic west overbore the oligarchical well-mannered east; once more in the 19th century when human slavery cut the heart of the nation in two and we had to cement it with blood; finally, when in 1929 our boasted industries fell in vast ruin and begged on their knees for government aid, until Roosevelt rescued them with socialist planning and gave his life to rebuilding our economy. What we have done, we can do again. But not by silence -- not by refusing to face the ugly facts."

46-9-363

When the trial resumed Marcantonio insisted that the basic definition of "agency" in the law of 1938 was not changed by the law of 1942, and that (1) the Government must establish that the Peace Information Center was subject to control of the Partisans of Peace; (2) that the Peace Information Center was subject to control of the Partisans of Peace; (3) that the Partisans of Peace had consented to the fact that the Peace Information Center should act on its behalf; (4) that the Peace Information Center consented to act for the Partisans of Peace; (5) that the Peace Information Center consented to act for the Partisans of Peace, and (6) that

St. Paris

there was a consent on the part of the Peace Information Center to be subject to the control of the Partisans of Peace. "All these are musts; if any one of these fails, the case fails."

The argument went over into the afternoon. The judge intervened with the following analogy, directed to Mr. Maddrix of the Prosecution. He said: "Suppose you were living in Vienna and published a pamphlet in New York at my expense. The Government asks me to register as your agent. I refuse. I maintain that while I agree with your thought I am not your agent and therefore will not register. Is that not right?"

Mr. Maddrix replied that the Government insisted that the agency was implied by the similarity of ideas. Here Mr. Cunningham of the Government prosecution, a lank Texan with a perpetually anxious scowl, came up with the extraordinary plea that no connection need be proven. He maintained that a publicity agent as defined by the law of 1942 was not an agency in the sense of the law of 1938:

"You have to go further and show, as your Honor points out, that one was doing it for the other, not necessarily by contract, and not necessarily by any agreement at all. The foreign principal may never have heard of the person here, as I have said before. We have to show it was the subjective intent of these people here to disseminate information in the United States, propaganda for and on behalf of, and further the propaganda objectives of the European organization."

The judge leaned forward and asked how a person disseminating propaganda of the type that the statute prohibits could be found guilty of acting for a foreign principal, "if the principal never heard of the disseminator and disseminator never heard of the principal?" The judge continued, "Your contention is this: that if there is an argument about salt

49-9-364

and pepper, Congress, by virtue of its power, said, 'pepper could be salt and salt could be pepper'."

Mr. Cunningham answered, "Yes sir. That is exactly what is confusing the issue here."

Here the arguments ended. The jury had not yet been summoned. Without giving us any chance to offer our testimony or the sworn depositions of the Defenders of Peace; without waiting for the character witnesses, Judge McGuire, sitting at his high rostrum, rendered his verdict. We still were waiting for that overwhelming proof of guilt which for nine months the Department of Justice had promised. It never came. The judge said:

"The Government has alleged that 'Peace Information Center' was the agent of a foreign principal. They proved the existence, in my judgement, of the Peace Information Center. They certainly proved the existence of the World Council for Peace ... There may have been, and I take it as proven, there were individuals who were officers of both; but, applying the test, as laid down here, in a case which, presumably, is the law of the land (because an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States certiorari was denied in the case) - in this case the Government has failed to support, on the evidence adduced, the allegations laid down in the indictment. So, therefore, the motion, under the circumstances, for a judgement of acquittal will be granted."

For a moment a wave of surprised excitement passed over the audience, which had been listening breathlessly. Applause seemed on the edge of bursting out. Behind me, as I afterwards learned, my wife fainted. I, myself, felt slightly numb. Someone on my left kissed my cheek. But the judge, changing his position slightly, but with no change of tone, quickly warned against any demonstration, and continued to speak. I

49-9-365

thought that perhaps I had misunderstood him, and that some modification of his words was coming. The judge proceeded:

"The judge's function is exhausted when he determines that the evidence does or does not permit the conclusion of guilt beyond reasonable doubt within a fair operation of a reasonable mind. So, therefore, if the case should go to the jury, I would be permitting the jury to conjecture in a field of conjecture, and, in addition to that, I would have to inform the jury and to instruct them that, if they could resolve the evidence in the case with any reasonable hypothesis looking toward the defendants, then, under the circumstances, they are obliged to do so, and then, as a consequence, they would have to be so instructed.

"So the case goes off, in my view, on a conception of law. The government maintains one point of view and defense maintains another. I think that the position of the defense is maintained and supported by the opinion mentioned and that opinion is conclusive in my mind; and that is my ruling."

The jury was then brought in, the ruling of the Court explained to them, and they were discharged. We were free for the first time in nine months.

We left Washington as quickly as possible. I was, frankly, bewildered. Of all the results of this fantastic and utterly unfair indictment, this was quite the last which I had awaited. At first I had confidently expected that after conference and explanation, the indictment would be quashed. Then, when it was relentlessly pushed, and the case set for trial, I had expected that after a series of delays and postponements, the actual trial would never take place. This would have been unsatisfactory, and left us long in unease, but it would have been better than a criminal procedure. Then, when the indictment was

49-9-326

pushed and the trial opened, our best hope was for a failure to agree on the part of the jury where Negroes out-numbered whites two to one. This would have left a bad taste and brought the charge that narrow race loyalty had defeated justice - an argument for excluding Negro jurors hereafter. With the acceptance of the jury there could be but one conclusion, and that was that the government thought it had absolute proof to convict us.

Indeed, there is evidence that this is what the highest authorities said, and allowed the public to believe. But we knew that even if the government thought it had such proof, it was either mistaken or the alleged proof was based on a deliberate lie. We had never asked or been offered opportunity to act as agent of any foreign person, organization or government; our organization had never received a cent of money from abroad or from representatives of foreigners for its work, so far as we knew or believed. Indeed, the total amount of our funds was far too modest, and its expenditure too easily proven to indicate any foreign aid. It would have been possible to prove the source of every penny, if we had been pushed to divulge each contributor. But this would have been a betrayal of trust, and grossly unfair to donors, who were often so afraid of the F.B.I. as to refuse to give anything to any cause. But the facts were clear enough without this resort. We had received no large sums, never more than single gifts of a hundred dollars, and very seldom as much as that. We had books and testimony to show receipts and every dollar of expenses.

Of course, there were many who continually intimated that while I or even most of my colleagues knew nothing of treachery and bribery, nevertheless someone in the organization might have been a spy or foreign agent. Anybody can sometimes be deceived, but to those of us who knew

49-9-367

this group, such accusation or suspicion was simply silly.

Why, then had the Department of Justice been so arrogant, determined, and certain? Why did it so impudently brush off my offer to explain our whole work? If, after explanation, the Department had indicated any way in which we had transgressed the law, I was quite ready to change our methods or give up the whole project. But one thing we could not do, and that was to say under oath that we had been and were "agents of a foreign principal." This was a lie that no government could compel us to tell no matter what the penalty.

49-9-368

But of course this unjustified effort to make five persons register as the source of foreign propaganda for peace and particularly to scare fifteen million Negroes from plaint, was not the real object of this long and relentless persecution. The real object was to prevent American citizens of any sort from daring to think or talk against the determination of Big Business to reduce Asia to colonial subserviency to American industry; to reweld the chains on Africa; to consolidate United States control of the Caribbean and South America; and above all to crush Socialism in the Soviet Union and China. That was the object of this case.

This object every intelligent American knew. Our leading thinkers and educators were perfectly aware of this assault on the basis of the democratic process in America. Even if some thought peace at present dangerous and did not believe in socialism, they knew that if democracy was to survive in modern culture and in this vaunted "Land of the Free" and leader of "free nations," the right to think and to speak; the right to know what others were thinking; particularly to known opinion in that Europe which, despite our provincial and vulgar boasting and golgotha of world wars, is still our main source of science and culture --

that this democratic right of freedom of thought and speech must be preserved from Truman and McGrath; McCarran and Smith; from McCarthy and little Georgia's Wood leading the reactionary slave South, or America was dead.

Despite this, most Americans of education and stature did not say a word or move a hand. This is the most astonishing and frightening result of this trial. We five are free but America is not. The absence of moral courage and intellectual integrity which our persecution revealed still stands to frighten our own nation and the better world. It is clear still today, that freedom of speech and of thinking can be attacked in the United States without the intellectual and moral leaders of this land raising a hand or saying a word in protest or defense, except in the case of the Saving Few. Their ranks did not include the heads of the great universities, the leaders of religion, or most of the great names in science. Than this fateful silence there is on earth no greater menace to present civilisation.

It was the State Department which started this prosecution to quell Communists, and retard the peace movement which was beginning to annoy the Pentagon. The inclusion of myself, a Negro, in the dragnet, was probably at first fortuitous, but quickly backed by the Military as a needed warning to complaining Negroes. When rising public opinion fastened on me as the key figure, the determination of the government to convict me increased, especially when I refused to plead "Nolle Contendere" and my contumacious speeches continued. The continued appeals to Truman and McGrath must have had effect, but were ignored at the insistance of the State Department, until the volume of protest abroad compelled attention, centered emphasis on the Negro question in America, and made even the Catholic Church aware that the growing extent of its proselytising among Negroes might suffer from the fact that the Attorney-General was a Catholic.

HQ-9-369

The Department of Justice evidently put its main faith in Begge's testimony to secure a conviction. But when the judge excluded testimony about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and testimony about the aims and acts of the World Defenders of Peace, demanding first that evidence of our agency of the Defenders of Peace be introduced, the value of Begge's testimony was very small and more damning against him than us. Hearing this, the Department of Justice had made a frantic last minute search of all possible sources of information for possible discovery of spies and stoolpigeons. Practically every person who had attended any meetings of the Peace Information Center or been connected in any way was visited by F.B.I. agents, often two or three times, and many of them subpoenaed. So little was discovered, however, that at the last moment most of these witnesses were never summoned.

149-9-370

As public opinion against this prosecution belted the earth and threatened to erupt into the Assembly of the United Nations, and when despite free trips abroad for prominent Negroes, and threats against Negro professionals, civil servants and business men, the volume of Negro protest increased rather than stopped, Truman and the National Democratic Committee began to listen to the warning of the highest placed Negro Democrats, and the pressure for conviction lessened.

There was some indication that an attack on colored jurors might be tried, but that seemed too risky. All Jews on the panel were barred, but Negroes, most of them office-holders and subject to intimidation, were accepted. But any verdict of conviction with a jury of eight Negroes and four whites was hardly probable. A devout Catholic judge, who once faced trouble for refusing to grant any divorces, was assigned to the case.

What turns me cold in all this experience is the certainty that thousands of innocent victims are in jail today because they had neither

money, experience nor friends to help them. The eyes of the world were on our trial despite the desperate effort of press and radio to suppress the facts and cloud the real issues; the courage and money of friends and of strangers who dared stand for a principle freed me; but God only knows how many who were as innocent as I and my colleagues are today in hell. They daily stagger out of prison doors embittered, vengeful, hopeless, ruined. And of this army of the wronged, the proportion of Negroes is frightful. We protect and defend sensational cases where Negroes are involved. But the great mass of arrested or accused black folk have no defense. There is desperate need of nation-wide organizations to oppose this national racket of railroading to jails and chain-gangs the poor, friendless and black.

Only a minority of the business and professional Negroes of Harlem attended my birthday dinner after the indictment was known. Of the fifty presidents of Negro colleges, every one of which I had known and visited - and often many times as speaker and advisor - of these only one, Charles Johnson of Fisk University, publicly professed belief in my integrity before the trial; and only one congratulated me after the acquittal.

The Negro churches varied: the Baptists of Philadelphia strongly supported me, but the National Baptist Convention took no action; several bishops of the A.M.E. and Zion Church connections expressed sympathy, and my undergraduate Negro fraternity, the Alpha Phi Alpha, was divided in opinion. The colored Elks supported me through their chief official, but none of the other colored secret orders did.

Colored public school teachers sat in almost complete silence. All this shows not necessarily lack of sympathy for me in my persecution, but the wide fear and intimidation of the Negro people of America, afraid for jobs, appointment, business opportunities, and even of personal safety.

In contrast to all this lethargy and fright, the mass support which

46-9-341

I gained from the Negroes of the nation began to increase slowly as soon as they could understand the facts, and then swelled in astonishing volume as the trial neared. From the beginning of the trial the courtroom was continuously crowded, and largely by out-of-town colored people and white, some of whom came from long distances. The coverage by Negro newspapers attested the nationwide demand for news and sympathy for the accused. The F.B.I. and the Departments of State and Justice had observers seeking information from Negroes present. Republican and Democratic National Committees kept in touch. There is no doubt that increasing apprehension of repercussions of the possible results of this trial on the Negro vote played a great part in its result.

We must admit that the majority of the American Negro intelligentsia, together wih much of the West Indian and West African leadership, shows symptoms of following in the footsteps of western acquisitive society, with its exploitation of labor, monopoly of land and its resources, and with private profit for the smart and unscrupulous in a world of poverty, disease, and ignorance, as the natural end of human culture. I have long noted and fought this all too evident tendency, and built my faith in its ultimate change on an inner Negro cultural ideal. I thought this ideal would be built on ancient African communism, supported and developed by memory of slavery and experience of caste, which would drive the Negro group into a spiritual unity precluding the development of economic classes and inner class struggle. This was once possible, but it is now improbable. I strove hard to accomplish this while I was yet editor of The Crisis, and afterward in my teaching at Atlanta University.

The Supreme Court decision on segregation in schools called for a distinct modification of my attitude toward segregation which I expressed

49-6-342

in 1934. I assumed that legal discrimination along the color line would last much longer than it may. It is to the credit of Spingarn and Marshall that they fought so valiantly and intelligently in the courts at a time when I had little faith in substantial victory. Nevertheless the battle is not won. Unfortunately in the United States there is a long habit of ignoring and breaking the law. Especially in the South, lawlessness is common and has been for a century. The movement toward the abolition of the color line has begun and will continue, strengthened as it is by the mighty uprising of the colored peoples backed by the Soviet Union. But meantime what will happen to us? During the twenty-five or fifty years while the southern South refuses to obey the law, what will happen to Negro children? Widespread effort for their protection and education should be undertaken by the Negroes themselves in inner cooperative effort. We must not make the error of the German Jews. They assumed that if the German nation received some of them as intellectual and social equals, the whole group would be safe. It only took a psychopathic criminal like Hitler to show six million of them their tragic mistake. American Negroes may yet face a similar tragedy. They should prepare for such an eventuality.

49-6-373

If once this line of thought and action had become established, my guidance of the young Negro intelligentsia might have been increased and implemented, and the science of sociology might have immeasurably benefited by a laboratory test of extraordinary breadth and opportunity. This as I fondly hoped, might have revived my Atlanta University studies of the late nineteenth century, which white "philanthropy" starved to untimely death. All this, petty envy killed, just as it was reborn.

The very loosening of outer racial discriminatory pressures had not, as I had once believed, left Negroes free to become a group cemented into a new cultural unity, capable of absorbing socialism, tolerance, and

democracy, and helping to lead America into a new heaven and new earth. But rather, partial emancipation is freeing some of them to ape the worst of American and Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, luxury, showing-off, and "social climbing."

I find, curiously enough then, that my experience in this fantastic accusation and criminal process is tending to free me from that racial provincialism which I always recognized but which I was sure would eventually land me in an upper realm of cultural unity, led by "My People." I have discovered that a large and powerful portion of the educated and well-to-do Negroes are refusing to forge forward in social leadership of anyone, even their own people but are eager to fight social medicine for sick whites or sicker Negroes; are opposing trade unionism not only for white labor but for the far more helpless black worker; are willing to get "rich quick" not simply by shady business enterprise, but even by organized gambling and the "dope" racket.

The American Negro must realize that the attack on me for socialism is but the cloaked effort of Southern whites to deprive Negroes of leadership in my and other cases. I was just as much hated by the white South before the Russian Revolution as now; and feared too by those of the educated and progressive elements who were and are determined to keep the dark world in submission. They have seized on the charge of "Communism" to silence me just as they once charged "Abolition" to shut the mouths of Northerners. And just as today the thrifty are cowed by the threat of revolution.

As I have related, there came the indictment and trial and after long struggle the acquittal. But that was not the end. The publication of my story of this persecution in my book "In Battle for Peace"; the collaboration of Shirley Graham; my open thanks for the Communists of the world for their help in my defense; and my clear stand in favor of

49-9-374

the Soviet Union. My defense of the Rosenbergs in speech and writing and my denunciation of the hounding and imprisonment of the Communists as unjust and barbarous. I defended and supported Communists and taught at the socialist Jefferson School.

All this made my enemies and the Federal Government take a determined stand to insure my destruction. The secret police swarmed in my neighborhood asking about my visitors; whether I entertained and whom. When we entertained Vishinsky, his wife and daughter, and Paul Robeson, the whole borough of Brooklyn was declared "out of bounds" for Soviet diplomats. My manuscripts and those of Shirley Graham were refused publication by reputable publishers. My mail was tampered with or withheld. Negro newspapers were warned not to carry my writings nor mention prominently my name. Colleges ceased to invite my lectures and Negro colleges no longer asked for my lectures or my presence at Commencement exercises. From being a person whom every Negro in the nation knew by name at least and hastened always to entertain or praise, churches and Negro conferences refused to mention my past or present existence. The white world which had never liked me but was forced in the past to respect me, now ignored me or deliberately distorted my work. A whispering campaign continually intimated that some hidden treason or bribery could be laid at my door if the Government had not been lenient. The central office of the NAACP refused to let local branches invite me or sponsor any lectures. I was refused the right to speak on the University of California campus, because of NAACP protest. In fine I was rejected of men, refused the right to travel abroad and classed as "Controversial figure" even after being acquitted of guilt by a federal court of law.

It was a bitter experience and I bowed before the storm. But I did not break. I continued to speak and write when and where I could.

49-9-375

376

I faced my lowered income and lived within it. I found new friends and lived in a wider world than ever before — a world with no color line. I lost my leadership of my race. It was a dilemma for the mass of Negroes; either they joined the current beliefs and actions of most whites or they could not make a living or hope for preferment. Preferment was possible. The color line was beginning to break. Negroes were getting recognition as never before. Was not the sacrifice of one man, small payment for this? Even those who disagreed with this judgement at least kept quiet. The colored children ceased to hear my name.

49-9-376

CHAPTER XXIII

MY TENTH DECADE

My ninetieth birthday was a surprising occasion. Friends wanted to celebrate it, but I recoiled. Who would sponsor such an event? There had I admitted been some pleasant occurrences. I had a successful television interview over the Dumont Broadcasting system; my bust by Zorach had been accepted by the New York Public Library and installed in the Schomburg Collection at the 135th street branch. At the dedication Franklin Frazier, Judge Jane Bolin and Van Wyck Brooks took part. Tablet, the official organ of the Brooklyn diocese of the Roman Catholic church, naturally added one sour note, writing the library "This corporation writes to enquire whether you would accept a bust of Benedict Arnold, which we would be happy to present to you."

49-9-377

I spoke at Paul Robeson's sixtieth birthday:

"The persecution of Paul Robeson by the government and people of the United States during the last nine years has been one of the most contemptible happenings in modern history. Robeson has done nothing to hurt or defame this nation. He is, as all know, one of the most charming, charitable and loving of men. There is no person on earth who ever heard Robeson slander or even attack the land of his birth. Yet he had reason to despise America. He was a black man; the son of black folk whom Americans had stolen and enslaved. Even after his people's hard won and justly earned freedom, America made their lot as near a hell on earth as was possible. They discouraged, starved and insulted them. They sneered at helpless black children. Someone once said that the best punishment for Hitler would be to paint him black and send him to the United States. This was no joke. To struggle up as a black boy in America; to meet jeers and blows; to meet insult with silence and discrimination with a smile; to sit with fellow students who hated you and work and play for the honor of a college that disowned you -- all this was America for Paul Robeson. Yet he fought the good fight; he was despised and rejected of men; a

man of sorrows and acquainted with grief and we hid as it were our faces from Him; He was despised and we esteemed Him not.

"Why? Why? Not because he attacked this country. Search Britain and France, the Soviet Union and Scandinavia for a word of his against America. What then was his crime? It was that while he did not rail at America he did praise the Soviet Union; and he did that because it treated him like a man and not like a dog; because he and his family for the first time in life were welcomed like human beings and he was honored as a great man. The children of Russia clung to him, the women kissed him; the workers greeted him; the state named mountains after him. He loved their homage. His eyes were filled with tears and his heart with thanks. Never before had he received such treatment. In America he was a "nigger"; in Britain he was tolerated; in France he was cheered; in the Soviet Union he was loved for the great artist that he is. He loved the Soviet Union in turn. He believed that every black man with blood in his veins would with him love the nation which first outlawed the color line.

"I saw him when he voiced this. It was in Paris in 1949 at the greatest rally for world peace this world ever witnessed. ~~Two~~ Thousands of persons from all the world filled the Salle Playel from floor to rafters. Robeson hurried in, magnificient in height and breadth, weary from circling Europe with song. The audience rose to a man and the walls thundered. Robeson said that his people wanted Peace and "would never fight the Soviet Union". I joined with the thousands in wild acclaim.

"This, for America, was his crime. He might hate anybody. He might join in murder around the world. But for him to declare that he loved the Soviet Union and would not join in war against it -- that was the highest crime that the United States recognized. For that, they slandered Robeson; they tried to kill him at Peekskill; they prevented him from hiring halls in which

49-9-378

to sing; they prevented him from travel and refused him a passport. His college, Rutgers, lied about him and dishonored him. And above all, his own people, American Negroes, joined in hounding one of their greatest artists -- not all, but men like Langston Hughes, who wrote of Negro Musicians and deliberately omitted Robeson's name -- Robeson who more than any living man has spread the pure Negro folk song over the civilized world. Yet has Paul Robeson kept his soul and stood his ground. Still he loves and honors the Soviet Union. Still he has hope for America. Still he asserts his faith in God. But we -- what can we say or do; nothing but hang our heads in endless shame."

HQ-9-379

On my ninetieth birthday, my friends invited my well-wishers to a party at the Roosevelt Hotel. No body of sponsors could be found, but Angus Cameron acted as chairman, and Eslanda Robeson as treasurer. Two thousand persons were present including my own great grandson, who behaved with exemplary decorum. I addressed my remarks to him. I quote from the National Guardian.

"The most distinguished guest of this festive occasion is none other than my great-grandson, Arthur Edward Mc Farlane ll, who was born this last Christmas Day. He has kindly consented to permit me to read to you a bit of advice which, as he remarked with a sigh of resignation, great-grandparents are supposed usually to inflict on the helpless young. This then is my word of advice.

"As men go, I have had a reasonably happy and successful life, I have had enough to eat and drink, have been suitably clothed and, as you see, have had many friends. But the thing which has been the secret of whatever I have done is the fact that I have been able to earn a living by doing the work which I wanted to do and work that was what the world needed done.

"I want to stress this. You will soon learn, my dear young man, that most human beings spend their lives doing work which they hate and work which the world does not need. It is therefore of prime importance that you early learn what you want to do; how you are fit to do it and whether or not the world needs this service. Here, in the next 20 years, your parents can be of use to you. You will soon begin to wonder just what parents are for besides interfering with your natural wishes. Let me therefore tell you: parents and their parents are inflicted upon you in order to show what kind of person you are; what sort of world you live in and what the persons who dwell here need for their happiness and well-being.

"Right here, my esteemed great-grandson, may I ask you to stick a pin. You will find it the fashion in the America where eventually you will live and work to judge that life's work by the amount of money it brings you. This is a grave mistake. The return from your work must be the satisfaction which that work brings you and the world's need of that work. With this, life is heaven, or as near heaven as you can get. Without this -- with work which you despise, which bores you and which the world does not need -- this life is hell. And believe me, many a $25,000-a-year executive is living in just such a hell today.

"Income is not greenbacks, it is satisfaction; it is creation; it is beauty. It is the supreme sense of a world of men going forward, lurch and stagger though it may, but slowly, inevitably going forward, and you, you yourself with your hand on the wheels. Make this choice, then, my son. Never hesitate, never falter.

"And now comes the word of warning: the satisfaction with your work even at best will never be complete, since nothing on earth can be perfect.

The forward pace of the world which you are pushing will be painfully slow. But what of that: the difference between a hundred and a thousand years is less than you now think. But doing what must be done, that is eternal even when it walks with poverty.

And I care not to garner while others
Know only to harvest and reap
For mine is the reaping of sowing
Till the spirit of rest gives me sleep."

A purse of seven thousand five hundred dollars was given me. Later in Chicago, Truman Gibson and Margaret Burroughs arranged another birthday celebration and gave me seventeen hundred dollars more. After talks in California, I was able to take a trip to the West Indies and see the beginnings of the new British West Indian Federation.

I was invited to attend the All African conference at Accra. At the Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester, England in 1945, a Sixth Congress on the continent of Africa had been projected. When Ghana gained her independence it was planned. I was not allowed to attend the inauguration. If I had been present undoubtedly the matter would have been further discussed. Meantime George Padmore, secretary of the Pan-African Congress, was called to Ghana as chief adviser to the Prime Minister, and he published a book called "Pan-Africanism or Communism" in which he said:

"In our struggle for national freedom, human dignity and social redemption Pan-Africanism offers an ideological alternative to Communism on one side and Tribalism on the other. It rejects both white racialism and black chauvinism. It stands for racial co-existence on the basis of absolute equality and respect for human personality."

I ventured to advise Nkrumah. "I have your kind invitation of January 22, 1957. In behalf of myself and of my wife, Shirley Graham, I thank you for it and want to say how great was our desire to accept it. But since the United States government refused to issue us passports, we must

183-6-44

with deep regret inform you of our inability to accept. I have recently also, and for the same reason, been compelled to my sorrow to decline a trip to China for lectures and participation in the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. However, because of the fact that I am now entering the 90th year of my life and because of my acquaintanceship with you during the last 12 years, which cover the years of your imprisonment, vindication, and political triumph, I trust you will allow me a few words of advice for the future of Ghana and Africa.

"Today, when Ghana arises from the dead and faces this modern world, it must no longer be merely a part of the British Commonwealth or a representative of the world of West Europe, Canada, and the United States. Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa.

"The consequent Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels. It should avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalists who seek to get rich on African labor and raw material, and should try to build a socialism founded on olf African communal life; rejecting the exaggerated private initiative of the West, and seeking to ally itself with the social program of the Progressive nations; with British and Scandinavian Socialism, with the progress toward the Welfare State in India, Germany, France and the United States; and with the Communist States like the Soviet Union and China, in peaceful cooperation and without presuming to dictate as to how Socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places.

"Pan-African Socialism seeks the Welfare State in Africa. It will refuse to be exploited by people of other continents for their own benefit

49-9-382

and not for the benefit of the peoples of Africa. It will no longer consent to permitting the African majority of any African country to be governed against its will by a minority of invaders who claim racial superiority or the right to get rich at African expense. It will seek not only to raise but to process the Raw material and to trade it freely with all the world on just and equal terms and prices.

"Pan-Africa will seek to preserve its own past history, and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folks which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all, the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of all its youth on the broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry nor stoolpigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of vision and character.

"I pray you, my dear Mr. Nkrumah, to use all your power to put a Pan-Africa along these lines into working order at the earliest possible date. Seek to save the great cultural past of the Ashanti and Fanti peoples, not by inner division but by outer cultural and economic expansion toward the outmost bounds of the great African peoples, so that they may be free to live, grow, and expand; and to teach mankind what Non-Violence and Courtesy, Literature and Art, Music and Dancing can do for this greedy, selfish, and war-stricken world."

Meantime Big Business in America, surprised by the success of the Ghana revolution set itself to influence Nkrumah. Nkrumah was invited to the United States in 1958, and treated as never a Negro had been treated by the government. Hershey, a great manufacturer of chocolate sent a special

49-9-383

plane to take him to his factories; and the New York Cocoa Board of Trade dined him at the Waldorf-Astoria. I saw Mr. Nkrumah briefly. He was most cordial and I expected soon to be invited to the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Accra. No invitation came, but I received my passport and sailed for Europe. While I was in Tashkent an invitation arrived but not from Nkrumah nor for a Pan-African Congress. It was from a new "All-African" body for an African conference in December and it said nothing about my expenses. I sensed immediately that opposition had arisen in Africa over American Negro leadership of the African peoples. This had happened in 1920, when the West African Congress acknowledged no tie with the First Pan-African Congress in Paris which sparked it. American Negroes had too often assumed that their leadership in Africa was natural. With the rise of an educated group of Africans, this was increasingly unlikely. I realized how natural this was and knew that neither Nkrumah nor Padmore were calling a Sixth "Pan-African Congress" but that this "All-Africa Conference" was taking its place. However later Padmore sent me a cordial note emphasizing the invitation and offering to pay expenses.

By this time, however, my long travel was beginning to tell on me and I was in a Soviet Sanitarium at Barvieka near Moscow. I prepared to leave for Africa, but the council of physicians advised against the trip as too taxing. I had prepared three messages for Africa. One I delivered at Tashkent, one I sent by my wife Shirley, who attended the conference at Accra, and the last I broadcast later from Peking on my ninety-first birthday.

At Tashkent, before my invitation to Accra had come I warned Africa about borrowing capital from the West.

"Boycott the export of big capital from the exploiting world, led by America. Refuse to buy machines, skills and comforts with cocoa, coffee, palm oil and fruit sold at ridiculously low prices in exchange for imported

48-9-384

385

food, liquor, refrigerators and automobiles sold at exhorbitant prices. Live simply. Refuse to buy big capital from nations that cheat and overcharge. Buy of the Soviet Union and China as they grow able to sell at low prices. Save thus your own capital and drive the imperialists into bankruptcy or into Socialism."

Shirley, my wife, took my speech to Accra. She was shown rare courtesy and was the only non-African allowed to address the Assembly. She read my words:

49-9-385

"My only role in this meeting is one of advice from one who has lived long, who has studied Africa and has seen the modern world. I had hoped to deliver this word in person, but this was not possible. I have therefore asked my wife, Shirley Graham, to read it to you. It is simple and direct. In this great crisis of the world's history, when standing on the highest peaks of human accomplishment we look forward to Peace and backward to War; when we look up to Heaven and down to Hell, let us mince no words. We face triumph or tragedy without alternative. Africa, ancient Africa has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Which way shall Africa go? First, I would emphasize the fact that today Africa has no choice between private Capitalism and Socialism. The whole world, including Capitalist countries, is moving toward Socialism, inevitably inextricably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union, you cannot choose between Socialism and Private Capitalism, because Private ownership of capital is doomed.

"But what is Socialism? It is disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seised wealth and power. No! The mass of workers

food, liquor, refrigerators and automobiles sold at exhorbitant prices. Live simply. Refuse to buy big capital from nations that cheat and overcharge. Buy of the Soviet Union and China as they grow able to sell at low prices. Save thus your own capital and drive the imperialists into bankruptcy or into Socialism."

Shirley, my wife, took my speech to Accra. She was shown rare courtesy and was the only non-African allowed to address the Assembly. She read my words:

49-9-385

"My only role in this meeting is one of advice from one who has lived long, who has studied Africa and has seen the modern world. I had hoped to deliver this word in person, but this was not possible. I have therefore asked my wife, Shirley Graham, to read it to you. It is simple and direct. In this great crisis of the world's history, when standing on the highest peaks of human accomplishment we look forward to Peace and backward to War; when we look up to Heaven and down to Hell, let us mince no words. We face triumph or tragedy without alternative. Africa, ancient Africa has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Which way shall Africa go? First, I would emphasize the fact that today Africa has no choice between private Capitalism and Socialism. The whole world, including Capitalist countries, is moving toward Socialism, inevitably inextricably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union, you cannot choose between Socialism and Private Capitalism, because Private ownership of capital is doomed.

"But what is Socialism? It is disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers

with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort. Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part and even the United States adopted the New Deal which was largely socialistic, even though today further American socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and the Trade Union leaders.

"On the other hand, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its very beginnings. No tribesman was free. All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice. Read of the West Coast trade as described by Caseley-Hayford: There is small trace of private enterprise of individual initiative. It was the tribe which carried on trade through individuals, and the chief was mouthpiece of the common will.

"Here then, my Brothers, you face your great decision: Will you for temporary advantage - for automobiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns, spend your income in paying interest of borrowed funds, or will you sacrifice present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbors in order to educate your children, develop such industry as best serves the great mass of people and makes your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defense? Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the United States, will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism. You are

49-9-386

not helpless. You are the buyers of capital goods, and to continue existence as sellers of capital, the great nations, former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mass of western capitalistic pottage. You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized western private capitalists, but at last today you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West. The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the West, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which is the price which the West has demanded, and still demands. Today she offers a compromise, but one of which you must beware: She offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters, if in turn they induce the nation's masses to pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia. Strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply soil it into new slavery to old masters overseas.

"As I have said, this is a call for sacrifice. Great Goethe sang, "Entbehran sollst du, sollst entbehren" - "Thou shalt forego, Shalt do without." If Africa unites it will be because each part, each nation, each tribe gives up a part of its heritage for the good of the whole. That

49-9-387

is what union means; that is what Pan-Africa means: When the child is born into the tribe the price of his growing up is to give over a part of his freedom to the tribe. This he soon learns or dies. When the tribe becomes a union of tribes, the individual tribe surrenders some part of its freedom to the paramount tribe.

"When the nation arises, the constituent tribes, clans and groups must each yield power and much freedom to the demands of the nation or the nation dies before it is born. Your local tribal, much-loved languages must yield to the few world tongues which serve the largest numbers of people and promote understanding and world literature.

"This is the great dilemma which faces Africa today; faces one and all: Give up individual rights for the needs of the nation; give up tribal independence for the needs of Mother Africa. Forget nothing but set everything in its rightful place: the Glory of the six Ashanti Wars against Britain; the wisdom of the Fanti Confederation; the unity of Nigeria; the song of the Songhay and Hausa; the rebellion of the Mahdi and the hands of Ethiopia; the greatness of the Basuto and the fighting of Chaka; the revenge of Mutassa, and many other happenings and men; but above all - Africa, Mother of Men. Your nearest friends and neighbors are the colored people of China and India, the rest of Asia, the Middle East and the sea isles, once close bound to the heart of Africa and now long severed by the greed of Europe. Your bond is no more color of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt.

"So too, your bond with the white world is closest to those like the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who support and defend China and help the slaves of Tibet and India, and not those who exploit the Middle East, the West Indies, and South America.

49-6-64

"Awake, awake, put on they strength, O Zion; reject the meekness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but emphasise the virtues of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labor. Africa awake, put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African Socialism.

"You have nothing to lose but your Chains!

"You have a continent to regain!

"You have freedrom and human dignity to attain!!"

The address was greeted with applause. Later Shirley and Mrs. Robeson with the help of Tom M'Boya, the chairman, secured the removal of Chiang kai Chek's Formosa flag from the assembly hall.

49-9-389

When in Peking, my ninety-first birthday was given national celebration. I pled for unity of China and Africa and my speech was broadcast to the world:

"By courtesy of the government of the 600 million people of the Chinese Republic, I am permitted on my ninety-first birthday to speak to the people of China and Africa and through them to the world. Hail, then, and farewell, dwelling places of the yellow and black races. Hail human kind!

"I speak with no authority; no assumption of age nor rank; I hold no position, I have no wealth. One thing alone I own and that is my own soul. Ownership of that I have even while in my own country for near a a century I have been nothing but a "Nigger". On this basis and this alone I dare speak, I dare advise.

"China after long centuries has arisen to her feet and lempt forward. Africa arise, and stand straight, speak and think! Act! Turn from the West and your slavery and humiliation for the last 500 years and face the rising sun.

"Behold a people the most populous nation on this ancient earth which has burst its shackles, not by boasting and strutting, not by lying about its history and its conquests, but by patience and long suffering, by blind struggle, moved up and on toward the crimson sky. She aims to "make men holy; to make men free."

"But what men? Not simply the mandarins but including mandarins; not simply the rich, but not excluding the rich. Not simply the learned, but led by knowledge to the end that no man shall be poor, nor sick, nor ignormant; but that the humblest worker as well as the sons of emperors shall be fed and taught and healed and that there emerge on earth a single unified people, free, well and educated.

"You have been told, My Africa: My Africa in Africa and all your children's children overseas; you have been told and the telling so beaten into you by rods and whips, that you believe it yourselves, that this is impossible; that mankind can rise only by walking on men; by cheating them and killing them; that only on a doormat of the despised and dying, the dead and rotten, can a British aristocracy, a French cultural élite or an American millionaire be nurtured and grown.

"This is a lie. It is an ancient lie spread by church and state, spread by priest and historian, and believed in by fools and cowards, as well as by the downtrodden and the children of despair.

"Speak, China, and tell your truth to Africa and the world. What people have been despised as you have? Who more than you have been rejected of men? Recall when lordly Britishers threw the rickshaw money on the ground to avoid touching a filthy hand. Forget not, the time when in Shanghai no Chinese man dare set foot in a park which he paid for. Tell this to Africa, for today Africa stands on new feet, with new eyesight, with

49-9-390

new brains and asks: Where am I and why?

"The Western sirens answer: Britain wheedles; France cajoles; while America, my America, where my ancestors and descendants for eight generations have lived and toiled; America loudest of all, yells and promises freedom. If only Africa allows American investment.

"Beware Africa, America bargains for your soul. America would have you believe that they freed your grandchildren; that Afro-Americans are full American citizens, treated like equals, paid fair wages as workers, promoted for desert and free to learn and travel across the world.

"This is not true. Some are near freedom; some approach equality with whites; some have achieved education; but the price for this has too often been slavery of mind, distortion of truth and oppression of our own people.

"Of 18 million Afro-Americans, 12 million are still second-class citizens of the United States, serfs in farming, low-paid laborers in industry, and repressed members of union labor. Most American Negroes do not vote. Even the rising six million are liable to insult and discrimination at any time.

"But this, Africa, relates to your descendants, not to you. Once I thought of you Africans as children, whom we educated Afro-Americans would lead to liberty. I was wrong. We could not even lead ourselves, much less you. Today I see you rising under your own leadership, guided by your own brains.

"Africa does not ask alms from China nor from the Soviet Union nor from France, Britain, nor the United States. It asks friendship and sympathy and no nation better than China can offer this to the Dark Continent. Let it be freely given and generously. Let Chinese visit Africa, send their scientists there and their artists and writers. Let

419-9-391

Africa send its students to China and its seekers after knowledge. It will not find on earth a richer goal, a more promising mine of information.

"On the other hand, watch the West. The new British West Indian Federation is not a form of democratic progress but a cunning attempt to reduce these islands to the control of British and American investors. Haiti is dying under sich Haitian investors who with American money are enslaving the peasantry. Cuba is showing what the West Indies, Central and South America are suffering under American Big Business.

"The American worker himself does not always realize this. He has high wages and many comforts. Rather than lose these, he keeps in office by his vote the servants of industrial exploitation so long as they maintain his wage. His labor leaders represent exploitation and not the fight against the exploitation of labor by private capital. These two sets of exploiters fall out only when one demands too large a share of the loot.

"This China knows. This Africa must learn. This the American Negro has failed so far to learn. I am frightened by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment and high interest to bind you in serfdom to business as the Near East is bound and as South America is struggling with. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers. What shall you do?

"First, understand! Realize that the great mass of mankind is freeing itself from wage slavery, while private capital in Britain, France, and now in America, is still trying to maintain civilization and comfort for a few on the toil, disease and ignorance of the mass of men. Understand this, and understanding comes from direct knowledge. You know America and France, and Britain to your sorrow. Now know the Soviet

419-9-392

Union, but particularly know China.

"China is flesh of your flesh, and blood of your blood. China is colored and knows to what a colored skin in this modern world subjects its owner. But China knows more, much more than this: she knows what to do about it. She can take the insults of the United States and still hold her head high. She can make her own machines, when America refuses to sell her American manufactures, even though it hurts American industry, and throws her workers out of jobs. China does not need American nor British missionaries to teach her religion and scare her with tales of hell. China has been in hell too long, not to believe in a heaven of her own making. This she is doing.

"Come to China, Africa, and look around. Invite Africa to come, China, and see what you can teach by just pointing. Yonder old woman is working on the street. But she is happy, She has no fear. Her children are in school and a good school. If she is ill, there is a hospital where she is cared for free of charge. She has a vacation with pay each year. She can die and be buried without taxing her family to make some undertaker rich.

"Africa can answer: but some of this we have done; our tribes undertake public service like this. Very well, let your tribes continue and expand this work. What Africa must realize is what China knows; that it is worse than stupid to allow a people's education to be under the control of those who seek not the progress of the people but their use as means of making themselves rich and powerful. It is wrong for the University of London to control the University of Ghana. It is wrong for the Catholic church to direct the education of the black Congolese. It was wrong for Protestant churches supported by British and American wealth to control higher education in China.

49-9-393

"The Soviet Union is surpassing the world in popular and higher education, because from the beginning it started its own complete educational system. The essence of the revolution in the Soviet Union and China and in all the "iron curtain" nations, is not the violence that accompanied the change; no more than starvation at Valley Forge was the essence of the American revolution against Britain. The real revolution is the acceptance on the part of the nation of the fact that hereafter the main object of the nation is the welfare of the mass of the people and not of the lucky few.

"Government is for the people's progress and not for the comfort of an aristocracy. The object of industry is the welfare of the workers and not the wealth of the owners. The object of civilization is the cultural progress of the mass of workers and not merely of an intellectual elite. And in return for all this communist lands believe that the cultivation of the mass of people will discover more talent and genius to serve the state than any closed aristocracy ever furnished. This belief the current history of the Soviet Union and China is proving true each day. Therefore don't let the West invest when you can avoid it. Don't buy capital from Britain, France and the United States if you can get it on reasonable terms from the Soviet Union and China. This is not politics; it is common sense.

HG-9-394

It is learning from experience. It is trusting your friends and watching your enemies. Refuse to be cajoled or to change your way of life, so as to make a few of your fellows rich at the expense of a mass of workers growing poor and sick and remaining without schools so that a few black men can have automobiles.

"Africa, here is a real danger which you must avoid or return to the slavery from which you are emerging. All I ask from you is the courage to know; to look about you and see what is happening in this old and tired world; to realize the extent and depth of its rebirth and the promise which glows on your hills.

Visit the Soviet Union and visit China. Let your youth learn the Russian and Chinese languages. Stand together in this new world and let the old world perish in its greed or be born again in new hope and promise. Listen to the Hebrew prophet of communism:

"Ho! every one that thirsteth; come ye to the waters; come, buy and eat, without money and price!

"Again, China and Africa, hail and farewell!"

49-9-395

POSTLUDE

Returning to America after my great journey in 1959, I was welcomed home; not simply by my friends but by my government. In Sweden it was feared I might not as a member of the World Peace Council, be allowed to land in England. But Pritt and Belfrage took hold and I received every courtesy. I had tea on the terrace of the House of Lords, with a viscount, an earl, and two ladies; also on the terrace of the House of Commons, I had tea where I had last been entertained by Kier Hardie. I met several members of Parliament, and spent many Sunday afternoons with Donald Ogden Stewart and Ella Winter. There I met James Aldrich and Katherine Hepburn. I saw Paul Robeson and his splendid production of Othello. Lawrence Bradshaw, sculptor of the great head of Karl Marx, did my head.

49-9 - 396

The cabin on the Liberté as we returned was large and airy, and the voyage smooth and pleasant. But how would the United States receive us? We had openly spent ten weeks in China, and spoken widely and broadcast. There was some hasty last minute telephoning from the boat, I am sure, but all went well. Our passports were not seized, and the chief Inspector of Customs passed our bags quickly and welcomed us home. Our relatives and friends swarmed to greet us. I was unable to understand why Scott Nearing and Waldo Frank should be forbidden to do what as yet I have been unrebuked for doing openly and proudly. However, three months later when the Supreme Court agreed to consider the cases of Waldo Frank and William Worthy, the State Department demanded our passports. We asked delay until the Supreme Court made its verdict. This was granted.

I am a little puzzled now about the ordering of my life. Several times in the past I find that I have prepared for death and death has not come. Always on my desk lies a calendar of my own devising with daily and hourly tasks; with plans for the week and next week, the month and months ahead and the sentinel of my main task

for the year. This year-part is now getting uncertain. Even months are no longer absolutely mine, yet I am reasonably content and although my strength warns me not to try to work as many hours as once I did, yet I work and work regularly and with some efficiency, from day to day.

As I recall, I have long faced the inevitability of death and not tried to dodge the thought. In early manhood I wrote:

"I saw a mother, black and scarred and iron-haired, who had watched her boy through college, for men to jeer at and discourage and tempt until he sought women and whiskey and died. She crept on a winter's Sunday into a Cathedral of St. John The Divine and crouched there where a comfortable red and yellow angel sat sunning her ample limbs, 'To Keep the Memory of Obadiah James Green,' -- a stock-gambler. And there she rested while the organ warbled the overture to Der Feischütz, and the choir asserted 'My Jesus! As Thou wilt.' The priest intones: 'Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest! For my yoke is easy and my burden light'. And the window-angel moved a fat wing and murmured: "except Niggers!"

"In that dark day when all friends gathered round shall sigh; as he goes to that full dreadful home where earth shall move away and these dim eyes shall strain to scenes all glorious, shall they see on that morning round the wide, white throne a glorified Negro Problem? If so, Father of Mercies, send me to Hell."

At fifty, after a serious operation I wrote:

"Last year I looked death in the face and found its lineaments not unkind. But it was not my time. Yet in nature some time soon and in the fullness of days I shall die, quietly, I trust, with my face turned South and eastward; and, dreaming or dreamless I shall, I am sure, enjoy death as I have enjoyed life."

At sixty years of age I wrote again:

19-9-397

"For long years we of the world gone wild, have looked into the face of death and smiled. Through all our bitter tears we knew how beautiful it was to die for that which our souls called sufficient. Like all true beauty this thing of dying was so simple, so matter-of-fact. The boy clothed in his splendid youth stood before us and laughed in his own jolly way -- went and was gone. Suddenly the world was full of the fragrance of sacrifice. We left our digging and burden-bearing; we turned from our scraping and twisting of things and words; we paused from our hurrying hither and thither and walking up and down, and asked in half whispers 'Death -- is this life? And is its beauty real or false?'

"Here, then is beauty and ugliness, a wide vision of world-sacrifice, a fierce gleam of world-hate. Which is life and what is death and how shall we face so tantalizing a contradiction? Any explanation must necessarily be subtle and involved. No pert and easy word of encouragement, no merely dark despair, can lay hold of the roots of these things. And first and before all, we cannot forget that this world is beautiful. Grant all its ugliness and sin -- the petty, horrible snarl of its putrid threads, which few have seen more near or more often than I -- notwithstanding all this, the beauty of the world is not to be denied.

"And then -- the Veil, the Veil of color. It drops as drops the night on southern seas -- vast, sudden, unanswering. There is Hate behind it, and Cruelty and Tears. As one peers through its intricate, unfathomable pattern of ancient, old, old design, one sees blood and guilt and misunderstanding. And yet it hangs there, this Veil, between then and now, between Pale and Colored and Black and White -- between You and Me. Surely it is but a thought-thing, tenuous, intangible; yet just as surely is it true and terrible and not in our little day may you and I lift it. We may feverishly unravel its edges and even climb slow with giant shears to where its ringed and gilded top nestles close to the throne of Eternity. But as we

49-9-398

4

work and climb we shall see through streaming eyes and hear with aching ears, lynching and murder, cheating and despising, degrading and lying, so flashed and fleshed through this vast hanging darkness that the Doer never sees the Deed and the Victim knows not the Victor and Each hate All in wild and bitter ignorance. Listen, O Isles, to these Voices from within the Veil, for they portray the most human hurt of the Twentieth Cycle of that poor Jesus who was called the Christ!"

"At last to us all comes happiness, there in the Court of Peace, where the dead lie so still and calm and good. If we were not dead we would lie and listen to the flowers grow. We would hear the birds sing and see how the rain rises and blushes and burns and pales and dies in beauty. We would see spring, summer, and the red riot of autumn, and then in winter, beneath the soft white snow, sleep and dream of dreams. But we know that being dead, our Happiness is a fine and finished thing and that ten, a hundred, and a thousand years, we shall lie at rest, unhurt in the Court of Peace."

From then until now the wraith of Death has followed me, slept with me and awakened me and accompanied my day. Only now it is more commonplace and reasonable. It is the end and without ends there can be no beginnings. Its finality we must not falsify. It is our great debt to the Soviet Union that it alone of nations dared stop that lying to children which so long disgraced our schools. We filled little minds with fairy tales of religious dogma which we ourselves never believed. We filled their thoughts with pictures of barbarous revenge called God which contradicted all their inner sense of decency. We repeated folk tales of children without fathers, of death which was life, of sacrifice which was shrewd investment and ridiculous pictures of an endless future. The Soviets have stopped this. They allow a child to grow up without religious lies and with mature mind make his own decision about the world without scaring him into Hell or rewarding him with a

49-9-399

silly Heaven.

We know that Death is the End of Life. Even when we profess to deny this we know that this hope is mere wishful thinking, pretense broidered with abject and cowardly fear. Our endless egotism cannot conceive a world without Us and yet we know that this will happen and the world be happier for it.

I have lived a good and full life. I have finished my course. I do not want to live this life again. I have tasted its delights and pleasures; I have known its pain, suffering and despair. I am tired, I am through. For the souls who follow me; for that little boy born Christmas day before last, my great grandson and his compeers, I bequeath all that waits to be done, and Holy Time what a task, forever!

I have seen miracles in my life. As a boy we did not have the possibility of miracles emphasized in our schools. In the weekly Sunday School, we studied the bible with its tales of the impossible b t I remember distinctly that I questioned the validity of some of them, like that story of Jonah. In other words I was brought up in the shadow of modern science where all that happens had a cause and there were many things unlikely to happen. For instance, then flying by man was not to be thought of and we talked of flying as impossible and joked at man's attempts. Yet I read of the first successful flights; and myself in 1921 flew from Paris to London. I have flown tens of thousands of miles since, over land and sea. I visited the Paris world's fair in 1900, and was astonished to see automobiles on the streets; not many but perhaps a dozen in a day. I lived to see the jokes about the possibility of these motors displacing the horse fade away and automobiles fill the streets and cover the nations.

I remember when first in an American city, seeing the streets lighted by electricity; the lights blinked and sputtered but in a few years electric bulbs supplanted the gas lights of my boyhood. Then came the gas-filled balloons rising

49-9-400

in the sky and men crossed the Atlantic in Zeppelins. Soon came the horror of Hiroshima and I began to feel the vast possibilities of man's brain and his coming conquest of the air. But the most startling miracle of my time before the year 1958, was Sputnik. This went beyond the internal combustion engine; the airplane and balloon; beyond the electric light and the bursting atom. This was beyond mere utility into the realm of Knowledge and the triumph of Reason. It taught the United States the superiority of Communist thought and calculation. It stopped our sneers at Soviet education.

Then this year came the climax; the triumph of thought over power and space that was the greatest miracle of which I ever dreamed. Not yet have I been able to comprehend its meaning, or to realize that it is today actually possible to send a human being to the stars. A Frenchman once said: "I know but two beautiful things on earth: the stars above us and the feeling of duty within us." Now that we have pierced the heavens, we are more sure of making Mankind willing and eager to do right.

I have lived to an age of life which is increasingly distasteful to this nation. Unless by sixty a man has gained possession of enough of money to support himself, he faces the distinct possibility of starvation. He is liable to lose his job and to refusal if he seeks another. At seventy he is frowned upon by the Church and if he is foolish enough to survive until ninety, he is often regarded as a freak. This is because in the face of human experience the United States has discovered that Youth knows more than Age. When a man of 35 becomes president of a great institution of learning or United States Senator or head of a multi-million dollar corporation, a cry of triumph rings in the land. Why? To pretend that fifteen years bring of themselves more wisdom and understanding than fifty is a contradiction in terms. Given a born fool, a hundred years will not make him wise; but given an idiot, he will not be wise at twenty. Youth is more courageous than age because it knows less. Age is wiser than youth because it knows more. This all mankind has

49-9-401

affirmed from Egypt and China five thousand years ago, to Britain and Germany today. Only the United States knows better. I would have been hailed with approval if I had died at fifty. At seventy-six my death was practically requested. If living does not give value, wisdom, and meaning to life, then there is no sense in living at all. If immature and inexperienced men rule the earth, then the earth deserves what it gets: the repetition of age-old mistakes, and wild welcome for what men knew a thousand years ago was disaster.

I do not apologize for living long. High on the ramparts of this blistering hell of life, as it must appear to most men, I sit and see the Truth. I look it full in the face, and I will not lie about it, neither to myself nor to the world. I see my country as what Cedric Belfrage aptly characterizes as a "Frightened Giant" afraid of the Truth, afraid of Peace. I see a land which is degenerating and faces decadence unless it has sense enough to turn about and start back. It is no sin to fail. It is the habit of men. It is disaster to go on when you know you are going wrong. I judge this land not merely by statistics or reading lies agreed upon by historians. I judge by what I have seen, heard, and lived through for near a century.

There was a day when the world rightly called Americans honest even if crude; earning their living by hard work; telling the truth no matter whom it hurt; and going to war only in what they believed a just cause after nothing else seemed possible. Today we are lying, stealing, and killing. We call all this by finer names: Advertising, Free Enterprise, and National Defense. But names in the end deceive no one; today we use science to help us deceive our fellows; we take wealth that we never earned and we are devoting all our energies to kill, maim and drive insane, men, women, and children who dare refuse to do what we want done. No nation threatens us. We threaten the world. Our President says that Foster Dulles was the wisest man he knew. If Dulles was wise, God help our fools -- the fools who rule

49-9-402

us and are today running wild in order to shoot a football into the sky where Sputnik rolls in peace around the earth. And they know why we fail -- these military masters of men -- we haven't taught our children mathematics and physics. No, it is because we have not taught our children to read and write or to behave like human beings and not like hoodlums. Every child on my street is whooping it up with toy guns and big boys with real pistols. When Elvis Presley goes through the motions of copulation on the public stage it takes the city police force to hold back teen-age children from hysteria. The highest ambition of an American boy today is to be a millionaire. The highest ambition of an American girl is to be a movie star. Of the ethical actions which lie back of these ideals, little is said or learned. What are we doing about it? Half the Christian churches of New York are trying to ruin the free public schools in order to install religious dogma in them; and the other half are too interested in Venezuelan oil to prevent the best center in Brooklyn from fighting youthful delinquency, or preventing a bishop from kicking William Howard Melish into the street and closing his church. Which of the hundreds of churches sitting half empty protests about this? They hire Billy Graham to replace the circus in Madison Square Garden.

49-9-403.

Howard Melish is one of the few Christian clergymen, for whom I have the highest respect. Honest and conscientious, believing sincerely in much of the Christian dogma, which I reject, but working honestly and without hypocrisy, for the guidance of the young, for the uplift of the poor and ignorant, and for the betterment of his city and his country, he has been driven from his work and his career ruined by a vindictive Bishop of his church, with no effective protest from most of the Christian ministry, and membership or of the people of the United States. The Melish case is perhaps at once the most typical and frightening illustration of present American religion and my reaction. Here is a young man of ideal character, of

impeccable morals; a hard worker, especially among the poor and unfortunate, with fine family relations. His father had helped build one of the most popular Episcopal churches in the better part of Brooklyn. He himself had married a well-educated woman, and had three sons in school. The community about it was changing from well-to-do people of English and Dutch descent, to white collar and laboring folk of Italian, Negro and Puerto-Rican extraction. Trinity church, under the Mellishes, adapted itself to changing needs, and invited neighborhood membership. It was not a large church, but it was doing the best work among the young and foreign-born of any institution in Brooklyn.

49-9-404

The young rector took one step for which the bishop, most of his fellow clergymen and the well-to-do community, with its business interests pilloried him. He joined and became an official of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. He was accused immediately of favoring Communism, and to appease criticism he gave up his official position in this organization, but refused to resign his membership. Allegedly for this reason the bishop, most of the clergy and the well-to-do community proceeded to force him out of the church. The real reason behind their fight was anger because a rich, white, "respectable" church was being surrendered to Workers and Negroes. It became a renewed battle between Episcopal authority and democratic rule. That his parish wanted to retain Mellish as rector was unquestionable. Through the use of technicalities in the canon law and in accord with the decision of Catholic judges who believed in Episcopal power, Howard Melish lost his church, had his life work ruined, the church itself closed, and its local influence ended. There was vigorous protest against this by a few devoted colleagues, many of them Jews and liberals. But the great mass of the Episcopal church membership was silent and did nothing.

All this must not be mentioned even if you know it and see it. America must never be criticized even by honest and sincere men. America must always be praised and extravagantly praised, or you lose your job or are ostracized or land in jail.

Criticism is Treason, and treason or the hint of treason testified to by hired liars may be punished by shameful death. I saw Ethel Rosenberg lying beautiful in her coffin beside her mate. I tried to stammer futile words above her grave. But not over graves should we shout this failure of justice, but from the housetops of the world.

Honest men may and must criticize America. Describe how she has ruined her democracy, sold out her jury system, and led her seats of justice astray. The only question that may arise is whether this criticism is based on truth, not whether it has been openly expressed.

What is truth? What can it be when the President of the United States, guiding the nation, stands up in public and says: "The world also thinks of us as a land which has never enslaved anyone." Everyone who heard this knew it was not true. Yet here stands the successor of George Washington who bought, owned, and sold slaves; the successor of Abraham Lincoln who freed four million slaves after they had helped him win victory over the slave-holding South. And so far as I have seen, not a single periodical, not even a Negro weekly, has dared challenge or even criticize that falsehood.

Perhaps the most extraordinary characteristic of current America is the attempt to reduce life to Buying and Selling. Life is not Love unless Love is sex and bought and sold. Life is not Knowledge save knowledge of technique, of science for destruction. Life is not Beauty except beauty for sale. Life is not Art unless it's price is high and it is sold for profit. All Life is production for profit and for what is Profit, but for buying and selling again?

Even today the contradictions of American civilization are tremendous. Freedom of political discussion is difficult; elections are not free and fair. Democracy is for us to a large extent unworkable. In business there is a tremendous amount of cheating and stealing; gambling in card games on television and on the stock exchange

149-9-105

is widely practised. It is common custom for distinguished persons to sign books, articles, and speeches that they did not write; and for men of brains to compose and sell opinions which they do not believe. Ghost writing is a profession. The greatest power in the land is not thought or ethics, but wealth, and the persons who exercise the power of wealth are not necessarily its owners, but those who direct its use, and the truth about this direction is so far as possible kept a secret. We do not know who owns our vast property and resources, so that most of our argument concerning wealth and its use, must be based on guess work. Those responsible for the misuse of wealth escape responsibility, and even the owners of capital often do not know for what it is being used and how. The criterion of industry and trade, is the profit that it accrues, not the good which it does either its owners or the public. Present profit is valued higher than future need. We waste materials. We refuse to make repairs. We cheat and deceive in manufacturing goods. We have succumbed to an increased use of lying and misrepresentation. In the last ten years at least a thousand books have been published to prove that the fight to preserve Negro slavery in America was a great and noble cause, led by worthy men of eminence.

I know the United States. It is my country and the land of my fathers. It is still a land of magnificent possibilities. It is still the home of noble souls and generous people. But it is selling its birthright. It is betraying its mighty destiny. I was born on its soil and educated in its schools. I have served my country to the best of my ability. I have never knowingly broken its laws or unjustly attacked its reputation. At the same time I have pointed out its injustices and crimes and blamed it, rightly as I believe, for its mistakes. It has given me education and some of its honors, for which I am thankful.

Today the United States is the leading nation in the world, which apparently believes that War is the only way to settle present disputes and difficulties. For this reason it is spending fantastic sums of money, and wasting wealth and energy

49-9-406

on the preparation for war, which is nothing less than criminal. Yet the United States dare not stop spending money for war. If she did her whole economy, which is today based on preparation for war, might collapse. Therefore, we prepare for a Third World War; we spread our soldiers and arms over the earth and we bribe every nation we can to become our allies. We are taxing our citizens into poverty, crime and unemployment, and systematically distorting the truth about socialism. We have used the horror of germ warfare. Some of our leaders are ready to use it again.

The use of history for distortion and not for education has led to another of our greatest present evils; and that is to make fear of Socialism and Communism so great that we have withdrawn our efforts toward the education of children, the war on disease, and the raising of the standards of living. We encourage the increase of debt to finance present enjoyment; and above all we use news gathering and opinion, radio and television, magazines and books, to make most Americans believe that the threat of war, especially on the part of the Soviet Union against the United States justifies heavy taxation and tremendous expenditure for war preparation.

This propaganda began when our tremendous profits from the first world war encouraged American business to believe that the United States was about to replace Great Britain as ruler of most of mankind. The rise and spread of Socialism contradicted this ambition, and made the projected American century quail in fright before the century of Communism. We determined therefore to overthrow Communism by brute force. Gradually we discovered the impossibility of this, unless we risked suicide. We saw Communism increasing education, science and productivity. We now face the possibility of co-existence with the Communist world, and competition between the methods of Capitalism and the methods of Socialism. It is at this crisis that I have the opportunity to live seven months in a world of Socialism, which is striving towards Communism as an ideal.

This is what I call decadence. It could not have happened fifty years ago.

49-9-407

In the day of our fiercest controversy we have not dared thus publicly to silence opinion. I have lived through disagreement, vilification, and war and war again. But in all that time, I have never seen the right of human beings to think so challenged and denied today.

The day after I was born, Andrew Johnson was impeached. He deserved punishment as a traitor to the poor Southern whites and poorer freedmen. Yet during his life, no one denied him the right to defend himself. A quarter of a century ago, I tried to state and carry into realisation unpopular ideas against a powerful opposition -- in the white South, in the reactionary North, and even among my own people. I found my thought being misconstrued and I planned an organ of propaganda -- The Crisis -- where I would be free to say what I believed. This was no easy sailing. My magazine reached but a fraction of the nation. It was bitterly attacked and once the government suppressed it. But in the end I maintained a platform of radical thinking on the Negro question which influenced many minds. War and depression ended my independence of thought and forced me to return to teaching, but with the certainty that I had at least started a new line of belief and action. Then they stopped my teaching.

As a result of my work and that of others, the Supreme Court began to restore democracy in the South and finally outlawed discrimination in public services based on color. This caused rebellion in the South which the nation is afraid to meet. The Negro stands bewildered and attempt is made by appointments to unimportant offices and trips abroad to bribe him into silence. His art and literature cease to function. Only the children like those at Little Rock stand and fight.

The Yale sophomore who replaced a periodical of brains by a book of pictures concealed in advertisements, proposed that America rule the world. This failed because we could not rule ourselves. But Texas to the rescue, as Johnson proposes that America take over outer space. Somewhere beyond the Moon there must be sentient creatures rolling in inextinguishable laughter at the antics of our Earth.

49-9-408

409

We tax ourselves into poverty and crime so as to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and more evil. We know the cause of this: it is to permit our rich business interests to stop socialism and to prevent the ideals of Communism from ever triumphing on earth. The aim is impossible. Socialism progresses and will progress. All we can do is to silence and jail its promoters and make world war on Cpmmunism. I believe in socialism. I seek a world where the ideals of Communism will triumph -- to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. And I still live.

49-9-409

I just live. I plan my work, but plan less for shorter periods. I live from year to year and day to day. I expect snatches of pain and discomfort to come and go. And then reaching back to my archives, I whisper to the great Majority: To the Almighty Dead, into whose pale approaching faces, I stand and stare; you whose thoughts, deeds and dreams have made men wise with all wisdom and stupid with utter evil. In every name of God, bend out and down, you who are the infinite majority of all mankind and with your thoughts, deeds, dreams and memories, overwhelm, outvote, and coerce this remnant of human life which lingers on, imagining themselves wisest of all who have lived just because they still survive. Whither with wide revelation will they go with their stinking pride and empty boasting, whose ever recurring lies only you the Dead have known all too well. Teach living man to jeer at this last civilization which seeks to build heaven on Want and Ill of most men and vainly builds on color and hair rather than on decency of hand and heart. Let your memories teach these wilful fools all which you have forgotten and ruined and done to death.

You are not and yet you are: your thoughts, your deeds, above all your dreams still live. So too, your deeds and what you forgot -- these lived as your bodies died. With these we also live and die, realize and kill. Our dreams seek Heaven, our deeds plumb Hell. Hell lies about us in our Age: blithely we push into its

stench and flame. Suffer us not, Eternal Dead to stew in this Evil -- the Evil of South Africa, the Evil of Mississippi; the Evil of Evils which is what we hope to hold in Asia and Africa, in the southern Americas and islands of the Seven Seas. Reveal, Ancient of Days, the Present in the Past and prophesy the End in the Beginning. For this is a beautiful world; this is a wonderful America, which the founding fathers dreamed until their sons drowned it in the blood of slavery and devoured it in greed. Our children must rebuild it. Let then the Dreams of the Dead rebuke the Blind who think that what is will be forever and teach them that what was worth living for must live again and that which merited death must stay dead. Teach us, Forever Dead there is no ~~Hope~~ Dream but Deed, there is no ~~Dream~~ Dead but Memory.

49-9-410

A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY (THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W. E. B. DU BOIS)

FRAGMENTS AND NOTES

eye brows. I was to have a scholarship to go South to Fisk University. The South had an unholy name in my village and the family was not at all sure that I ought to go. But, of course, I never hesitated but started out and went into Tennessee at the age of seventeen to be a sophomore at Fisk University. It was to me an extraordinary experience. I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own color or rather of such various and such extraordinary colors, which I had not seen before, but who seemed bound to me by new and exciting ties. I had never seen such beautiful girls in my life or men who gave themselves such airs." The three years here were years of growth and strength and expanding ambition. I learned new things about the world. I came in contact for the first time with a sort of violence that I had never realized in New England. I remember going down and looking wide eyed at the door of a public building filled with buck shot where the editor of the leading daily paper had been publicly murdered the day before. I was astonished to find many of my fellow students carrying fire arms and to hear their stories of adventure. I suddenly determined that I was going out to teach during the summer vacations. It was not necessary. My scholarship would have supported me but it was adventure. I walked out into east Tennessee ten or more miles a day until at last in a little valley I found a place where they had had a Negro public school only once since the Civil War and there for two successive terms during the summer I taught at $28 and $30 a month; paid immediately in promises ~~to pay and actually paid~~ three or four months later." I began my writing and public speaking at Fisk. I wrote an article which the Century magazine said "We shall be glad to print 'The New Negro' if we may take our time and we are afraid we shall have to take a great deal." It hasn't been printed yet, ~~so far as I know.~~ For three years I was on the editorial staff of the Fisk Herald; as editor-in-chief the last year; contributing essays and one novel. I became a considerable orator and for a long time the older students of Fisk took deep joy in remembering the debate where in the very midst of impassioned periods I forgot my lines. The persistence, however, which I had learned in New England stood me

31-2-30

now in good stead. The interlude at Fisk did not turn me from it. When I heard that Harvard was offering scholarships in various parts of the country I immediately wrote and to the astonishment of teachers and fellow students, not to mention myself, received Price Greenleaf aid of $300. I graduated from Fisk in 1888 and took as my subject Bismarck. It showed my already growing interest in the wider world. I knew of the great jubilee of Queen Victoria, of the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and the triumph of the Madhi in Khartoum. I had followed the fortunes of Gladstone and Salisburg and was filled with enthusiasm at the rise of the new German empire under Bismarck. So I talked of Bismarck and then turned back to the North. I was thinking to during these days of political developments and have a speech which I delivered in 18 7 which has a certain present validity,

Third Decade - Education from 1888-1898 - 20-30 years of age:

This decade covering the years of my education at Harvard and at Berlin and the beginning of my teaching career. The members of the Fisk Glee Club went to Lake Minnetonka, a resort in Minnesota, for the summer with the idea of working in the dining room and giving concerts. I was to act as their business manager. During college I had developed rather as the executive and planner, the natural secretary of affairs rather than the president and chairman. The only difficulty about the Minnesota excursion was that I had never worked in a hotel in my life; could not wait on table and therefore became one of the bus boys. It was so unusual a pageant to watch the dining room that I made no tips and for a long time had difficulty in getting enough to eat, not realizing that servants in great hotels are not systematically fed. But after the season I went on ahead and succeeded in making a respectable number of concerts for the students who followed me down all the way to Chicago while I went on to Harvard to enter the junior class in the fall of 1888. The Harvard of 1888 was an extraordinary aggregation of great men, not often if ever since that day have so many distinguished teachers been together in one place and at one time. There was William James the psychologist; Palmer in ethics; Royce and Santanya in philosophy; Schaler in Geology and Hart in history. The president was the cold, precise but exceedingly

31-2-31

efficient Charles William Eliot and there were a dozen lesser lights. ~~Not only was this true but~~ By extraordinary good fortune I was thrown into contact with most of these men. I was repeatedly a guest in the house of William James; I was a member of the philosophical club; I talked often with Royce and Schaler; I sat alone in an upper room and read Kant's Critique with a Santyana; I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany. It was an extraordinary opportunity for a young man and I think I realized it. I ~~found careful~~ evaluated habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the day time and had my day planned out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with persistent thoroughness and with a rather interesting pre-vision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890 for Barret Wendell, the great pundit of Harvard English. I said: "Spurred by my circumstances I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in the high school to go to college - partly because other men went, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life. ~~I first went to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. My Southern experience has in many ways proved invaluable. I next came to Harvard and am here yet.~~ I believe foolishly perhaps but sincerely that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell rather liked that last sentence, ~~I read it to the class.~~

I visited, joined clubs, lectured some,

I tried to take culture out into the colored community of Boston and actually gave the Birds of Aristophanes in a colored church on Thanksgiving night, ~~acting the part of Plausible myself.~~ The matter of meeting my college expenses presented some difficulties. I had scholarships for $300 for both years but that was not enough. One year after careful calculation I found that I needed $50 more and noted with interest that exactly was the stipend

31-2-3

In my senior year the Healthy very Good Mother returned = my grandfather left me a fortune of $400.

of the Boylston Prize in oratory. I had to have one of the prizes in order to make ends meet for the year and got it. Then with a classmate, Clement Morgan, who was also a Boylston prize-man I made a tour of the summer resorts of New England. We gave readings in hotels, parlors and churches and did in this way much toward making our expenses. In 1890, I took my bachelor's degree from Harvard and was one of the six commencement speakers taking as my subject Jefferson Davis. On the platform of Sanders Theatre was President Elliott, the govenor of Massachusetts and the Bishop of New York. I am glad that the New York Nation said July 3, 1890 that I handled the them "with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness." I was graduated just at the beginning of the term of President Harrison when the trusts were dominating industry and the McKinley tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the industrial North and the new South was being perfected and in 1890 a series of disfranchising laws were passed by the southern states destined in the next six years to make voting by southern Negroes practically impossible. Already I had received more education than most young white men having been continuously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel prepared. I knew that to cope with the new and extraordinary situation then building in the United States I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun in my training and in my knowledge of social conditions. On the other hand, I was absolutely penniless with no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school. If I had not gotten it I should have had to go to work but I was appointed Henry Bromfield Roger's fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed so that from 1890-1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University studying in history and what would have been social science if Harvard had then recognized such a field. I worked on my thesis "The Suppression of the Slave Trade" taking my master's degree in 1891 and hoping to get my doctor's degree in another two years. Then came one of those tricks of fortune which seemed partly due to chance but in this case undoubtedly due to a good deal of stubborn persistence. In 1882 the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and

31-2-33

the board was now headed by ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes at. President ~~Hopkins went down to~~ John Hopkins University and talked frankly in 1890 about the plans of the fund. He said among other things that they had wanted to find some young colored men to whom they could give a chance for graduate training but they ~~said that they~~ had only been able to find orators." The statement was brought to my attention at a card party one evening and it not only made me good and ~~angry~~ mad but also ~~inspired me~~ set me thinking to write President Hayes. I received a pleasant reply saying that they did not have any present plans for such scholarships. That really aroused me. I proceeded to get letters from every person I knew in the Harvard Yard and places outside and literally deluged the unfortunate chairman of the Slater Fund. He wrote again ~~in an apologetic mood~~ and said that he was sorry but the plan had been given up; that ~~he recognized that here was a candidate that~~ they might otherwise have given some attention to me." It has been my experience that most of my small successes have been due to steps that I have taken after all hope was lost. I sat down and proceeded to write Mr. Hayes a letter that could be described as nothing less than impudent. President Hayes was undoubtedly aroused and almost apologized to me, and reiterating his good faith and promised to take up the matter the next year with the board. Whereupon, promptly the next year I proceeded to write the board: "At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of master of arts, and was re-appointed to my fellowship for the year 1891-2. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the suppression of the slave trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington during the Christmas holidays. The paper will shortly be published in their proceedings and a preliminary report of it may be seen in the Independent of January 7, 1892, pp. 10, 11; also in Congregationalist of about the same date. The first draft of the larger thesis was completed 28 March and it will be formally finished May 1, and, I hope, eventually published, besides this I have worked on a number of general studies. To properly finish my education, a careful training in an European university for at least a year is in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable. I therefore desire, re-

9 minutes [illegible] Chas Armsby was sorry

31-2-34

21-2-35

spectfully to lay these sug estions before you: First, that the bo rd grant me aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices. Second, if this be not practicable, that the board loan a sufficient sum for this purpose." I did not believe that I was goin to get an appointment but I did think that pos ibly through the influence of the people who thus knew about my work I might b rrow ~~or beg~~ enough to et to Europe. ~~but~~ To my surpise I was given a fel owship of $750 to study abroad with the promise that it might be renewed for a second year. I remember going down to New York and talking with President Hayes in the Astor House and then ~~going~~ ~~out~~ walking on air ~~and seeing~~ an especially delectable shirt in ~~the~~ shop window. I went in and bought it. It cost three dollars which was about four times as much as I ever paid for a shirt in my life. I sailed in the summer of 1892 on a Dutch boat landing in Holland I wrote gayly "Holland is an extremely neat and well ordered mud puddle situated in the confluence of the English, French and German languages." My first memory of it is inextricably interw ven with the smell of clover. It was after two weeks' sea voyage, pleasant to be sure, fascinating as a changing changeless sea every is, but two weeks. I lingered in Rotterdam and Amsterdam and made the never to be forgotten journey up the Rhine and then stopped for the summer at Eisnach.

I wrote back there a few months later to Dr. and Mrs. Marbauck "I was delighted to hear from you again and for a moment a great wave of memory swept over me and I re-lived the dear old days at your home, with Frank and the Keims, and "die Dora" and Fraulein Bertha "Ungerogen". Where are they all now - I should like to hear from them."

Then in the fall I went up to Berlin, stet ~~I wrote in my diary~~

31-2-36

"The fact is that after some years spent in American universities, I, God, and other folk have rendered it possible for me to study here. Whereof I am glad. Now it has chanced that to me Europe has ever been surrounded with a certain veil of mystery and fancy; a trimming of history and fiary tales, of culture and crowns, had always made it a bit difficult for me to realize the existence of a hard dry sod underneath it all. I take it that we Americans are very fortunate in having a great sea between us and this other world."

~~Then I went to~~ Register, in the University, ~~and~~ the story which I set down ~~of it~~ at the time is perhaps worth repeating.

I wrote back there a few months later to Dr. and Mrs. Marbauck "I was delighted to hear from you again and for a moment a great wave of memory swept over me and I re-lived the dear old days at your home, with Frank and the Keims, and "die Dora" and Fraulein Bertha "Ungerogen". Where are they all now - I should like to hear from them."

Then in the fall I went up to Berlin, ~~I wrote in my diary~~ stat

31-2-36

"The fact is that after some years spent in American universities, I, God, and other folk have rendered it possible for me to study here. Whereof I am glad. Now it has chanced that to me Europe has ever been surrounded with a certain veil of mystery and fancy; a trimming of history and fiary tales, of culture and crowns, had always made it a bit difficult for me to realize the existence of a hard dry sod underneath it all. I take it that we Americans are very fortunate in having a great sea between us and this other world."

~~Then I went to~~ Registered in the University, ~~and~~ the story which I set down ~~of it~~ at the time is perhaps worth repeating.

In groups of one hundred we went into a room. "It was a large room, with high ceiling, and a row of four windows on one side in the deep recesses of which stood busts of Berlin's famous professors. The centre of the room was occupied by chairs, in which the students seated themselves; at the upper end was a long table about which perhaps a dozen officials were grouped. Near the left end was the present year's rector magnificus, the widely famous Rudolf Virchow, doctor of medicine, laws and philosophy, city councillor and member of the Reichstag. He is a meek and calm looking little man, white haried and white-bearded, with a kindly face and pleasant voice. At smaller tables ranged before the windows, were the deans of the various faculties. The method of procedure was thoroughly, and, I think I may say, painfully, German. First the chief secretary at the side of the magnificent rector was invested with the pile of gymnasium diplomas and passports we had surrendered in the ante-room. Then he slowly read out the names, and as a student heard his name he disentagled himself and approached the table. Recognizing with some difficulty my Germanicized name I presented myself with some trepidation at the bar. The stiff secretary (it's quite the thing to be stiff in new Germany) with my help more clearly deciphered my name, ascertained under which faculty I wished to study, firmly declined to examine any of my sheepskins, and passed me over to the rector; rector Virchow smiled benignantly, make some remark as to my faculty, and after filling out the blanks with some remarkably poor writing, presented me with a large 24 by 18 inch she t of paper: this stated that a certain

31-2-29

31-2-37

stove that used to fall down and the window I proudly called a bay-window. I remember little sorrows of life when I found no companions to play with and buried myself in making great plans for a toy I could play with alone. I remember the gate where I looked into the great town - wonderful world to me then."

5

handicapped because they represented so small a part of the total sum of occurrences; were so far removed in time and space as to lose the hot reality of real life; and because the continuous, kaleidoscopic change of conditions made their story old already before it was analyzed and told.

If, of course, they had had time to grow in breadth and accuracy, this difficulty would have been met, or at least approached. Now in contrast I suddenly saw life, full and face to face; I began to know the problem of Negroes in the United States as a present startling reality; and moreover (and this was most upsetting) I faced situations that called -- shrieked -- for action, even before any detailed, scientific study could possibly be prepared. It was as though, as a bridge-builder, I was compelled to throw a bridge across a stream without waiting for the careful mathematical testing of materials. Such testing was indispensable, but it had to be done so often in the midst of ~~building~~ building or even after construction, and not in the calm and leisure long before. I saw before me a problem that could not and would not await the last word of science, but demanded immediate action to prevent social death. I was continually the surgeon probing blindly, yet with what knowledge and skill I could muster, for unknown ill, bound to be fatal if I hesitated, but possibly effective, if I persisted.

I realized that evidently the social scientist could not sit apart and study <u>in vacuo</u>; neither on the other hand, could he work fast and furiously ~~sic~~ simply by intuition and emotion, without seeking in the midst of action, the ordered knowledge which research and tireless observation might give him. I tried therefore in my new work, not to pause when remedy was needed; on the other hand, I sought to make each incident and item in my program of social uplift, part of a wider and vaster structure of real scientific knowledge of the

race problem in America.

Facts, in social science, I realized, were elusive things: emotions, loves, hates, were facts; and they were facts in the souls and minds of the scientific student, as well as in the persons studied. Their measurement, then, was doubly difficult and intricate. If I could see and feel this in East St. Louis, where I investigated a bloody race riot, I knew all the more definitely, that in the cold, bare facts of history, so much was omitted from the complete picture that it could only be recovered as complete scientific knowledge if we could read back into the past enough to piece out the reality. I knew also that even in the ugly picture which I actually saw, there was so much of decisive truth missing that any story I told would be woefully incomplete.

31-4-12

Then, too, for what Law was I searching? In accord with what unchangeable scientific law of action was the world of interracial discord about me working? I fell back upon my Royce and James and deserted Schmoller and Weber. I saw the action of physical law in the actions of men; but I saw more than that: I saw rhythms and tendencies; coincidences and probabilities; and I saw that, which for want of any other word, I must in accord with the strict tenets of Science, call Chance. I went forward to build a sociology, which I conceived of as the attempt to measure the element of Chance in human conduct. This was all the Jamesian pragmatism, applied not simply to ethics, but to all human action, beyond what seemed to me, increasingly, the distinct limits of physical law.

My work assumed from now on a certain tingling challenge of risk; what the "Captain of Industry" of that day was experiencing in "kick," from money changing, railway consolidation and corporation floating, I was, in what appeared to me on a larger scale, essaying in the relations of men of daily life.

31-4-13

My field of effort began to broaden in concept. In 1911, I attended a Races Congress in London. Had not the First World War so swept the mind of man clear of its pre-war thought, this meeting would have marked an epoch and might easily have made this Second World War unnecessary, and a Third, impossible. It was a great meeting of the diverse peoples of the earth; scarce any considerable group was omitted; and amid a bewildering diversity, a distinct pattern of human unity stood out.

I returned to America with a broad tolerance of race and a determination to work for the Internation, which I saw forming; it was, I conceived, not the ideal of the American Negroes to become simply American; but the ideal of America to build an interracial culture, broader and more catholic than ours. Before I had implemented this program in more than fugitive writing, World War fell on civilization and obliterated all dreams.

The Second Re-adaptation of My Program

I was forthwith engulfed in a mad fight to make Negroes Americans; a program I was already about to discard for something wider. The struggle was bitter: I was fighting to let the Negroes fight; I, who for a generation had been a professional pacifist; I was fighting for a separate training camp for Negro officers; I, who was devoting a career to opposing race segregation; I was seeing the Germany which taught me the human brotherhood of white and black, pitted against America which was for me the essence of Jim Crow; and yet I was "rooting" for America; and I had to, even before my own conscience, so utterly crazy had the whole world become and I with it.

especially the Negroes of three continents, against the future aggressions of the whites. For now there was no doubt in my mind: Western European civilization had nearly caused the death of modern culture in jealous effort to control the wealth and work of colored people.

The Pan-African congresses which I called in 1919, 1921, and 1923, were chiefly memorable for the excitement and opposition which they caused among the colonial imperialists. Scarcely a prominent newspaper in Europe but used them as a text of warning, and persisted in coupling them with the demagogic "Garvey Movement," then in its prime, as a warning for colonial governments to clamp down on colonial unrest. My only important action in this time, was a first trip to Africa, almost by accident, and a vaster conception of the role of black men in the future of civilization.

But here I was going too fast for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The board was not interested in Africa. Following post-war reaction it shrank back to its narrowest program: to make Negroes American citizens, forgetting that if the white European world persisted in upholding and strengthening the color bar, America would follow dumbly in its wake.

From 1910 to 1920, I had followed the path of sociology as an inseparable part of social reform, and social uplift as a method of scientific social investigation; then, in practice, I had conceived an interracial culture as superseding as our goal, a purely American culture; before I had conceived a program for this path, and after throes of bitter racial strife, I had emerged with a program of Pan-Africanism, as organized protection of the Negro world led by American Negroes. But American Negroes were not interested.

38-12-392

As I grew older I found myself becoming more and more sensitive as to the impression which colored people made on my schoolmates. In history and civics no references were made to Negroes; it appeared thatnever in the world had anybody but white folk done anything worthwhile. Not even were the services of Negroes in the abolition fight and in the recent war referred; yet a dead cousin of mine, killed in battle lay in the village cemetery and my father wore his country's uniform. Once I remember that Lottie Strickland my gay and pretty schoolmate recited a poem "Persim mons" at a monthly exercize "Persimmons was a colored lad" and his full name was George Washington Thomas Jefferson Persimmons Henry Clay". This was supposed to be very funny, but it was not a nice thing to do. Noone made any remark.

38-12-391

There was one cousin, daughter of a great uncle whose visits I greatly enjoyed although I think my mother was a little disturbed. Laura was married to a scowling, ill-bred laborer and had a host of big,ugly boys. She herself was merry, ill-dressed and salty in her talk. She would come for tea (we never drank coffee) and retail gossip and stories on the edge of the indecent; she had me and my decorous aunts chuckling

I was ~~[illegible] at this time, [illegible]~~ approached by President Horace Bumstead of Atlanta University in 1896 and asked to come to Atlanta University and take charge of the work in sociology, and of the new conferences which they were inaugurating on the Negro problem. With this program in mind, I eagerly accepted the invitation, although at the last moment there came a curious reminiscence of Wilberforce in a little hitch based on that old matter of extemporaneous public prayer. Dr. Bumstead and I compromised on my promise to use the Episcopal prayer book; later I used to add certain prayers of my own composing. I am not sure that they were orthodox or reached heaven, but they certainly reached my audience. Dr Bumstead writes:

1 2/17/12

2/17/12

My real life work was done at Atlanta for thirteen years, from my twenty-ninth to my forty-second birthday. They were years of great spiritual upturning, of the making and unmaking of ideals, of hard work and hard play. Here I found myself. I lost most of my mannerisms. I grew more broadly human, made my closest and most holy friendships, and studied human beings. I became widely-acquainted with the real condition of my people. I realized the terrific odds which faced them. At Wilberforce I was their captious critic. In Philadelphia I was their cold and scientific investigator, with microscope and probe. It took but a few years of Atlanta to bring me to hot and indignant defense. I saw the race-hatred of the whites as I had never dreamed of it before, -- naked and unashamed! The faint discrimination of my hopes and intangible dislikes paled into nothing before this great, red monster of cruel oppression. I held back with more difficulty each day my mounting indignation against injustice and misrepresentation.

The main significance of my work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910 was the development at an American institution of learning, of a program of study on the problems affecting the American Negroes, covering a progressively widening and deepening effort designed to stretch over the span of a century. This program was grafted on an attempt by George Bradford of

of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

There must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $800 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, no official recognition of any kind; my name was even eventually omitted from the catalogue; I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my department. With my bride of three months, I settled in one room over a cafeteria run by a College Settlement, in the worst part of the Seventh Ward. We lived there a year, in the midst of an atmosphere of ~~crime~~ dirt, drunkenness, poverty and crime. Murder sat on our doorsteps, police were our government, and philanthropy dropped in with periodic advice.

33-1-66

~~After that~~ The World seized and whirled me. I hardly know what was important - what negligible; somehow I remember life, curiously enough, chiefly as a succession of homes: the settlement at Philadelphia at Seventh and Lombard in the slums where kids played intriguing games like "Cops and Lady Bums"; and where in the night when pistols popped,

you didn't get up lest you find you couldn't;

I wrote of my first Christmas in Philadelphia

33-3-30a My grandmother was born in New Ha

born in 1825 in Haiti. He had a common school education and
barber and a merchant. Augusta an older sister, Henrietta and
Augusta has living descendants, the others have none.

lfred I. Du Bois married Mary S. Burghardt February 5, 1867.

. My grandfather was married three times, my own grandmother being Sarah Marsh of Connecticut, by whom he had two children. He had a third child by his second wife, and none by his third. He kept a grocery store at 23 Washington Street, New Haven, in 1848 and thereabouts. He owned property there and in New Bedford. The house in New Bedford was sold after his death in 1887 for $2,110. He is buried in Oak Grove Cemetery near the Yale Campus, New Haven, in a lot which he owned, and which is next to that of Jehudi Ashmun of Liberian fame. My grandfather helped to establish St. Luke's P. E. in New Haven after he and his fellows had been invited to leave the white Episcopal Church. He was first Senior Warden of St. Luke's. His eldest daughter married a light mulatto and their children are now passing for white and probably quite unaware of their colored blood. My Aunt Henrietta married a man named Bates, of Cumberland, Alleghany County, Maryland.

In my mother's family, my great great grandfather, Tom Burghardt or Etson, as he was sometimes called, was probably born in Africa and brought as a slave to New York State by the Dutch. He saw service in the Revolutionary War. His son Jack took part in Shay's Rebellion; their descendants fought in the Civil War and in the World War. Jack had everal sons and daughters, four of whom own land near together on Egremont Plain in the township of Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

33-3-89

Tom (who afterwards assumed the surname Burghardt, after the family in which he was previously held to service)

"Appears with the rank of Private on the Muster and Pay-roll of Capt. John Spoor's Co., Col. John Ashley's (Berkshire Co.) regt.

Engaged Oct. 15, 1780. Discharged Oct. 17, 1780.

Time of service, 4 days. Company marched northward by order of Brig. Gen. Fellows on an alarm when Fort Ann and Fort George were taken by the enemy. Reported a Negro".

Record Index to the Military Archives

Vo.. 23, page 2.

By family tradition Tom Burghardt had served previously as a soldier, but being then a slave no record appears. He was born in Africa, and brought when a child to New York; here he was taken into the family of the Etsons, and then into the family of Coonrod Burghardt who settled at Great Barrington, Mass., where Tom Burghardt afterward lived.

One of the daughters, Mary, was my mother. He had two sons, Idelbert and William.

Thomas Etson or Burghardt had one son, Jack Burghardt and possibly a daughter known as Nancy Pratt. Nancy Pratt had one son. Jacob Burghardt had nine children, four daughters and five sons. One of these sons, Othello, was my grand father. He in turn had ten children, seven daughters and three sons.

Othello Burghardt was born November 18, 1791 and his wife Sally was born July 7, 1793.

Othello married Sally Lampman in 1811.

Coonrad Burghardt was a shrewd, pushing Dutchman dwelling ~~early~~ in Kinderhood. He had in his family in 1730 an African Negro named Tom who had formerly belonged to the Etsons or to Etons. This Negro has had between one hundred and fity and two hundred descendants and many now living and reaching to the seventh generation. 33-3-87a

Later Jack Burghardt was said by family tradition to have taken part in Shay's Rebellion.

33-3-87a

33-3-87

When the president of Harvard College journeyed through western Massachusetts and the present site of Great Barrington in 1694 he found a "hideous, howling wilderness." Here land titles were confirmed in 1733 which had been in dispute between English, Dutch and Indians and one of the Dutchmen who received land was Coenraet Borghghardt. This family whose name was afterward spelled Bogoert, Burghardt and Burget had in their family an African Negro named Tom, formerly a slave in the family of Etson. This African had between 1730 and 1930 some two hundred or two hundred and fity descendants, a number of whom are still living and reach to the seventh generation. Tom Burghardt was born about 1741 and was a soldier in the Revolutionary War in 1780. His second child, Jacob or Jack, was born about 1766 and the fourth child of Jacob was Othello Burghardt born in 1791 who was my mother's father.

Of my very great grandmother I know not even many a child to succeed. She was an African slave

We heard of him as a merchant and mariner.

When I came I met his father's my grandfather in New Bedford. I was brought up by the devotion of my dear grandmother, who loved & cherished my father & always kept track of me

A daughter of my great Uncle [redacted] writes "Tom, I heard father say, as far as he knew, was born in Africa and brought to this country when he was a boy. After a time he went into the Revolutionary War. I suppose he was single when he went into the service. Father, Jacob or Jack, was taken by the Burghardts when he was a boy. I believe that his first wife's name was Maria. After her death he married the woman called Mother Betsy or Mom Betty, a rather celebrated figure in western Massachusetts history. Nancy Pratt pretended to be a daughter of Tom and half sister to Jack, but this is not certain."

Tom was born in Africa perhaps between 1720 and 1730 and died before 1790 as he does not appear in that census. My uncle says that his father, Othello, said that he father Jack was a slave to Coonrad Burghardt who set him free. It was Jack's wife Violet who used to sing the African song Do Ban Coba.

Othello Burghardt married Sarah Lampman. He was born in Great Barrington July, 1788 and died in 1872 at the age of eighty-~~three years and ten months~~. He was the son of Jacob Burghardt and his wife Violet.

Sarah Lampman was born in Hillsdale, New York in 1793 and died at the age of eighty-six in 1877. Her mother was named Lampman. There is no record of her father. She was probably a mulatto of Dutch descent.

The three brothers, Othello, Ira and Harlow lived ~~in~~ South Egremont Plain where they owned small adjoining farms. Two of these farms have passed from the ownership of the family. A small part of the other with the house upon it is in my possession.

In the Massachusetts census of 1765 there were twenty-six colored people in Sheffield and nineteen in Great Barrington. In the Massachusetts census of slaves in 1754 no slaves were reported in Bershire County.

In the Massachusetts census of 1790 in Great Barrington Jacob, a Negro, was returned with two free persons in his family, probably a wife and his eldest son Thomas

February 15, 1908 I became a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

1867 1825 42 — 1867 1831 36

where he spent much time at Long Key

land in the Bahama Islands. He was unmarried but had as his common-law wife one of his slaves, a small brown-skinned woman. Of this couple two sons, Alexander and John, were born. They were both so white in appearance that the father brought them to the United States and started to give them the education of a gentleman. They were put in a private school at Cheshire, Connecticut. Dr. James Du Bois fell in a fit on his way back from visiting the two boys and died about 1815. He left no will and his estate descended to his cousin Cornelius Du Bois while the boys were bound out as apprentices; my grandfather to a shoemaker. He married three times: first to Sarah Marsh who died in 1823 whose son Alfred was born in 1825 was my father; afterward to Mary Jackalyn of Passaic Emily and then to a widow Annie Green. This last wife I knew and called grandmother. My grandfather travelled in the West Indies, kept a small grocery store in New Haven and was for years steward on the New York-New Haven boat. Naturally he was a rebel, bitter at his lot in life and resentful at being classed as a Negro. He was as I knew him, a short, stern, upstanding man precise in speech and manners and repressing his natural self behind a few words. I remember his ceremonious receiving of a visitor, his stately bow and the serving of wine, and the rather stilted conversation. It was impressive to a boy of twelve who had seen nothing of such social ceremony at his home in western Massachusetts. Grandfather was a member of the Trinity Parish in New Haven but afterward withdrew because of discrimination and became first warden of Saint Luke Episcopal Church, a colored congregation which still exists. He died at the age of eighty-four. His son, Alfred, my father I did not know directly. He was a small handsome man whose Negro descent was only betrayed by his curly hair. He had the gay and carefree disposition of his grandfather and refused to settle down long at any one place or one job. He could read and write but I doubt if he had much more training than that. He was a ladies man. I remember once meeting a beautiful elderly woman who looked at me in astonishment and asked my name again and said "Are you really the son of Alfred Du Bois?" But she added nothing more. I have often thought of her. This Alfred Du Bois

1867 1825 36

Whether my father was married or not I do not know. I imagine not. He was probably a free Negro girl and lover, gladly only too married down when he met the settled down conventions of my mother's family

Mary S. Du Bois

age of fifty-four yea

or I was then 36 years old

possibly

either because of the blood relationship of the two or the illegitimacy of the birth

at the age of 42

came down into the Housatonic Valley and met and married my brown mother who belonged romance and sorrow and John Burghardt

to the Burghardt clan. She had had one son by a cousin. I am not sure about the actual

circumstances or the marriage. It was never talked of in the family. There was some-

thing of stern disapproval about it, and the cousin went west. ~~Then years after~~ In in regard to where the descendants live today

1867 my mother married Alfred Du Bois and I was born the following year. met and

Du Bois was born at Great Barrington. She died April 28, 1885 at the

-four years, two months and five days. (Born ~~February 23,~~ Jan. 14 1831)

33-3-48a

Mary S. Burghardt was born January 14, 1831

Idelbert Burghardt was born September 9, 1861.

W. E. Du Bois was born February 23, 1868.

My paternal great-grandfather, Dr. James Du Bois, was white and descended from Chrétien Du Bois who was a French Hugenot farmer and perhaps artisan and resided at Wicres near Lille in French Flanders. It is doubtful if he had any ancestors among the nobility, although his white American descendants love to think so. He had two, possibly three, sons of whom Louis and Jacques came to America to escape religious persecution. Jacques went from France first to Leiden in the Netherlands, where he was married and had several children, including a second Jacques or James. In 1674 that family came to America and settled at Kingston, New York. James Du Bois appears in the Du Bois family genealogy as a descendant of Jacques in the fifth generation, although the exact line of descent is not clear; but my grandfather's written testimony establishes that James was a physician and a landholder along the Hudson and in the West Indies. He was born in 1750, or later. He may have been a loyalist refugee. One such refugee, Isaac Du Bois, was given a grant of five hundred acres in Eleuthera after the Revolutionary War. The career of Dr. James Du Bois was chiefly as a plantation propietor and slave owner in the Bahama Islands with his headquarters at Long Cay. Cousins of his named Gilbert also had plantations near. He never married, but had one of his slaves as his common-law wife, a small brown-skinned woma born on the island. Of this couple two sons were born, Alexander and John. Alexander, my grandfather, was born in 1803, and about 1810, possibly because of the death of the mother, the father brought both these boys to America and planned to give them the education of gentlemen. They were white enough in appearance to give no inkling of their African descent. They were entered in the private Episcopal school at Cheshire, Connecticut, which still exists there and has trained many famous men. Dr. James Du Bois used often to visit his sons there, but about 1812, on his return from a visit, he had a stroke of apoplexy and died. He left no will and his estate descended to a cousin.

The boys were removed from school and bound out as apprentices, my grandfather to a shoemaker. Their connection with the white Du Bois family ceased suddenly, and was never renewed. Alexander Du Bois thus started with a good common school and perhaps some high school training and with the instincts of a gentleman of his day. Naturally he passed through much inner turmoil. He became a rebel, bitter at his lot in life, resentful at being classed as a Negro and yet implacable in his attitude toward whites. Of his brother, John, I have only a picture. He may have been the John Du Bois who helped Bishop Payne to purchase Wilberforce University.

If Alexander Du Bois, following the footsteps of Alexander Hamilton, had come from the West Indies to the United States, stayed with the white group and married and begotten children among them, anyone in after years who had suggested his Negro descent would have been unable to prove it and quite possibly would have been laughed to scorn, or sued for libel. Indeed the legal advisers of the publishers of my last book could write: "We may assume as a general proposition that it is libelous to state erroneously that a white man or woman has colored blood." Lately in Congress the true story, in a WPA history, of miscegenation affecting a high historic personage raised a howl of protest.

Alexander Du Bois did differently from Hamilton. He married into the colored group and his oldest son allied himself with a Negro clan but four generations removed from Africa. He himself first married Sarah Marsh Lewis in 1823 and then apparently set out to make his way in Haiti. There my father was born in 1825, and his elder sister, Augusta, a year earlier, either there or just as the

49-37-1

family was leaving the United States. Evidently the situation in Haiti did not please my grandfather or perhaps the death of his young wife when she was scarcely thirty turned him back to America. Within a year he married Emily Basset who seems to have been the widow of a man names Jacklyn and lived in New Milford. Leonard Bacon, a well-known Congregational clergyman, performed his second marriage.

The following year, Alexander began his career in the United States. He lived in New Haven, Springfield, Providence, and finally in NewBedford. For some time , he was steward on the New York-New Haven boat and insisted on better treatment for his colored help. Later about 1848 he ran a grocery store at 23 Washington Street, New Haven, and owned property at different times in the various cities where he lived. By his first wife, my grandmother, he had two children, and by his second wife, one daughter, Henrietta. Three of four children died in infancy. Alexander was a communicant of Trinity Parish, New Haven, and was enrolled there as late as 1845; then something happened, because in 1847 he was among that group of Negroes who formed the new colored Episcopal Parish of St. Luke, where he was for years their senior warden. Probably this indicates one of his bitter fights and rebellions, for nothing but intolerable insult would have led him into a segregated church movement. Alexander Crummell was his first rector here.

I received eventually three offers of work. On August 17, the chair of "classics" at Wilberforce University, Ohio, with a salary of $800 was offered, which I immediately accepted with gratitude.

1/19/92

finally, August 25, I received telegram: "Can give mathematics if terms suit. Will you accept. Booker T. Washington." It would be interesting to speculate/just what would have happened, if I had accepted the ~~last~~ offer of Tuskegee instead of that of Wilberforce.

1/19/92

in a bunch. The first was a telegram from Wilberforce: "Our chair of classics $800 is yours. Wire acceptance. Come next week." Later there was Lincoln Institute, a black colored school out in Missouri that offered $1050 for a teacher of classics and mathematics, and then---well I leaned toward immediately to Wilberforce, I had heard of it, it was venerable and well known.

So late in hot August I started for Wilberforce. Life was now begun and I was half happy. Up thru the Berkshire Valley with its quiet beauty, then across New York glided, wrapped in dreams. The light of Buffalo bade me good night, and half asleep I drifted across Ohio.

The depot at Xenia was small and "busy" with a slight admixture of dirt and tobacco juice which was unpleasant. There was I telephoned to Wilberforce. Then I waited an hour and the president entered the waiting room. I shall never forget that man. He is stamped on my heart as the most perfect realization of what the devil might be in these closing years of the 19th century. He had by long odds the prettiest smile of any man I ever saw---so quiet and charming. All I remember now of that first meeting is the vision of that smile softly entering the waiting room and remember too that it was borne on two short and rather disreputable looking bowlegs.

1/19/9

new young Emperor Wilhelm II, who, fresh from his dismissal of Bismarck, led the splendid pageantry; and finally the year I left Germany, Nicholas II became Czar of all the Russias. In all this I had not yet linked the political development of Europe with the race problem in America.

The/distinguished board of trustees/headed by [illegible] said facetiously at [illegible] ty to assist them that [illegible] recover only in th[illegible] "orat[illegible]

Robert Morss Lovett
was perhaps the closest
white student friend I
made at Harvard, from us
long before his last visit to
N.Y., he wanted to see
Cobb with me, he proposed
the Harvard Club of which
he was a member. I was not.
His request resulted in my
being excluded & mandated
to a Harvard Club, for a while
Jews were excluded but the Corps
I shuddered my head & Lovett
at the Club. A few months later
he died.

33-2-172

mss pages

A SOLILOQUY ON MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY

BY

W.E.B.Du BOIS

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I	MY FIFTEENTH TRIP ABROAD	I
II	WESTERN EUROPE	5
III	~~BEYOND THE IRON CURTAIN~~	I2
IV	THE SOVIET UNION	
V	CHINA	

The Pawned Peoples

Soliloquy
on my life
from the Last decade
of the first century

Chapters I
II voice and
III The Slave
IV USSR
V — China

CLOUDS OF THE

by AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W. E. B. DU BOIS

CHAPTER I VI	MY BIRTH AND FAMILY	17 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER II VII	BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON	31 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER III VIII	I GO SOUTH	32 pp.	(complete)
Sept 10 — CHAPTER IV IX	HARVARD AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	23 pp.	(complete)
Sept CHAPTER V X	EUROPE, 1892 TO 1894	41 pp.	(complete)
Sept ? CHAPTER VI XI	WILBERFORCE	12 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER VII	UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA	11 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER VIII	ATLANTA UNIVERSITY	36 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER IX	THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT	22 pp.	(partly finished)
CHAPTER X	THE NAACP	20 pp.	(partly finished)
CHAPTER XI	MY CHARACTER	8 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XII	THE DEPRESSION	23 pp.	(partly complete)
CHAPTER XIII	RETURN TO THE NAACP	19 pp.	(partly complete)
CHAPTER XIV	PEACE CONGRESSES	9 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XV	THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER	5 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XVI	AN INDICTED CRIMINAL	9 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XVII	REJECTED OF MEN	29 pp.	(partly complete)
CHAPTER XVIII XXII	I AWAIT DEATH	~~9 pp.~~	(in outline)

↳ My Tenth Decade

XXIII — Epilogue

(2) ~~Then the unexpected happened. I received a~~ ~~passport and went to Europe. Dr. Du Bois and~~ ~~Shirley Graham~~ PD was invited to attend the All African conference at Accra. At the Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester, England in 1945, a Sixth Congress on the continent of Africa had been projected. When Ghana gained her independence it was planned. I was not allowed to attend the inauguration. If I had been present undoubtedly the matter would have been further discussed. Meantime George Padmore, secretary of the Pan-African Congress, was called to Ghana as chief adviser to the Prime Minister and he published a book called "Pan-Africanism or Communism" in which he said

(copy p. 379)

Meantime the Big Business in America, surprised by the sucess of the Ghana revolution set itself to influence Nkrumah. He was invited to the United States over in 1958 and treated as never a Negro had been treated by the government. Hershey, great manufacturer of chocolate sent a special plane to take him to his factories; and the New York Cocoa Board of Trade dined him at the Waldorf-Astoria. I saw Mr. Nkrumah briefly ~~and was careful not to attempt to influence him in any way.~~ He was most cordial and I expected soon to be invited to the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Accra. No invitation came ~~when~~ but I received my passport and sailed for Europe. While I was in Tashkent an invitation arrived but not from Nkrumah nor for a Pan-African Congress. It was from a new All-African body for an African conference in December and it said nothing about my expenses. I sensed immediately that opposition had arisen in Africa over American Negro

9 verkauft & schenkt Nkrumah

the war. I sent out a brochure in 1941

THE PHYLON INSTITUTE

It is planned to hold April 10, 11 and 12, 1941 the FIRST PHYLON INSTITUTE and TWENTY-FIFTH ATLANTA CONFERENCE. This will be an attempt to commemorate the fact that from 1896 to 1919 twenty-four Atlanta University Conferences were held and twenty publications issued. Between 1919 and 1941 there were no conferences or publications but we want to begin again in 1941 and keep in memory the first establishment of the conferences forty-five years ago.

I want to assemble at this time a few persons interested in beginning a complete and definitive study of the economic condition of American Negroes, past and present. I want to collect the facts concerning the past in readily available and understandable form with charts, tables and interpretive texts. I want to discuss with the persons present the trends of change and present conditions especially in each of the Southern states and more generally in the North. I am inviting to be present economic experts particularly from the South; representatives of the land grant colleges and other students and observers. I have in mind a meeting of about twenty-five or thirty persons. The meetings will be for the most part closed conferences for intimate and confidential inquiry. There may also be held one or two public meetings for the general information of persons who may be interested. The general subject will be "The Economic Condition and Trends of American Negroes" and out of the meetings I want to emerge a number of planned studies, researches and compilations to be carried on by designated students during the ensuing year. I want the meetings themselves to be built around a sociological museum. That museum to consist of books and pamphlets, charts and models which will illustrate, pictorially and physically, present and past economic conditions among Negroes. I want to exercise some ingenuity in making these facts intelligible and striking.

I want also to discuss plans for future corrective guidance of the economic development of the Negro; consumers cooperation in schools and communities; adult education and group effort. I should like to explore the possibility of Negroes taking advantage of such Federal projects as the TVA and perhaps the matter of economic and cultural contacts with groups of Negroes outside the United States.

I have been promised by the Carnegie Foundation a small fund to finance these conferences this year and next. So far as possible I should like to use this fund for the compilation of statistics and presentation of facts.

It was not until 1942 that this conference ~~rural past and present~~ which I called at Atlanta University in 1941

The Twenty-Fifth Conference took as its subject "The Economic Condition and Future security of the American Negro." It was designed to be a comparatively small study group bringing together knowledge already available concerning the Negro's economic conditions and beginning in this and succeeding conferences to ask: What can and ought to be done for the betterment of the Negro's economic condition? The organizations invited to send delegates included, first, the powerful group of Negro land-grant colleges; institutions which since 1913 have increased from less than a thousand college students and an annual income of $850,000 to 9/500 students and income of $2,500,000 in 1939. They are in a peculiar way suited to explore the field of the Negro's economic future. These institutions have especially had laid upon them by the Southern states the duty of vocational guidance. By working separately and without concerted plan, the results while excellent in some respects have neither been unified nor strikingly helpful. With these institutions, of course, were the older private institutions which have supplied for decades teachers and leaders for the newer colleges; and numbers of individuals, colored and white, interested in this problem. New and younger students, employed in these institutions and elsewhere were sought to give this group expert advice. Some fifty-one young scholars from thirty-five institutions were present with graphs, finished studies and plans which were used in

The 26th. Atlanta University Conference met at Robert Hall, Morehouse College, Atlanta, April 19 and 20, 1943. It became the first conference of the Negro Land-Grant colleges, for coordinating a programme of cooperative social studies.

Among those present were:

E. Franklin Frazier, Library of Congress

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina

E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa

T. Lynn Smith, Louisana State University

Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University

Donald Young, Social Service Research Council

They testified as follows:

Howard Washington Odum, the leading white Southern sociologist said

"It seems to me that in two or three ways a strong, integrated program for research in the land grant colleges would constitute an important step foward. In the first place, the area in which they work is still virgin and important, and their laboratories are adequate for genuine research and experimentation. They have a fine opportunity to combine the social studies with the physical sciences and to implement them in practical programs."

Edward Byron Reuter, a western leader of high reputation:

The plan for cooperative studies to be carried on by the Negro Land-Grant Colleges seems to me to be a very wise development and one that may lead to increasingly important results. It will make possible a pooling of resources - of time, staff, and funds - to discover and make known information.

Edward Franklin Frazier, the leading Negro sociologist

"To my mind, the Conference was significant because it represented the broadening and deepening of the stream of a great tradition which owes much to you.

Moreover, the Conference was a distinct success in that it brought together and stimulated men and women who have generally been forced to work in isolation. Even if no other conferences were held, I am sure that many of those who attended this ome would return to their work with a feeling that they were engaged in a worthwhile endeavor and that they had the support and appreciation of their fellow workers.

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, head of the Department of Sociology of Fisk University

The fact that so large a number of persons were present without direct financial aid from an outside source pointed to a reserve of interest that might be counted on to carry along a coordinated movement among the colleges. Not to be overlooked, however, is the prestige of an established and admired scholar in this field who has served as an effective catalyzing agent.

Donald Ramsey Young, Secretary of the Social Science Research Council

I have no doubt whatever concerning the value of your objective. There is need for the encouragement and guidance of social and economic research at the Land-Grant Colleges, both in terms of the benefits which should be derived therefrom by the institutions and their faculties and also in terms of the practical social utility of the anticipated results.

Edgar Tristram Thompson, from the Ready while Southern University

I feel that you have a good idea and that you deserve support in your efforts to carry it out. I appreciate your including me among the invited sociologists and I feel that my efforts to contribute to the conference have taught me something.

leadership of the African peoples. This had happened in 1920, when the West Afr African Congress acknowledged no tie with the First Pan-African Congress in Paris which sparked it. American Negroes had too often assumed that their leadership in Africa was natural. With the rise of an educated group of Africans this was increasingly unlikely. I realized how natural this was and knew that neither Nkrumah nor Padmore were calling a "Pan-African Congress" but that this "All-African Conference" was taking its place. However later Padmore sent me a cordial note emphasizing the invitation and offering to pay expenses.

By this time, my long travel was beginning to fell upon me and I was in a Soviet Sanitarium at Sarvieka near Moscow. I prepared to leave for Africa but the council of physicians advised against the trip as too taxing. I had therefor prepared three messages for Africa. One I delivered at Tashkent, one I sent by my wife Shirley who attended the conference at Accra. And the last I broadcast from Peking on my ninety-first birthday.

At Tashkent, before my invitation to Accra, I warned the colored world about borrowing capital from the West. Do not, I said accept all the capital goods which they offer. The West manufactures capital for sale. They must sell it or go bankrupt. You need capital, but not all that they offer or at the price which they charge. Buy as little as possible. Deny yourselves and wait. See whether or not the Communist lands may not offer you better bargains.

"7. BOYCOTT

THE EXPORT OF BIG CAPITAL FROM THE EXPLOITING WORLD, LED BY AMERICA. REFUSE TO BUY MACHINES, SKILLS, COMFORTS WITH COCOA, COFFEE, PALM OIL AND FRUIT SOLD AT REDICULOUSLY LOW PRICE IN EXCHANGE FOR IMPORTED FOODS, LIQUOR, AUTOMOBILES SOLD AT EXORBITANT PRICES. LIVE SIMPLY. ~~AS GOETHE CRIED " ENTBEHREN SOLLST DU, SOLLST ENTBEHREN! THOU SHALT FOREGO, SHALT GO WITHOUT~~. REFUSE TO BUY BIG CAPITAL EVEN FOR ADVANCE FROM NATIONS THAT CHEAT AND OVERCHARGE. BUY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA AS THEY GROW ABLE TO SELL AT LOW PRICE. SAVE THUS YOUR OWN CAPITAL AND DRIVE THE IMPERIALISTS INTO BANKRUPTCY OR INTO SOCIALISM"

Then at the moment of triumph came catastrophe: without previous notice I was retired from my professorship, and with my retirement went the whole plan which had been so largely built around my personality. This was through no machination of mine. It was simply a fact that large numbers of persons knew my previous work and believed in the possibility of its re-establishment and enlargement. No other person had this prestige. On the other hand the very success of my project had gained me enemies. Miss Reed felt she had lost the presidency of Atlanta University through my opposition and that now I had gained a new thoroughfare for my socialism. The new President feared that my position as curator of the new studies would overshadow his position and no doubt Miss Reed and others encouraged his jealousy. There was no basis for this fear, but I was not politition enough to see to it that there was even no appearance of rivalry.

And the land grant colleges would result under no one else at the time

own institution. Yet No act of mine gave any basis for this assumption. All invitations went out in the name of the president and I consulted him on all my actions. His delays and small objections seemed petty and I told him so. Perhaps I said this too brusquely; perhaps I did not sufficiently take into account his inexperience or lack of understanding of the situation.

* Doubtless he assumed that the removal of one old man would leave the new situation intact)

59
44
15

* Many of the Land Grant Colleges disliked Clement and said so. I should have given this more attention, but the accomplishment seemed petty as with so valuable to me that I could not conceive that Clement did not

The fact that Atlanta University had been chosen as the center of this work seemed to me so great an accomplishment that all else was negligible. PH

consultation.

While in a sense, this was hardly the time for scientific calm and considered planning on social problems, yet, on the other hand, in the midst of war and rumors of war, perhaps it is possible to maintain enough of scientific attitude and careful study to make new beginnings and an interesting synthesis of older and newer thought concerning industrial education, vocational guidance, and higher training, and for an economic leadership which may in time evolve plans parallel to those which the whole world must take into consideration after the present revolution.

The conference avoided dogmatism but explored possibilities. How far, it asked, is it feasible to apply the technique of consumers' cooperation and even of cooperative wholesales and cooperative production, to the present situation of the Negro? How far can the technique of organized buying power force employment and what dangers are there in such procedures? What part can Negroes take in the TVA and similar vast power developments? The conference attempted to make clear the paths of alliance which Negroes can make with forward movements, especially with movements that have in mind fundamental betterment of present methods of production and distribution. It did not attempt to rationalize nor solve the present problem of Negroes in war and national defense, but rather looked forward to the time when civilization, discarding violence as a major means of social change, will revert to slower and more rational methods of advancing human culture; for guidance at that time, we will need the most careful factual knowledge and reasoned theory for the treatment of minority groups.

The solution of this problem, without needless duplication of good work, or for mere pride of institution, came to me from W.R. Banks, principal of the Prairie View State College, Texas. He had been my student at Atlanta University during the days of the conferences. He took the idea with him to Texas, and conducted studies and conferences there for twenty years. He suggested that Atlanta

University unite the seventeen Negro Land-Grant Colleges in the South in a joint co-operative study, to be carried on continuously. I laid before the annual meeting of the presidents of these colleges in October 1941, such a plan. I proposed the strengthening of their departments of the social sciences; that each institution take its own state as its field of study; that an annual conference be held where representatives of the colleges came into consultation with the best sociologists of the land, and decide on methods of work and subjects of study.

To complete this idea, there was need to include a similar study of the vitally important Northern Negro group. The leading Negro universities like howard, Fisk, Wilberforce, Lincoln of Pennsylvania and of Missouri, and others might with Northern universities jointly carry out this part of the scheme.

A volume giving the more important results would be published annually.

This plan was inaugurated in the Spring of 1943, with all seventeen of the Land-Grant colleges represented, and eight leading American sociologists in attendance. The first annual report appeared in the Fall of 1943. Thus, after a quarter of a century, the Atlanta conferences live again.

Negro labor was a crucible
& means & dominion of robust
culture now a thing of beauty
in the Old decade have
been handed to those who
[illegible]

As Jean Wolff Cohen
C. uses the symbol of
dancing and human difference
as other - Cultural, not
race - thyroid + a Comma
is only the is Breaking
the good down of C + C

Ethnic

Tragedy for Negro

I for me

1

My dismissal became a tragedy for the Negro. Not because of my personality, but because the Negro had found friends would never have one else, least of all Edward Johnson they trusted, I alone had the years + prestige of long work that gave credibility + courage to take such a bold step against the hostility of federal funds given former Col secretary, Wallace who was using the study of the Amish around rapidly + Southern voters backlash Which had pressed the Democrats that the war to save the slavery of

I Fear Death

To all unknown that shall
Death comes soon or late
& how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
& the temples of his gods
I have read my fathers, blood
White as I stand they shall

I have crossed with carelessness
a sabre's edge. I have faced
Machine guns & pestilence like God's rod
A good broad sword in my hands, beside
A cloak on a throne. I've died not
Once or twice, I've counted the cost
Not all powerful but marked
Both I move before the throne
In the unknown. He knows who has
The will & how I guard the sword

1 Make ~~cake~~ cake in loaves
2 Before Dan Cut on morning
Baking must prepare cake Can
Cooked cools & bring cooked
Pastries & market & Seed &
Buy meat. Most persons
are to clothed & quick & to Che
~~by~~ by which Shortly I your
Prefers for Christmas by Kinds
Other We needed to pound
Cream & Wax. This pastry
is cooked by Oven & Can
Bird Feed, fairy Cake &
Chicken, Many Seasons & Milk
Before & good Meat I Church
the USSR

IT IS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS THAT A NEW DISCOVERY OF AFRICAN HISTORY HAS COME THROUGH THE WORK OF ETHNOLOGISTS, ARCHEOLOGISTS AND CHEMISTS. THE HISTORY OF AFRICA BELOW THE SAHARA AND THE STORY OF THE GREAT CENTRAL PLATEAU IS NOT YET CERTAIN BUT IT IS CLEARER TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE WE KNEW OF THE CITY STATES AND FAST DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST COAST, WE KNEW OF THE GREAT MARCH OF THE BANTU SOUTHWARD OVER THOUSANDS OF YEARS, AND WE KNEW OF THE CLASH OF BANTU AND EUROPEAN AT LAND'S END IN OUR DAY. BUT THERE WERE THINGS THAT PUZZLED US. THE CIVILIZATION OF THE AFRICAN EAST COAST, THE ADVANCED CULTURE OF GREAT CIVILIZATIONS AS SHOWN BY ZIMBABWE AND THE EMPIRE OF THE MONOMOTAPA AND THE HISTORY OF THE MEROE, KUSH, AND A DOZEN OTHER CENTERS. EUROPE DESPISED THE AFRICANS WHOM IT HAD HALF RUINED BY THE SLAVE TRADE, TRIED TO SEE DOZENS OF EVIDENCES OF CIVILIZATION IN THE CENTER OF AFRICA AS IMPORTATIONS FROM EAST OR WEST. TODAY WE KNOW BETTER. THE EAST COAST WITH ITS GREAT CITIES AND WIDESPREAD TRADE WAS FUNDAMENTALLY AFRICAN IN CONTACT WITH ARAB, CHINESE, AND INDIAN. THE DEVELOPMENTS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE VALLEYS OF THE CONGO AND THE ZAMBEZI WERE DISTINCTLY AFRICAN AND THE CIVILIZATION WHICH WAS BUILT UP THERE WAS NEW AND UNIQUE IN HUMAN HISTORY IN CONTRAST WITH EUROPE AND ASIA. OVER THESE CULTURES ROLLED EUROPEAN SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE, THE WIDE MIGRATION OF THE LESS CULTIVATED AFRICAN PEOPLES WHO OVERTHREW THE MORE CULTURED AND FINALLY COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND WORLD WARS OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. THIS IS BUT VAGUE INDICATION OF WHAT WE KNOW OF AFRICAN HISTORY, BUT IT FORETELLS WHAT WE WILL KNOW WHEN CONFERENCES LIKE THAT AT ACCRA LAST YEAR SET THE WORLD TO STUDY THE PAST OF THIS CONTINENT.

We tax ourselves into poverty and crime so as to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and more evil bring more crime and poverty. We know the cause of this: it is to permit our rich business interests to stop socialism and to prevent the ideals of Communism from ever triumphing on earth. The aim is impossible. Socialism progresses and will progress. All we can do is to silence and jail its promoters. I believe in socialism. I seek a world where the ideals of Communism will triumph -- to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. And I still live.

Civil Wars Make World War on Communism

I just live. I plan my work, but plan less for shorter periods. I live from year to year and day to day. I expect snatches of pain and discomfort to come and go. And then reaching back to my archives, I whisper to the great Majority:

To the Almighty Dead, into whose pale approaching faces, I stand and stare: you whose thoughts, deeds and dreams have made men wise with all wisdom and stupid with utter evil. In every name of God, bend out and down, you who are the infinite majotiy of all mankind and with your thoughts, deeds, dreams and memories, overwhelm, outvote, and coerce this remnant of human life which lingers on, imagining themselves wisest of all who have lived just because they still survive. Wither with wide revelatiob will they go with their stinking pride and empty boasting , whose ever recurring lies only you the Dead have known all too well. Teach living man to jeer at this last civilization which seeks to build heaven on Want and Ill of most men and vainly builds on color and hair rather than on decendy of hand and heart. Let your memories teach these wilful fools all which you have forgotten and ruined and done to death.

~~Hell lies before us in our age, in our staggering dotage~~ Still Live

You are not and yet you are: your thoughts your deeds, above all your dreams. These lived as your bodies died. With these we also live and die, realize and kill Our dreams seek Heaven, our deeds plumb Hell. Hell lies about us in our Age: blithely we push into its stench and flame. Suffer us not, ~~Dreams of you~~ Eternal

dead to stew in this Evil-- the Evil of South Africa, the Evil of Mississippi; the Evil of Evils which is what we hope to hold in Asia and Africa, in the southern Americas and islands of the Seven Seas

~~and the southern Americas~~. Reveal, Ancient of Days, the Present in the Past and prophesy the End in the Beginning. For this is a beautiful world; this is a wonderful America, which the founding fathers dreamed until their sons drowned it in the blood and greed. Our children must rebuild it. Let then the Dreams of the Dead rebuke the Blind who think that what is will be forever and teach them that that what was must live again. Teach us, Forever Dead there is no Hope but Deed, there is no Dream but Memory.

devoured it in

and that what would would slay less

worth living

dead to stew in this Evil-- the Evil of South Africa, the Evil of Mississippi; the Evil of Evils which is what we hope to hold in Asia and Africa, in the southern Americas and islands of the Seven Seas

~~and the southern Americas~~. Reveal, Ancient of Days, the Present in the Past and prophesy the End in the Beginning. For this is a beautiful world; this is a wonderful America, which the founding fathers dreamed until their sons drowned it in the blood and greed. Our children must rebuild it. Let then the Dreams of the Dead rebuke the Blind who think that what is will be forever and teach them that that what was must live again. Teach us, Forever Dead there is no Hope but Deed, there is no Dream but Memory.

devoured it in

and that what would death need slay less

World Revery

3 Carbons

(1)

CHAPTER VI

MY BIRTH AND FAMILY

I was born by a golden river and in the shadow of two great hills, five years after the Emancipation Proclamation, which began the freeing of American Negro slaves. The valley was wreathed in grass and trees and crowned to the eastward by the huge bulk of East Mountain, with crag and cave and dark forests. Westward the hill was gentler, rolling up to gorgeous sunsets and cloud-swept storms. The town of Great Barrington, which lay between these mountains, had a broad Main street, lined with maples and elms, with white picket fences before the homes. The climate was to our thought quite perfect.

In 1868 on the day after the birth of George Washington was celebrated, I was born on Church street, which branched east from Main street in midtown. The year of my birth was the year that the freedmen of the South were enfranchised, and for the first time as a mass took part in government. Conventions with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South, and two groups of laborers--- freed slaves and poor whites--- dominated the former slave states. It was an extraordinary experiment in democracy. Thaddeus Stevens, the clearest-headed leader of this attempt at industrial democracy, made his last speech, impeaching Andrew Johnson on February 16, and on February 23rd. I was born.

The house of my birth was quaint, with clapboards running up and down, neatly trimmed; there were five rooms, a tiny porch, a rosy front yard, and unbelievably delicious strawberries in the rear. A South Carolinian, lately come to the Berkshire Hills, owned all this--- tall, thin and black, with golden earrings, and given to religious trances. Here my mother, Mary Burghardt, and my father, Alfred Du Bois, came to live temporarily after their marriage ceremony in the village of Housatonic, which adjoined Great Barrington on the north. Then after a few years my father went east into Connecticut to build a life and home for mother and me. We meantime went to live on the lands of my mother's clan on South Egremont plain in the southern part of our town.

POSTLUDE

Returning to America after my great journey in 1959, I was welcomed home; not simply by my friends but by my government. In Sweden it was feared I might not, as a member of the World Peace Council, be allowed to land in England. But Pritt and Belfrage took hold and I received every courtesy. I had tea on the terrace of the House of Lords, with a viscount, an earl, and two ladies; also on the terrace of the House of Commons, I had tea where I had last been entertained by Kier Hardie. I met several members of Parliament, and spent many Sunday afternoons with Donald Ogden Stewart and Ella Winter. There I met James Aldrich and Katherine Hepburn. I saw Paul Robeson and his splendid production of "Othello". Lawrence Bradshaw, sculptor of the great head of Karl Marx, did my head.

The cabin on the Liberte, as we returned, was large and airy, and the voyage smooth and pleasant. But how would the United States receive us? We had openly spent ten weeks in China, and spoken widely and broadcast. There was some hasty last minute telephoning from the boat, I am sure, but all went well. Our passports were not seized and the chief Inspector of Customs passed our bags quickly and welcomed us home. Our relatives and friends swarmed to greet us. I was unable to understand why Scott Nearing and Waldo Frank should be forbidden to do what as yet I hve been unrebuked for doing openly and proudly. However, three months later, when the Supreme Court agreed to consider the cases of Waldo Frank And William Worthy, the State Department demanded our passports. We asked delay until the Supreme Court made its verdict. This was granted.

I am a little puzzled now about the ordering of my life. Several times in the past I find that I have prepared for death and death has not come. Always on my desk lies a calendar of my own devising with daily and hourly tasks; with plans for the week and next week, the month and the months ahead and the sentinel of my main task for the year. This year-part is now getting uncertain. Even months are no longer absolutely mine, yet I am reasonably content and although my strength warns me not to try to work as many hours as once I did, yet I work and work regularly and with some efficiency, from day to day.

As I recall, I have long faced the inevitability of death and not tried to dodge the thought. In early manhood I wrote:

"I saw a mother, black and seared and iron-haired, who had watched her boy through college, for men to jeer at and discourage and tempt until he sought women and and whiskey and died. She crept on a winter's Sunday into a cathedral of St. John the Divine and crouched there where a comfortable red and yellow angel sat sunning her ample limbs, 'To Keep the Memory of Odadiah James' - - - a stock-gambler. And there she rested while the organ warbled the overture to Der Feischutz, and the choir asserted 'My Jesus! As Thou wilt.' The priest intones: 'Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest! For my yoke is easy and my burden light'. And the window-angel moved a fat wing and murmured: 'except Niggers!'

"In that dark day when all friends gathered round shall sigh; as he goes to that full dreadful home where earth shall move away and these dim eyes shall strain to scenes all glorious, shall they see on that morning round the wide, white throne a glorified Negro Problem? If so, Father of Mercies, send me to Hell."

At fifty, after a serious operation I wrote:

"Last year I looked death in the face and found its lineaments not unkind. But it was not my time. Yet in nature some time soon and in the fullness of days I shall die, quietly, I trust, with my face turned South and eastward; and, dreaming or dreamless I shall, I am sure, enjoy death as I have enjoyed life".

At sixty years of age I wrote again:

"For long years we of the world gone wild, have looked into the fact of death and smiled. Through all our bitter tears we knew how beautiful it was to die for that which our souls called sufficient. Like all true beauty this thing of dying was so simple, so matter-of-fact. The boy clothed in his splendid youth stood before us and laughed in his own jolly way - and went and was gone. Suddenly the world was full of the fragrance of sacrifice. We left our digging and burden-bearing; we turned from our scraping and twisting of things and words; we paused from our hurrying hither and thither and walking up and down, and asked in half whisper: 'Death - - is this life? And is its beauty real or false?'

"Here, then is beauty and ugliness, a wide vision of world-sacrifice, a fierce gleam of world-hate. Which is life and what is death and how shall we face so tantalizing a contradiction? Any explanation must necessarily be subtle and involved. No pert and easy word of encouragement, no merely dark despair, can lay hold of the roots of these things. And first and before all, we cannot fortet that this world is beautiful. Grant all its ugliness and sin - - the petty, horrible snarl of its putrid

threads, which few have seen more near or more often that I - - notwithstanding all this, the beauty of the world is not to be denied.

"And then - - the Vwil, the Veil of color. It drops as drops the night on southern seas - - vat, sudden, unanswering. There is Hate behind it, and Cruelty and Tears. As one peers through its intricate, unfathomable pattern of ancient, old, old design, one sees blood and guilt and misunderstanding. And yet it hangs there, this Veil, between then and now, between Pale and Colored and Black and White - - between You and Me. Surely it is but a thought-thing, tenuous, intangible; yet just as surely is it true and terrible and not in our little day may you and I lift it. We may feverishly unravel its edges and even climb slow with giant shears to where its ringed and gilded top nestles close to the throne of Eternity. But as we work and climb we shall see through streaming eyes and hear with aching ears, lynching and murder, cheating and despising, degrading and lying, soflashed and fleshed through this vast hanging darkness that the Doer never sees the Deed and the Victim knows not the Victor and each hate all in wild and bitter ignorance. Listen, O Isles, to these Voices from within the Veil, for they portray the most humanhurt of the Twentieth Cycle of that poor Jesus who cas called the Christ!

"At last to us all comes happiness, there in the Court of Peace, where the dead lie so still and calm and good. If we were not dead we would lie and listen to the flowers grow. We would hear the birds sing and see how the rain rises and blushes and burns and pales and dies in beauty. We would see spring, summer, and the red riot of autumn, and then in winter, beneath the soft white snow, sleep and dream of dreams. But we know that being dead, our Happiness is a fine and finished thing and that ten, a hundred, and a thousand yars, we shall lie at rest, unhurt in the Court of Peace."

From then until now the wraith of Death has followed me, slept with me and awakened me and accompanied my day. Only now it is more commonplace and reasonable. It is the end and without ends there can be no beginnings. Its finality we must not falsify. It is our debt to the Soviet Union that it alone of nations dared stop that lying to children which so long disgraced our schools. We filled little minds with fairy tales of religious dogma which we ourselves never believed. We filled their thoughts with pictures of barbarous revenge called God which contradicted all their inner sense of deceny. We repeated folk tales of children without fathers, of death which was life, of sacrifice which was shrewd investment and ridiculous pictures of an endless future. The Soviets have stopped this. They allow a child to grow up without religious lies and with mature mind make his own decision about the

world without scaring him into Hell or rewarding him with a silly Heaven.

We know that Death is the end of Life. Even when we profess to deny this we know that this hope is mere wishful thinking, pretense broidered with abject and cowardly fear. Our endless egotism cannot conceive a world without Us and yet we know that this will happen and the world be happier for it.

I have lived a good and full life. I have finished my course. I do not want to live this life again. I have tasted its delights and pleasures; I have known its pain, suffering and despair. I am tiered, I am through. For the souls who follow me; for that little boy born Christmas day before last, my great grandson and his compeers, I bequeath all that waits to be done, and Holy Time what a task, forever!

I have seen miracles in my life. As a boy we did not have the possibility of miracles emphasized in our schools. In the weekly Sunday School, we studied the bible with its tales of the impossible b but I remember distinctly that I questioned the validity of some of them, like that story of Johah. In other words I was brought up in the shadow of modern science where all that happens had a cause and there were many things unlikely to happen. For instance, then flying by man was not to be thought of and we talked of flying as impossible and joied at man's attempts. Yet I read of the first successful flights; and myself in 1921 flew from Paris to London. I have flown tens of thousands of miles since, over land and sea. I visited the Paris World's Fair in 1900, and was astonished to see automobiles on the streets; not many but perhaps a dozen in a day. I lived to see the jokes about the possibility of these motors displacing the horce fade away nd automobiles fill the streets and cover the nations.

I remember when first in an American city, seeing the streets lighted by electricity; the lights blinked and sputtered but in a few yars electric bulbs supplanted the gas lights of my boyhood. Then came the gas-filled ballons rising in the sky and men crossed the Atlantic in Zeppelins. Soon came the horror of Hiroshima and I began to feel the vast possibilities of man's brain and his coming conquest of the air. But the most atartling miracle of my time before 1958, was Sputnik. This went beyond the internal combustion engine; the airplane and balloon; beyond the electric light and the bursting atom. This was beyond mere utility into the realm of Knowledge and the triumph of Reason. It taught the United States the superiority of Communist thought and calculation. It stopped our sneers at Soviet education.

OVER

Then this year came the climax; the triumph of thought over power and space that was the greatest miracle of which I ever dreamed. Not yet have I been able to comprehend its meanding, or to realize that it is today actually possible to send a human being to the stars. A Frenchman once said: "I know but two beautiful things on earth: the stars above us and the feeling of duty within us." Now that we have pierced the heavens, we are more sure of making Mankind willing and eager to do right.

(To ~~back~~ Page 401-402

Then this year came the climax; the triumph of thought over power and space that was the greatest miracle of which I ever dreamed. Not yet have I been able to comprehend its meanding, or to realize that it is today actually possible to send a human being to the stars. A Frenchman once said: "I know but two beautiful things on earth: the stars above us and the feeling of duty within us." Now that we have pierced the heavens, we are more sure of making Mankind willing and eager to do right.

(To ~~back~~ Page 401-402

From back page 399-400

I have lived to an age of life which is increasingly distasteful to this nation. Unless by sixty a man has gained possession of enough money to support himself, he faces the distinct possibility of starvation. He is liable to lose his job and a refusal if he seeks another. At seventy he is frowned upon by the Church and if he is foolish enough to survive until ninety, he is often regarded as a freak. This is because in the face of human experience the United States has discovered that Youth knows more than Age. When a man of 35 becomes president of a great institution of learning or United States Senator or head of a multi-million dollar sorporation, a cry of triumph rings in the land. Why? To pretend that fifteen years fring of themselves more wisdom and understanding than fifty is a contradiction in terms. Given a born fool, a hundred years will not make him wise; but given an idiot, he will not be wise at twenty. Youth is more courageous than age because it knows less. Age is wiser than youth because it knows more. This all mankind has affirmed from Egypt and China five ~~thousand~~ thousand years ago, to Britain and Germany today. Only the United States knows better. I would have been hailed with approval if I had died at fifty. At seventy-six my death was practically requested. If living does not give value, wisdom and meaning to life, then there is no sense in living at all. If immature and inexperienced men rule the earth, then the earth deserves what it gets: the repetition of age-old mistakes, and wild welcome for what men knew a thousand years ago was disaster.

I do not apologize for living long. High on the ramparts of this blistering hell of life, as it must appear to most men, I sit and see the Truth. I look it full in the face, and I will not lie about it, neither to myself nor to the world. I see my country as what Cedric Belfrage aptly characterized as a Frightened Giant", afraid of Truth, afraid of Peace. I see a land which is degenerating and faces decadence unless it has sense enough to turn about and start back. It is no sin to fail. It is the habit of men. It is disaster to go on when you know you are going wrong. I judge this land not merely by statistics or reading lies agreed upon by historians. I judge by what I have seen, and lived through for near a century.

There was a day when the world rightly called Americans honest even if crude; earning their living by hard work; telling the truth no matter whom it hurt; and going to war only in what they believed a just cause after nothing else seemed possible. Today we are lying, stealing, and killing. We call all this by finer names: Advertising, Free Enterprise, and National Defense. But names in the end deceive no one; today we use science to help us deceive our fellows; we take wealth that we never earned and we are devoting all our energies to kill, maim and drive insane, men, women and children who dare refuse to do what we want done. No nation

threatens us. We threaten the world. Our President says that Foster Dulles was the wisest man he knew. If Dulles was wise, God help our fools - - the fools who rule us and are today running wild in order to shoot a football into the sky where Sputnik rolls in peace around the earth. And they know why we fail - - these military masters of men - - we haven't taught our children mathematics and physics. No, it is because we have not taught our children to read and write or to behave like human beings and not like hoodlums. Every child on my street is whooping it up with toy guns and big boys with real pistols. When Elvis Presley goes through the motions of copulation on the public stage it takes the city police force to hold back teen-age children from hysteria. The highest ambition of an American boy today is to be a millionaire. The highest ambition of an American girl is to be a movie star. Of the ethical actions which lie back of these ideals, little is said or learned. What are we doing about it? Half the Christain churches of New York are trying to ruin the free public schools in order to install religious dogma in them; and the other half are too interested in Venezuelan oil to prevent the best center in Brooklyn from fighting youthfyl delinquenc or preventing a bishop fron kicking William Howard Melish into the street and closing his church. Which of the hundreds of churches sitting half empty protests about this? They hire Billy Graham to replace the circus in Madison Square Garden.

Howard Melish is one of the few Christain clergymen, for whom I have the highest respect. Honest and conscientious, believing sincerely in much of the Christain dogma, which I reject, but working honestly and without hypocrisy, for the guidance of the young, for the uplift of the poor and ignorant, and for the betterment of his city and his country, he has been driven from his work and his career ruined by a vindictive bishop of his church, with no effective protest from most of the Christain ministry and membership or of the people of the United States. The Melish case is perhaps at once the most typical and frightening illustration of present American regigion and my reaction. Here is a young man of odea; character, of impeccable morals; a hard worker, especially among the poor and unfortunate, with fine family relations. His father had helped build one of the most poplar Episcopal churches in the better part of Brooklyn; He himself married a well-educated woman, and had three sons in school. The community about it was changing from well-to-do people of English and Dutch descent, to white collar and laboring folk of Italian, Negro and Puerto-Rican extraction. Trinity church, under the Melishes, adapted itself to changing needs, and invited neighborhood membership. It was not a lrge church, but it was doing the best work among the young and foreign-born of any institution in Brooklyn.

The young rector took one step for which the bishop, most of his fellow clergymen and the well-to-do community, with its business interests pillorized him. He joined and became an official of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He was accused immediately of favoring Communism, and to appease

criticism he gave up his official position in this organization, but refused to resign his membership. Allegedly for this reason the bishop, most of the clery and the well-to-do community proceeded to force him out of the church. The real reason behind their fight was anger because a rich, white, "respectable" church was ~~been~~ being surrendered to Workers and Negroes. It became a renewed battle between Episcopal authority and democratic rule. This his parish wanted to retain Melish as rector was unquestionable. Through the use of technicalities in the canon law and in accord with the decision of Catholic judtes who believed in Episcopal power, Howard Melish lost his church, had hi life work ruined, and church itself closed, and its local influence ended. There was vigorous protest against this by devoted colleagues, many of then Jews and liberals. But the great mass of the Episcopal church membership was silent and did nothing.

All this must not be mentioned even if you know it and see it. America must never be criticized even by honest and sincere men. America must always be priased and extravagantly praised, or you lose your job, are ostracized, or land in jail. Criticism is Treason, and treason or the hint of treason testified to by hired liars may be punished by shameful death. I saw Ethel Rosenberg lying beautiful in her coffin beside her mate. I tried to stammer futile words above her grave. But not over graves should we shout this failure of justice, but from the housetops of the world.

Honest men may and must criticize America. Describe how she has ruined her democracy, sold out her jury system, and led her seats of justice astray. The only question that may arise is whether this criticism is based on truth, not whether it has been openly expressed.

What is truth? What can it be when the President of the United States, stands up in public and says: "The world also thinks of us as a land which has never enslaved anyone." Everyone who heard this knew it was not true. Yet, here stands the successor of George Washington who bought, owned, and sold slaves; the successor of Abraham Lincoln who freed four million slaves after they had helped him win victory over the slave-holding South. And so far as I have seen, not a single periodical, not even a Negro weekly, has dared challenge or even criticize that falsehood.

Perhaps the most extraordinary characteristic of current America is the attempt to reduce life to Buying and Selling. Life is not Love unless love is sex and bought and sold. Life is not Knowledge save knowledge of technique, or science for destrction. Life is not Beauty except beauty for sale. Life is not Art unless its price is high and is sold for profit. All Life is production for profit and for what is Profit, but for buying and selling again?

Even today the contradictions of American civilization are tremendous. Freedom of political discussion is difficult; elections are not free and fair. Democracy is for us to a large extent unworkable. In business there is a tremendous amount of cheating and stealing; gambling in card games, on television and on the tock exchange is widely practised. It is common custom for distinguished persons to sign books, articles, and speeches that they did not write; and for men of brains to compose and sell opinions which they do not believe. Ghost writing is a profession. The greatest power in the land is not thought or ethics, but wealth, and the persons who exercise the power of wealth are not necessarily its owners, but those who direct its use, and the truth about this direction is so far as possible kept a secret. We do not know who owns our vast property and resources, so that most of our argument concerning wealth and its use, must be based on guess work. Those responsible for the misuse of wealth escape responsibility, and even the owners of capial often do not know for what it is being used and how. The criterion of industry and trade, is the profit that it accrues, not the good which it does either its owners or the public. Present profit is valued higher than future need. We waste materials. We refuse to make repairs. We cheat and deceive in manufacturing goods. We have succumbed to an increased use of lying and misrepresentation. In the last ten years at least a thousand books have been published to prove that the fight to preserve Negro slavery in America was a great and noble cause, led by worthy men of eminence.

I know the United States. It is my country and the land of my fathers. It is still a land of magnificent possibilities. It is still the home of noble souls and generous people. But it is selling its birthright. It is betraying its mighty destiny. I was born and on its oil and educated in its schools. I have served my country to the best of my ability. I have never knowingly broken its laws or unjustly attacked its reputation. At the same time I have pointed out its injustices and crimes and blamed it, rightly as I believe, for its mistakes. It has given me education and some of its honors, for which I am thankful.

Today the United States is the leading nation in the world, which appartly believes that War is the only way to settle present disputes and difficulties. For this reason it is spending fantastic sums of money, and wasting wealth and energy on the preparation for war, which is nothing less than criminal. Yet the United States dare not stop spending money for war. If she did her whole economy which is today based on preparation for war, might collapse. Therefore, we prepare for a Third World Warl we spread our soldiers and arms over the earth and we bribe every nation we can to become our allies. We are taxing our citizens into poverty, crime and unemployment and systematically distorting the truth about Socialism. We have used the horror of germ warfare. Some of our leaders are ready to use it again.

The use of history for distortion and not for education has led to another of our greatest present evils; and that is to make fear os Socialism and Communism so great that we have withdrawn our efforts towards the education of children, the war on disease, and the raising of the standards of living. We encourage the increase of debt to finance present enjoyment; and above all we use news gathering and opinion, radio and television, magazines and books, to make most Americans believe that the threat of war, especially on the part of the Soviet Union against the United States justifies heavy tazation and tremendous expenditure for war preparation.

This propaganda began when our tremendous profits from the first world war encouraged American business to believe that the United States was about to replace Great Britain as ruler of most of mankind. The rise and spread of Socialism contradicted this ambition, and made the projected American century quail in fright before the century of Communism. We determined, therefore, to overthrown Communism by brute force. Gradually we discovered the impossibility of this, unless we risked suicide. We saw Communism increasing education, science and productivity. We now face the possibility of co-existence with the Communist world, and competition between the methods of Capitalism and the methods of Socialism. It is at this crisis that I have the opportunity to live seven months in a world of Socialism, which is striving towards Communism as an ideal.

This is what I call decadence. It could not have happened fifty yars ago. In the day of our fiercest controversy we have not dared thus puplicly to silence opion. I have lived through disagreement, vilification and war and war again. But in all that time, I have never seen the right of human beings to think so challenged and denied as today.

The day after I was born, Andrew Johnson was impeached. He deserved punishment as a traitor to the poor Southern whites and the poorer freedmen. Yet during his life, no one denied him the right to defend himself. A quarter of a century ago, I tried to state and carry into realization unpopular ideas against a powerful opposition - in the white South, in the reactionary North, and even among my own people. I found my thought be misconstrued and I planned an organ of progaganda - - <u>The Crisis</u> - - where I would be free to say what I believed. This was no easy sailing. My magazine reached but a fraction of the nation. It was bitterly attacked and once the government suppressed it. But in the end I maintained a platform of radical thinking on the Negro question which influenced many minds. War and depression ended my independence of thought and forced me to return to teaching, but with the certainty that I had at least started a new line of belief and action. Then they stopped my teaching.

As a result of my work and that of others, the Supreme

The Yale sophomore who replaced a periodical of brains by a book of pictures concealed in advertisements, proposed that America rule the world. This failed because we could not rule ourselves. But Texas to the rescue, as Johnson proposed that America take over outer space. Somewhere beyond the Moon there must be sentient creatures rolling in inextinguishable laughter at the antics of our Earth!

We taz ourselves into poverty and crime so as to make the richer richer and the poor poorer and more evil. We know the cause or this: it is to permit our rich business interest to stop socialism and to prevent the ideals of Communism from ever triumphing on earth. The aim is impossible! Socialism progresses and will progress. All we can do is to silence and jail its promoters and make world war on Communism. I believe in Socialism. I seek a world where the ideals of Communism will triumph - - to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. <u>And I still live!</u>

I just live. I plan my work, but plan less for shorter periods. I live from year to year and day to day. I expect snatches of pain and discomfort to come and go. And then, reaching back to my archives, I whisper to the great Majority:

To the Almighty Dead, into whose pale approaching faces, I stand and stare; you whose thoughts, deeds and dreams have made men wise with all wisdom and stupid with utter evil. In every name of God, bend out and down, you who are the infinite majority of all mankind and with your thoughts, deeds dreams and memories, overwhelm, outvote and coerce this remnant of human life which lingers on, imagining themselves wisest of all who have lived just because they still survive. Whiter with wide revelation will they go with their stinking pride and empty boasting, whose ever recurring lies only you the Dead have known all too well. Teach living man to jeer at this last civilization which seeks to build heaven on Want and Ill of most men and vainly builds on color and hair rather than on decency of hand and heart. Let your memories teach these wilful fools all which you have forgotten and ruined and done to death.

You are not and yet you are: your thoughts, your deeds, above all your dreams still live. So too, your deeds and what you forgot - these lived as your bodies died. With these we also live and die, realize and kill. Our dreams seek Heaven, our deeds plumb Hell. Hell lies about us in our Age; blithely

The Yale sophomore who replaced a periodical of brains by a book of pictures concealed in advertisements, proposed that America rule the world. This failed because we could not rule ourselves. But Texas to the rescue, as Johnson proposed that America take over outer space. Somewhere beyond the Moon there must be sentient creatures rolling in inextinguishable laughter at the antics of our Earth!

We taz ourselves into poverty and crime so as to make the richer richer and the poor poorer and more evil. We know the cause or this: it is to permit our rich business interest to stop socialism and to prevent the ideals of Communism from ever triumphing on earth. The aim is impossible! Socialism progresses and will progress. All we can do is to silence and jail its promoters and make world war on Communism. I believe in Socialism. I seek a world where the ideals of Communism will triumph - - to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. <u>And I still live!</u>

I just live. I plan my work, but plan less for shorter periods. I live from year to year and day to day. I expect snatches of pain and discomfort to come and go. And then, reaching back to my archives, I whisper to the great Majority:

To the Almighty Dead, into whose pale approaching faces, I stand and stare; you whose thoughts, deeds and dreams have made men wise with all wisdom and stupid with utter evil. In every name of God, bend out and down, you who are the infinite majority of all mankind and with your thoughts, deeds dreams and memories, overwhelm, outvote and coerce this remnant of human life which lingers on, imagining themselves wisest of all who have lived just because they still survive. Whiter with wide revelation will they go with their stinking pride and empty boasting, whose ever recurring lies only you the Dead have known all too well. Teach living man to jeer at this last civilization which seeks to build heaven on Want and Ill of most men and vainly builds on color and hair rather than on decency of hand and heart. Let your memories teach these wilful fools all which you have forgotten and ruined and done to death.

You are not and yet you are: your thoughts, your deeds, above all your dreams still live. So too, your deeds and what you forgot - these lived as your bodies died. With these we also live and die, realize and kill. Our dreams seek Heaven, our deeds plumb Hell. Hell lies about us in our Age; blithely

Hell lies about us in our Age; blithely we push into its stench and flame. Suffer us not, Eternal Dead to stew in this Evil - - the Evil of South Africa, the Evil of Mississippi; the Evil of Evils which is what we hope to hold in Asia and Africa, in the southern Americas and islands of the Seven Seas. Reveal, Ancient of Days, the Present in the Past and prophesy the End in the Beginning. For this is a beautiful world; this is a wonderful America, which the founding fathers dreamed until their sons drawned it in the blood of slavery and devoured it in greed. Our children must rebuild it. Let then the Dreas of the Dead rebuke the Blind who think that what is will be forever and teach them that what was worth living for must live again and that which merited death must stay dead. Teach us, Forever Dead there is no Dream but Deed, there is no Deed but Memory.

The End

Sample No

THE SOVIET UNION

I have in a sense seen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics grow, not as a casual visitor, nor hurried tourist. In 1926, I saw a Russia just emerging from war with the world. The people were poor and ill-clothed; food was scarce, and long lines stood hours to get their share. Orphan children, ragged and dirty, crawled in and out of sewers. The nation faced foreign force, and Russian traitors ~~were betrayed~~. Yet, despite this, I saw a land of hope and hard work. Schools were multiplying; books were being printed and widely read; workers were being protected with living wage, nurseries for children, night schools, trade unions and wide discussion. Indeed this wide discussion and criticism intrigued me. Never had I seen such public interest in social matters on the part of men, women and children. Here was a people seeking a new way of life through learning the truth, and cooperating with each other and by willing sacrifice. Not everybody was happy, but most Russians saw a bitter past being succeeded by a great future, not swiftly, but surely. I visited Kronstad, Leningrad, Moscow, Njini Novorod, Kiev, ~~Moscow~~ and Odessa. There were no signs of prostitution or unusual crime. There was some drunkenness, but little gambling. Priests were plentiful, and tarnished gold-domed churches abounded, but dogma was being driven from the schools. Above all, the spirit of the people was high, the officials were working desperately hard, and with efficiency.

I had known that Czarist Russia naturally resisted the revolution. But of the extent of that counter-revolution and of the active help in manpower, material and arms supplied by the civilized world; of the spying and intrigue from all Europe, which had accompanied and inspired this war of reaction, I had but the vaguest information. Indeed I did not learn the whole story until Sayers and Kahn published their "Great Conspiracy" in 1946.

What amazed and uplifted me in 1926, was to see a nation stoutly facing a problem which most other modern nation did not dare even to admit was real, (the abolition of Poverty) Taking inspiration directly out of the mouths and dreams of the world's savants

Sample ho

THE SOVIET UNION

I have in a sense seen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics grow, not as a casual visitor, nor hurried tourist. In 1926, I saw a Russia just emerging from war with the world. The people were poor and ill-clothed; food was scarce, and long lines stood hours to get their share. Orphan children, ragged and dirty, crawled in and out of sewers. The Nation faced foreign force, and Russian traitors ~~were betrayed~~. Yet, despite this, I saw a land of hope and hard work. Schools were multiplying; books were being printed and widely read; workers were being protected with living wage, nurseries for children, night schools, trade unions and wide discussion. Indeed this wide discussion and criticism intrigued me. Never had I seen such public interest in social matters on the part of men, women and children. Here was a people seeking a new way of life through learning the truth, and cooperating with each other and by willing sacrifice. Not everybody was happy, but most Russians saw a bitter past being succeeded by a great future, not swiftly, but surely. I visited Kronstad, Leningrad, Moscow, Njini Novorod, Kiev, ~~Moscow~~ and Odessa. There were no signs of prostitution or unusual crime. There was some drunkenness, but little gambling. Priests were plentiful, and tarnished gold-domed churches abounded, but dogma was being driven from the schools. Above all, the spirit of the people was high, the officials were working desperately hard, and with efficiency.

I had known that Czarist Russia naturally resisted the revolution. But of the extent of that counter-revolution and of the active help in manpower, material and arms supplied by the civilized world; of the spying and intrigue from all Europe, which had accompanied and inspired this war of reaction, I had but the vaguest information. Indeed I did not learn the whole story until Sayers and Kahn published their "Great Conspiracy" in 1946.

What amazed and uplifted me in 1926, was to see a nation stoutly facing a problem which most other modern nation did not dare even to admit was real, (the abolition of Poverty) Taking inspiration directly out of the mouths and dreams of the world's savants

Ch IV

and prophets, who had inveighed against modern industrial methods; against the co-existance of progress and poverty; this new Russia led by Lenin and inspired by Marx, and Engels, proposed to build a socialist state with production for use and not for private profit; with ownership of land and capital goods by the state, and with state control of public services, including education and health. It was enough for me to see this mighty attempt. It might fail, I knew, but the effort in itself was social progress and neither foolishness nor crime.

Russia was handicapped by 90% illiteracy among her peasants, and nearly as much among her working classes; by a religion led by a largely immoral priesthood, dealing in superstition and deception, and rich with the loot of grovelling followers. Most of her industrial capital was owned by foreigners, whose only interest was the fifty or seventy-five percent profit which they reaped from merciless exploitation. Her government had long been shot through with dishonesty and graft under dissolute nobles and fawning lackeys. Her punishment of crime and independent thought had long affronted the civilized world. Yet the best people of Europe and America seldom raised a finger of protest, but fawned on Russian royalty and aristocracy, receiving them with open arms and expressing loud sympathy when they were repudiated.

There is no question but that governments can carry on business. Every government does. Whether governmental industry compares ~~in efficiency~~ with private industry depends entirely upon what we call efficiency. And here it is and not elsewhere that the Russian experiment is astonishing and new, and of fateful importance to the future of civilization. What we call efficiency in America is judged primarily by the resultant profit to the rich and only secondarily by the results to the workers. The face of industrial Europe and America is set toward increasing private wealth; that is, toward the people who have large income. We recognize the economic value of small incomes mainly as a means of profit for great incomes. Russia seeks another psychology. Russia is trying to make ~~this~~ the workingman the main object of industry. His well-being and his income are deliberately set as the chief ends of organized industry, directed by the State.

It is ~~on~~ by its economic ~~problem~~ Progress that Russia must primarily be judged. Russia had established a socialistic state. The world had long been veering toward Socialism. We had made essays toward Socialism; but when the Socialistic state appeared full-fledged, most of us called it by other names and refused to judge it by its socialism, but rather we insisted on investigating the ethics of the methods ~~underlying~~ accompanying its establishment.

What had Russia done in 1926, to establish a Socialistic State? First, it had nationalized the land. Every inch of land in Russia-- the air above it and the resources beneath , belong to the ~~Russian~~ Soviet State. Persons who wish to till the soil may have as much land as they can successfully till, with the labor of their own family. The mineral and oil rights may be farmed out by the government for a term of years, but the government retains ownership of mines and wells and the terms of the leases are limited.

Ten years later, in 1936 I rode aacross the Soviet Union on the Trans-Siberian railway from Moscow to Otpur, Manchuria. The trip of four thousand miles was slow and took ten days and nights. But it traversed main part of the Soviet Union. It went through cities, ~~crossed~~ climbed the Urals and crossed lakes and rivers. The change in ten years was remarkable. This was no longer a people struggling for survival, it was a nation sure of itself. In Moscow the streets were widening and the city had crossed the river. Old buildings remained, but great new buildings were crowding them. The golden domes of churches had disappeared, and tall office buildings were taking their place. Few priests were visable, and few beggars. The folk were better dressed and food was much more plentiful. There were no unemployed, and all children were in school; factories shops and libraries had multiplied, and there was evidence of law and order everywhere. Industry was moving west and ~~climbing~~ crossing the Urals. Military might was evident and we saw the massing of soldiers toward the East to meet the threat of Japan. Great dams, canals and water works were building. The peasant was in close cooperation with, and not in revolt against the factory worker. Here was a self-confident nation ready to fight for existence.

No ¶

The people of the nation did not have all they wanted or planned to have, but much more than ever before. They did not fear poverty nor old age; They were ~~[illegible]~~ not slaves, not ready for revolt.

Thirteen years later, in 1949, after the Peace Congress in Paris, twenty-five Americans were invited to attend a Peace Congress in the Soviet Union. I was the only one who accepted the invitation. In the Hall of the Nobles, Moscow, where the Russian aristocrats used to gamble, I met a cross-section of the Soviet people- workers, writers, officials, and visitors from neighboring lands. It was an inspiring body and I tried to convince them that most Americans did not desire war with them, but strove for peace. I saw the continued growth of Moscow, and the increased confidence of the Soviet Union in itself, and in Socialism as a path to a Communist state. I was shown where on Lenin Hills a new University would be built.

Ten years passed. I was allowed to visit Europe until 1959, when I again saw the Soviet Union and spent five months in its borders. Its growth in size and building; in industry and trade; in science and education, was marvellous. In November of 1959, as I rode into Moscow I saw above the city the great Sickle and Star which crowns the University and blesses the city. Later this Lomosov State University, "Member of the Order of Lenin and of the Workers' Order of the Red Star," called me to its halls and made me honorary doctor of historical science. ¶ I was on Red Square at the great celebration with a half million spectators. A ~~gaily~~ uniformed major escorted me to the hotel, and on the way we stopped and saluted Khruschev, and Khruschev raised his hat.

¶ Next I went to a Sanitarium, I was weary from travel. It is a great solemn place with tall pines and snow. We have servants for every wish, and all are as kind as can be. I have been here a month, and have had every probe and test possible. My heart has been measured a dozen times; my blood tested, my blood pressure taken, and I have been poked inside and out.

Today I was granted an interview with Prime Minister Khruschev at my request. For about two hours, I and my wife, Shirley Graham, discussed with him the Peace movement in the United States, and the Pan-African movement.

I told him of my indictment and acquital in 1951 of the charge of not registering as a foreign agent, because I secured signers for the Stockholm appeal. We discussed the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Council. I talked about African independence and unity, and of establishing in Moscow an Institute under the Academy of Sciences, to study African history and culture. I said Africa has just taken a decisive step at the conference at Accra toward independence, union and free cultural development. The first effort of Africans will be in political lines and then for industrial progress and economic organization. Education will receive attention, but resources will be limited, and teachers scarce. I believe that here the Soviet Union can be of great assistance to new Africa. The Scientific study of Africans and their continent is nedessary for the guidance of their education and the organization of their culture. This is one of the ways in which the progressive world can help its lagging parts and one in which there are fewest causes for friction and diversity of interest. I suggested therefore, that the Soviet Academy of Sciences establish an Institute for the study of Pan-African history, sociology, ethnography, anthropology and all cognate studies. This Institute of the Academy would aim at promotion of scientific research into all the activities, past and present of the peoples of Africa, together with a study of their physical, and biological environment. This series of studies would be carried on with the central idea of the unity of the whole subject and the conviction that history is not separate from sociology, or culture from biology, but that all research in such related fields seek the one end of unified scientific knowledge. While this enterprise would start and center in the Soviet Union, its object would be the welfare and progress of Africa, and from the first, it should seek cooperation wherever it could be found, and especially among Africans.

The Institute should by offer of scholarships to Africans, and by cooperation with African students and institutions of learning, try eventually to build within Africa, a center of scientific study, which would lead in world study, and the promotion of world peace.

Realizing how in modern history the exploitation and almost universal underestimation of Africans have led to wide denial of the very existence of their history and culture, it would be a first duty of this Institute to make known the history of the African peoples, and to distribute knowledge of this in libraries and museums; in text-books and university studies, and as common knowledge. No greater work for world peace can be conceived, no quicker way to convince mankind that no part of it must exist for the exploitation and comfort of the rest at ~~any~~ the cost of suffering black folk.

The Soviets are making a new people; a disciplined people. This is not a matter of police; few police are in evidence, and there is little giving of orders. Secret dred? I sense none. But let me illustrate: Out from my hotel window I look on two great squares; the furtherest is Red Square with the towers of the Kremlin walls and the brown tomb where Lenin and Stalin sleep their last long sleep. Across these squares yesterday a half million people marched, walked, and danced; they ate and sang, they laughed and cheered. This morning when I arose and looked out, there was not a scrap of paper or sign of dirt. That meant work in the night I'm sure, but it meant much more than this: it meant that this half million people dropped no dirt and threw away no paper, and they did this not under orders, but because they felt these squares were theirs, and they must not soil their own. These people feel a vested interest in this nation such as ~~no~~ few American feels ~~in~~ for the United States.

Why? I do not know, and yet it may be because they are consulted about it. They are asked, continually asked; they sit and sit and talk and talk, and vote and vote; if this is all a mirage, it is a perfect one. They believe it as I used to believe in the Spring Town Meeting in my ~~town~~ village. There is power rivalry and personal jealousy; all things in the Soviet Union are not perfect. Mails miscarry, cables come a day late, styles are often funny; the world problem of ~~mental~~ domestic service has not been settled. The question of life careers and the decision between what one wants to do and what one is fitted to do, and what efforts are needed—these matters have not yet found final answers; but they are being frankly faced , and experiments are making.

The Soviet Union is great and growing greater, and it belongs to this two hundred million folk about me (as ~~they~~ it seem to believe); I am strongly inclined to agree with them.

Nowhere are public questions so throughly and exhaustively discussed. Russians sit and listen long to talks, lectures, expositions; they read books, magazines and newspapaers, not just picture books. Each problem of existance is discussed in ~~each~~ village and factory. Comments, spoken and written, are welcomed, until every aspect, every opinion has been expressed and listened to, and the matter rises to higher echelons, and is discussed again. Gradually agreement is approached, until when the thrashed-out result reaches the All-Soviet height, there is usally but one opinion and decision. This is not unexpected ~~unusual~~. How many right answers to each of our problem are there? This is a sifting of democracy which the West has lost. In America there is little real political discussion. It is discouraged in every way; by stopping meetings, refusing use of hall; closing columns of newspapers, refusing radio time, and even by police interference and jail. In Britain there is freeer discussion, but it is limited by convention ~~custom~~ and prestige; by aristocratic influence and the money and leisure of the dominant class. In France, parlimentary debate is directed by the powerful interests who work the puppets and pull the strings. In Italy, the church stands always in the shadow, keeping watch above its own. The church represents wealth, and wealth rules, ~~the church.~~

In the Soviet Union the overwhelming power of the working class as representing the nation is always decisive. Above this and rising out of it and expressing its thoughts and ideals, rises the real aristocracy of the Soviet Union, the writers and scientists. They get the highest wage, they enjoy such privileges as the law and public opinion allow. How free are they? Science is free from religious dogma and ~~singularly free~~ from vested interests. The writer has a wide leeway and rich applause, but he is limited by the aims of Socialism, to serve all and not a few, and by the fear of ~~outside~~ foreign attack, which

in the past has nearly ruined the Soviet Union. The recalcitrant writer, the idealists and dreamers disagree, ~~and~~ but variety of opinion ~~has~~ is become increasingly common and open. As the Soviet Union becomes stronger and more self-confident, and less sensitive to that western opinion, which has so long ruled the world with a rod of gold, it will become freer. Never, I hope, so free as to betray the ideals of the land as French writers have betrayed France, and as American writers ~~betray submit today to dictation~~ distort Truth today.

For years most American leaders regarded the figures as to Russian progress as exaggerations or lies. The Teachers' Union once begged me not to say in answer to a citation that the schools of Moscow were better than those of New York. Ex-President Conant of Harvard declared that the Communist Party would not allow promotion to higher schools by examination; presumably only by favor. Then came "Sputnik". Then ~~came the~~ followed unasnwerable proof of Soviet superiority in Science. There ~~followed~~ were revealed the startling figures as to education in schools and colleges.

What I saw in the Soviet Union was more than triumph in physics, it was the growth of a nations soul; the confidence of a great people in its plans and future. And beyond that the realization around the world that the Seven year Plan was not boasting, but knowledge shared by two hundred million people. Around these millions were gathered even greater millions in China, Vietnam and Korea, who believed in Socialism, and sought Communism.

Is it possible to conduct a great modern government without autocratic laadership of the rich? The answer is: this is exactly what the Soviet Union is doing today. But can she continue to do this? This is not a question of ethics or economics; it is a question of psychology. Can Russia continue to think of the State in terms of the workers? This can happen only if the Russian people believe and idealize the workingman as the chief citizen. In America we do not. The ideal of every American is the millionaire-- or at least the man of "independent" means of income. We regard the laborers as the unfortunate part of the community, and even liberal thought is directed

toward "emancipating" the workingman by relieving him in part, if not entirely, of the necessity for work. Russia, on the contrary, is seeking to make a nation believe that work, and work that is hard and in some respects even disagreeable, and to a large extent pyhsical, is a necessity of human life at present and likely to be in any conceivable future world; that the people who do this work are the ones who should determine how the national income from their combined efforts should be distributed; in fine, that the workingman is the State; that he makes civilization possible and should determine what civilization is to be.

For this purpose he must be a workingman of skill and intelligence, and to this, Russian education is being organized. This is what the Dictatorship of the Proletariat means. This dictatorship does not stop there. As the workingman is today neither skilled nor intelligent to any such extent as his responsibilities demand, there is within his ranks the Communist Party directing the Proletariat toward their future duties. This is nothing new. In the governments "of the people", we have elaborate and many-sided arrangements for guiding the rulers. The test is, are we and Russia really preparing future rulers? Insofar as I could see in the Soviet Union, in shop and school, in the press and on the radio, in books and lectures, in trade unions and national congressmen, Russia is; we are not.

It is the organized private capital of America, England, France and Germany which is chiefly instrumental in preventing the realization of the Russian workingman's psychology. It has used every modern weapon to crush Russia. It sent against Russia every scoundrel who could lead a mob, and has given him money, guns and praise; and when Russia nearly committed suicide in crushing this civil war, modern industry began the industrial boycott, the refusal of capital and credit, which is being carried on today just as far as international jealousy and greed will allow. And can we wonder? If modern capital is owned by the rich and handled for their power and benefit, can the rich be expected to hand it over to their avowed and actual enemies? On the contrary, if modern industry is really for the benefit of the people, and if there is an

effort to make the people the chief beneficiaries of industry, why is it that this same people is powerless today to help this experiment, or at least give it a clear way? On the other hand, so long as the most powerful nations in the world are determined that the Soviet Union must fall, there can be but a minimum of free discussion and democratic difference of opinion in Russia.

There is world struggle then in and about Russia; but it is not simply an ethical problem, as to whether or not the Russian Revolution was morally right; that is a question, which history will settle. It is not simply the economic question as to whether or not Russia can conduct industry on a national scale. She is doing it today and in so doing she differs only in quantity, not in quality fron every other modern country. It is not a question merely of "dictatorship". We are all subject to this form of government.

There is under Communism a use of women for more than pleasure and physical reproduction; but primarily for their talent in work and thought. This has made possible the increase of medical facilities, since sixty percent of the Soviet women are today physicians. With this goes a socialization of the family group. It is no longer customary to regard babies as playthings or nursery jobs; or as means of prolonging the father's cultural patterns, or to inherit his wealth or privileges. The child is becoming a recognized ward of the state to be raised and educated for the welfare of the people of the state and not merely for the privilege of a family group or of a special class. For this purpose nurseries, kindergartens and schools are provided; cooperative kitchens, and a dining rooms. The masses of Communist women are being released from household drudgery, and the state has a tremendously widened reservoir of ability to serve its needs.

The Soviet Union which I see in 1959 is Power and Faith and not simply Hope. When the seven years Plan was announced, not only Soviet citizens but the world knew that this nation could do what it planned, and barring no unexpected difficulties would reach these enormous goals. It is only a matter of time and a comparatively short time when the Soviet Union will lead the worl in industry.

The Russian question is: Can you make the worker and not the millionaire the center of modern power and culture? If you can, the Russian Revolution will sweep the world. One can stand on the streets of Moscow and Kiev and see clearly that Russia has struck at the citadelsof power that rules modern countries. Not manhood suffrage, women's suffrage, state regulation of industry, social reforms, nor religious and moral teaching in any modern country have shorn organized wealth of its power, as the Bolshevik Revolution has done in Russia. The Soviet Union seems to me the only modern country where people are not more or less taught and encouraged to despise and look down on some class group or race. I know countries where race and color prejudice show only slight manifestations, but no white country where race and color prejudice seems so absolutely absent. In Paris, I attract some attention; in London I meet elaborate blankness; anywhere in America I get anything from complete ignoring to curiosity, and often insult. In Moscow, I pass unheeded; Russians quite naturally ask me information; women sit beside me quite confidentially and unconsciously. Children are uniformly polite.

We had just finished our trip through Western Europe, when a cable came inviting us to a conference of Asiatic and African writers at Tashkent. I had heard nothing of this meeting, but had wanted very much to attend the conference at Bandung in 1955. Again the government had prevented me, and the message which I had sent by an American Negro reporter, reached nobody. Further correspondence made our attendance upon this Congress at Tashkent seem of real importance. It was two thousand miles south east of Moscow, with five hours difference in time. The passage ~~then~~ branched from my trip in 1936, veering toward the south. We heard the blood of Stalingrad far to the West, where Stalin conquered Hitler and saved Europe. After leaving Kazan, we crossed the Kazakh Province, and entered the province of Uzbek.
We were near the storied Samarkand; ~~and~~ where:

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan,
A stately pleasure dome decree
Where Alph the sacred river ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea"

But today there is sunshine over the 150,000 square miles of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Over seven million brunette and curly-haired folk of Asiatic descent live here speaking a dialect differing from the Russian language, and inheriting an old culture. Tashkent a city of 600,000, founded in the seventh century on the trade route between Samarkand and Peking, welcomed its guests with banners and applause. They filled the festooned streets. Their fields were growing tall long-staple cotton, which an American Negro from Tuskegee first planted. New housing was replacing the old compounds, and schools were spreading.

The huge square with its fountain, had a new modern hotel on one side, and on the other a great conference hall with facilities for translating into Russian, Arabic, Chinese and English. This choice of languages was significant. The city was festooned, and the square filled with people greeting the visitors, and besieging the stalls, where books were on sale, and not chewing gum and hot dogs. One stall sold in a day ten thousand rubles worth of books in the Tartar language alone. One hundred and forty writers from thirty-six countries, and forty-five writers from the Soviet Republics, were present. We saw and heard of men whose works are read by millions, and yet whose names most of us Westerners had never heard. I was surprised to find my work known to many of the delegates, and the Congress gave me a standing ovation when I entered. I was shown to the platform, where I sat as a member of the directing committee. The discussion and the papers were mainly on cultural matters, although politics, and especially Colonialism continually forced themselves to the front. The inter-relation

of all cultures was stressed, and the contribution of the West, despite its aggression against Asia and Africa. As one poet from the mountains of Daghestan said, "We must not confuse Colonialism with culture, nor Dreiser with Dulles." Efua Sutherland, a black woman from Ghana called the conference " A step toward unification of the disrupted soul of man."

A permanent Afro-Asian writers bureau was set up, with head quarters in Ceylon, to publish books, a journal, and an encyclopedia, and to promote translations.

I leave one subject to the last, as I leave the Soviet Union, religion. I lived two months opposite the inscription on the Second House of the Soviets, written by Lenin:

"Religion is the opium of the people!"

Whatever was true of other lands, this was certainly true in Russia in 1926 and before. Symbols of religion dominated the city, from the vast five domes of the Cathedral of Christ, the 350 other churches of the city dominated the landscape, as they loomed and glowed. There were gems of beautiful bejewelled churches; horders of priests intoning litanies, begging alms, forgiving sins. There were thousands of shrines. Only one who has heard the chant of a Russian service, seen its color and genuflections; only those who know the gorgeous litany and the beauty of Russian churches can realize what Lenin meant when he called the Russian religion "opium".

But it was worse than opium. It was a Russian Priest, Father Petrov, who said in 1908," There is no Christian Czar and no Christian government. Conditions of life are not Christian. The upper classes rule the lower classes. A little group keeps the rest of the population enslaved. This little group has robbed the working people of wealth, power, science, art and even religion, which they have also subjected; they have left them only ignorance and misery. In the place of pleasure they have given the people drunkenness; in the place of religion, gross superstition; and beside, the work of a convict, a work without rest or reward. The ruling clergy with its cold, heartless bony fingers, has stifled the Russian church, killed its creative spirit, chained the Gospel itself, and "sold" the church to the Government.

"There is not an outrage, no crime, no perfidy of the State authorities, which the Monks who rule the church, would not cover with the mantle of the church, would not bless, would not seal with their own hands."

The British Trade Union report of 1925 said: "A very strong propaganda in the Press, the schools, colleges, and Trade Union clubs is, however, carried on against religion generally, and especially as practised by the old Orthodox Church.

"The former Government-controlled licensed houses of prostitution where girls were exposed for hire at recognized fee, have been closed. In Tsarist days these houses were a recognized government institution; the opening ceremony was undertaken by a police officer and the premises blessed by Russian Orthodox Priests."

All this has gone and none regrets that Russian Orthodox religion has been dethroned. But the Russian church remains and other churches still carry on in the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union does not allow any church of any kind to interfere with education, and religion is not taught in the public schools. It seem to me that this is the greatest gift of the Russian Revolution to the modern world. Most educated modern men no longer believe in religious dogma. If questioned they will usually resort to double-talk before admitting the fact. But who today actually believes that this world is ruled and directed by a benevolent person of great power, who on humble appeal will change the course of events at our request? ~~Most~~ folk ~~will not~~ follow religious ~~customs~~ ceremonies and services; and ~~above all we~~ allow our children to learn fairy tales and so-called truths which in time they come to recognize as conventional lies told by their parents and teachers. One can hardly exaggerate the moral disaster of this custom. We have to thank the Soviet Union for the courage to stop this custom.

301

USSR

The United States has moved from the hysteria of calling all Russian women prostitutes, all Russian workers slaves and the whole Russian people ready for revolt, of regarding all Russian rulers as criminals conspiring to conquer the United States and rule the world; of breaking every treaty that they make. From this radical and utterly ridiculous position, we have begun to recognize the Soviet Socialist Republic as giving its people the best education of any in the world, of excelling in science, and organizing industry to its highest levels. Our increasing number of visitors to Russia, see a contented people who do not hate the United States, but fear its war-making, and are eager to cooperate with us. From such a nation we can learn. This the courageous trial of Khrushchev, in the face of threat Calumny and insult has taught us

CHAPTER V

CHINA

I saw China first in 1936, on my trip from the Soviet Union to Japan. I was struck by its myriads of people. This amorphous mass of men, with its age-old monuments of human power, beauty, and glory; with its helpless, undefended welter of misery and toil, has an organization of life and impenetrable will to survive that neither imperial tyranny, nor industrial exploitation, nor famine, starvation, and pestilence can kill— it is Eternal life, facing disaster and triumphing imperturbably.

There passed a glory from the earth when Imperial China fell. Built as it was on skulls, it was bravely built and the remains are magnificant. In all essential respects they surpass the Stones of Europe. Where Europe counts its years in hundreds, Asia counts its thousands. There is absent that all too apparent European effort to dramatize and exaggerate the past; to emphasize war and personal glory. China shows a finer effort to let the past stand silent, frank, and unadorned; to tell the truth simply about men and fully; and to record the triumphs of education, family life and literature far more than murder.

I write this standing on the Great Wall of China, with twenty-three centuries beneath my feet. The purple crags of Manchuria lie beyond the valley, while behind are the yellow and brown mountains of China. For seventy cents I have been carried up on the shoulders of four men and down again. And here I stand on what has been called the only work of man, visible from Mars. It is no mud fence or pile of cobbles. It surpasses that mighty bastion of Constantinople, which so many centuries saved Mediterranean civilization from German barbarism. This is a wall of carefully cut stone, fitted and laid with perfect matching and eternal mortar, from twenty to fifty feet high and 2,500 miles long; built by a million men, castellated with perfect brick, and standing mute and immutable for more than two thousand years. Such is China.

Shanghai was an epitome of the racial strife, the economic struggle, the human paradox of modern life. Here is the greatest city of the most populous nation on earth, with the large part of it owned, governed and policed by foreign nations. With Europe largely controlling its capital, commerce, mines, rivers and manufactures; with a vast welter of the greatest working-class in the world, paid less than an average of twenty-five cents a day; with a glittering modern life of skyscrapers, majestic hotels, theatres and night clubs. In this city of nations are 19,000 Japanese, 11,000 British, 10,000 Russians, 4,000 Americans, and 10,000 foreigners of other nationality living in the midst of 3,000,000 Chinese. The city is divided openly by nations; (black-bearded Sikhs under British orders police) its streets, foreign warships sit calmly at her wharfs; foreigners tell this city what it may and may not do. Even at that, matters are not as bad as they once were. In 1936, foreigners acknowledge that Chinesse have some rights in China. Chinese who can afford it may even visit the city race track from which they and dogs were long excluded. It is not common now to kick a coolie or throw a rickshaw's fare on the ground. Yet, yesterday afternoon I saw a little English boy of perhaps four years, order three Chinese children out of his imperial way on the sidewalk of the Bund; and they meekly obeyed and walked into the gutter. It looked quite like Mississippi. And, too, I met a "missionary" from Mississippi, teaching in the Baptist University of Shanghai!

I went by invitation to the American-supported University of Shanghai and I said to the President that I should like to talk to a group of Chinese and discuss frankly racial and social matters. He arranged a luncheon at the Chinese Bankers' Club. There were present one of the editors of the China Press, the Secretary-General of the Bank of China, the General Manager of the China Publishing Company, the Director of the Chinese Schools for Shanghai, and the Executive Secretary of the China Institute of International Relations.

We talked nearly three hours. I plunged in recklessly. I told them of my slave ancestors, of my education and travels. Of the Negro problem.

Then I turned on them and said, " How far do you think Europe can continue to dominate the world, or how far do you envisage a world whose spiritual center is Asia and the colored races? You have escaped from the domination of Europe politically since the World War-- at least in part; but how do you propose to escape from the domination of European capital? How are your working classes progressing? Why is it that you hate Japan more than Europe when you have suffered more from England, France, and Germany than from Japan?"

There ensued a considerable silence, in which I joined. Then we talked. They said," Asia is still under the spell of Europe, although not as completely as a while back. It is not our ideal simply to ape Europe. We know little of India or Africa, or Africa in America. We see the danger of European capital and are slowly extricating ourselves, by seeking to establish control of capital by the political power of taxation and regulation. We have stabilized our currency--no longer do English Hong Kong notes form our chief circulating medium. Our wages are too low but slowly rising; labor legislation is appearing; we have 16,000,000 children in school with short terms and inadequate equipment, but a beginning of the fight against our ninety percent illiteracy."

We talked three hours but it was near a quarter of a century before I realized how much we did not say. The Soviet Union was scarcely mentioned, although I knew how the Soviet Union was teaching the Chinese in 1926. Nothing was said of the Long March which had just ended its 6000 miles from Kiangsi to Yenan, led by Mao tse Tung, and Chu Teh. We mentioned America only for its benefactions and scarcely for its exploitation. Of the Kuo min tang and Chiang kai shek, almost nothing was said, but hatred of Japan and its betrayal of Asia was amply pointed out. In 1959 I came again to China.

I wanted to re-visit China because it is a land of colored people; and again because in 1946 China had officially invited me to visit and lecture, but the United States had refused to permit me. The passport which I received in 1959, stated that it was"not good for travel to China." It was a fair conclusion that if I did not use this passport to secure entrance to China and made no

claim on the United States for protection, the State Department had no legal right to forbid me to visit China. Certainly the United States could give me no less protection in China than it could in Mississippi. On the other hand by legal fiction, the United States was still "at war" with China, since the Korean War had never been legally finished. It was possible then if I went to China, to jail me for "Trading with the Enemy." This risk I thought it my duty to take, since my invitation to visit has been renewed by the cultural minister, Kuo mo jo and Madame Soong Ching Ling.

I left Moscow February ninth and returned April sixth. It was the most facinating six weeks of travel and sight-seeing I have ever experienced.

We remember Pekin; a city of six million; its hard workers, its building and re-building; that great avenue which passes the former forbidden city, and is as wide as central park; the bicycles and pedicycles, the carts and barrows. There was the University where I lectured on Africa, and a college of the fifty or more races of China. We looked out from our hotel window at the workers. They all wore raincoats beneathe the drizzle.

We saw the planning of a nation and a system of work rising over the entrails of dead empire.

I have traveled widely on this earth since my first trip to Europe 67 years ago. Save South America and India, I have seen most of the civilized world and much of its backward regions. Many leading nations I have visited repeatedly. But I have never seen a nation which so amazed and touched me as China in 1959.

I travelled 5,000 miles, by railway, boat, plane and auto. I saw all the great cities: Peking, Shanghai, Hankow and its sisters; Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming and Nanking. I rode its vast rivers, [illegible] passed through its villages and sat in its communes. I visited its schools and colleges, lectured and broadcast to the world. I visited its minority groups. I was on the borders of Tibet when the revolt occured. I spent four hours with Mao Tse-tung and dined twice with Chou En-lai, the tireless

Prime Minister of this Nation of 680 million souls. ¶ We come to Cheng-Tu. We ride about this farthest Western stopping place, close to the crowds and the workers and the homes, old and new. We visit a commune of 60,000 members. We climb the mountian to see irrigation being widened today, yet started two thousand two hundred years ago. There is a glorious temple on its summit, and below a wide lake between ~~a~~ winding roads. Four rivers roll down fron the Himalayas, out of Tibet into the Yangstze. ¶ Then we fly to Kunmin, the end of the American Burma road. It is warm and quiet, and at the state school, the minorities dance and sing welcome, and among them are ~~the~~ Tibetans. There are more Tibetans in China, than in Tibet. In Tibet while we were on its border in Czechwan, the landholders and slave drivers and the religious fanatics revolted against the Chinese, and failed as they deserved to. Tibet has belonged to China for centuries. The Communists linked the two by roads and began reforms in land holding, schools and trade, which now move quickly. At Kunmin we were at the end of the Burma road and near the great Mekong river. Below lay Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. The nest of grafters, whoremongers and gamblers at Saigon, helped by Americans, have broken the Geneva treaty which closed the French Indo-Chinese War, and are attacking the Communists ~~of Vietnam~~. That is called "Communist Aggression." It is the attempt of American business and the American navy to supplant France as colonial ruler in southeast Asia.

There is at Canton a marble commercial building where the import and export exposition was recently opened. There are five floors of exhibits. I am convinced that America can not make anything which is not today being made by China, or which cannot be made cheaper, and for the most part made quite as well: for out of the things that China makes come no profits for private exploiters. Most nations of the world are beginning to buy China's goods, except the United States. China sells increasingly to Europe, to Asia and South America; to India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and Malaya; to Africa and the West Indies; to Australia and New Zealand, and such goods; silk and woolen clothing, watches, clocks, radio's and television sets; looms, machinery and lamps, shoes and hats, pottery and dishes. All Chinese seem to be at work, and not afraid of unemployment, and welcoming every suggestion that displaces muscle with machinery.

In every town and city, we went to the opera, and can never forget the assault of the Monkey King on the hosts of Heaven, facing God and the angels. A night sleeping train took us over the thirty hour trip from Pekin to Hankow. There I saw the bridge that had been miraculously thrown across the Yangstze. We rested in a little hotel adorned with flowering cabbages. We visited the great steel mills and shook hands with welcoming workers. The colored American prisoner of war who stayed in China rather than return to America and is happy his wife and baby , came to visit us.

My birthday was given National notice in China, and celebrated as never before; and we whom all our lives have been liable to insult and discrimination on account of our race and color, in China have met universal good will and love, such as we never expected. As we leave may we thank them humbly for all they have done for us, and for teaching us what Communism means.

The people of the land I saw: the workers, the factory hands, the farmers and laborers, scrubwomen and servants. I went to parks and restaurants, sat in the homes of the high and the low; and always I saw a happy people; people with faith that need no Church nor priest, and laughs gaily when the Monkey King ~~fools the host of Heaven and~~ overthrows the angels.

In all my wandering, I never felt the touch or breath of insult or even dislike- I who for 90 years in America scarcely ever saw a day without some expression of hate for "niggers".

What is the secret of China in the second half of the 20th. century? It is that the vast majority of a billion human beings have been convinced that human nature in some of its darkest recesses can be changed, if change is necessary. China knows, as no other people know, to what depths human meanness can go. I used to weep for American Negroes, as I saw what indignities and repressions and cruelties they had passed; but as I read Chinese history in these last months and had it explained to me stripped of Anglo-Saxon lies, I know that no depths of Negro slavery in America have plumbed such abysses as the Chinese have seen for 2,000 years and more. They have seen starvation and murder; rape and prostitution; sale and slavery of children; and religion cloaked in opium and gin, for converting the "heathen". This oppression

and contempt came not only from Tartars, Mongolians, British, French, Germans and Americans, but from the Chinese themselves: Mandarins and warlords, capitalists and murdering thieves like Chiang Kai-shek; Kuomintang socialists and intellectuals educated abroad.

Despite all this, China lives, and has been transformed and marches on. She is not ignored by the United States. She ignores the United States and leaps forward. What did it? What furnished the motive power and how was it applied? First it was the belief in himself and in his people by a man like Sun Yat-sen. He plunged on, blind and unaided, repulsed by Britain and America., but welcomed by Russia. Then efforts toward socialism, which wobbled forward, erred and lost, and at last was bribed by America and Britain and betrayed by Chiang Kai-shek, with its leaders murdered and its aims misunderstood, when not deliberately lied about.

Then came the Long March from feudalism, past capitalism and socialism to communism in our day. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and a half dozen others undertook to lead a nation by example, by starving and fighting; by infinite patience and above all by making a nation believe that the people and not merely the elite— that on the contrary the workers in factory, street, and field— composed the real nation. Others have said this often, but no nation has tried it like the Soviet Union and China. And on the staggering and bitter effort of the Soviets, beleagured by all Western civilization, and yet far-seeing enough to help weaker China even before a still weak Russia was safe- on this vast pyramid has arisen the saving nation of this stumbling, murdering, hating world.

In China the people—the laboring people, the people who in most lands are the doormats on which the reigning thieves and murdering rulers walk, leading their painted and jeweled prostitutes— the people walk and boast. These people of the slums and gutters and kitchens are the Chinese nation today. This the Chinese believe and on this belief they toil and sweat and cheer.

They believe this and for the last ten years their belief has been strengthened until today they follow their leaders because these leaders have never deceived them. Their officials are incorruptible, their merchants are honest, their artisans are reliable, their workers who dig and haul and lift do

an honest days work and even work overtime if their state asks it, for they are the State; they are China..

A kindergarten, meeting in the once Forbidden City, was shown the magnificence of this palace and told:" Your fathers built this, but did not enjoy it; but now it is yours; preserve it." And then, pointing across the Ten An Men square to the vast building of the new Halls of Assembly, the speaker added: " Your fathers are building new palaces for you; enjoy them and guard them for yourselves and your children. They belong to you!"

China has no rank nor classes; her universities grant no degrees; her governbent awards no medals. She has no blue book of "society." But she has leaders of learning and genius, scientists of renown, artisans of skill and millions who know and believe this and follow where these men lead. This is the joy of this nation, its high belief and its infaltering hope.

China in no Utopia. Fifth Avenue has better shops where the rich can buy and the whores parade. Detroit has more and better cars. The best American housing outstrips the Chinese, and Chinese women are not nearly as well-dressed as the guests of the Waldorf-Astoria. But the Chinese worker is happy. He has exorcized the Great Fear that haunts the West; the fear of losing his job; the fear of falling sick; the fear of accident; the fear of inability to educate his children; the fear of daring to take a vacation. To guard against such catastrophe Americans skimp and save, cheat and steal, gamble and arm for murder. The Soviet citizen, the Czech, the Pole, the Hungarian have kicked out the stooges of America and the hoodlums set to exploit the peasants. They and the East Germans no longer fear these disasters; and above all the Chinese sit high above these fears and laugh with joy. They will not be rich in old age, but they will eat. They will not enjoy sickness but they will be given care ~~healed~~. They will not starve as thousands of Chinese did only a generation ago. They fear neither flood nor epidenic. They do not even fear war, as Mao Tse-tung told me, War for China is a "Paper Tiger". China can defend itself and back of China stands the unassailable might of the Soviet Union.

Envy and Class Hate are disappearing in China. Does your neighbor have better pay and higher position than you? He has this because of greater ability or better education, and more education is open to you and compulsory for your children. The young married couple do not fear children. The mother has pre-natal care. Her wage and job are safe. Nursery and kindergarten take care of the child and it is welcome, not to pampered luxury but to good food, constant medical care and education for his highest ability.

All this is not yet perfect. Here and there it fails, falls short and falters; but it is so often and so widely true, that China believes, lives on realized hope, follows its leaders and sings:

"O, Mourner, get up offa your knees."

The women of China becoming free. They wear pants so that they can walk, climb and dig; and climb and dig they do. They are not dressed simply for sex indulgence or beauty parades. They occupy positions from ministers of state to locomotive engineers, lawyers, doctors, clerks, and laborers. They are escaping "household drudgery"; they are strong and healthy and beautiful not simply of leg and false bosom, but of brain and brawn. and rich emotion.

In Wuhan I stood in one of the greatest steelworks of the world. A crane which moved a hundred tons loomed above. I said,"My God, Shirley, look up there!" Alone in the engine-room sat a girl with ribboned braids, running the vast machine.

You won't believe this, because you never saw anything like it; and if the State Department has its way, you never will. Let LIFE lie about communes; and the State Department shed crocodile tears over ancestral tombs. Let Hong Kong wire its lies abroad. Let "Divine Slavery" persist in Tibet until China kills it. The truth is there and I saw it. America makes or can make no article that China is not either making or can make, and make better and cheaper. I saw its export exposition in Canton: a whole building of watches, radios, electric apparatus, cloth in silk and wook and cotton; embroidery, pottery, dishes, shoes, telephone sets. There were five floors of goods which the world needs and is buying in increasing quantities, except the ostrich United States, whose

~~ships rot~~.

Fifteen times I have crossed the Atlantic and once the Pacific. I have seen the world. But never so vast and glorious a miracle as China. This monster was a nation with a dark-tinted billion born at the beginning of time, and facing its end, this struggle from starved degradation and murder and suffering to the triumph of that Long March to world leadership. Oh beautiful, patient, self sacrificing China, despised and unforgetable, victorious and forgiving, crucified and risen from the dead.

COMMUNISM

I HAVE STUDIED SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM LONG AND CAREFULLY IN LANDS WHERE THEY ARE PRACTICED; IN CONVERSATION WITH THEIR ADHERENTS, AND WITH WIDE READING. I NOW STATE MY CONCLUSIONS FRANKLY AND CLEARLY: I BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM. I MEAN BY COMMUNISM, A PLANNED WAY OF LIFE IN THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH AND ITS DISTRIBUTION, AND IN HUMAN SERVICES. I BELIEVE IN WEALTH AND WORK DESIGNED FOR BUILDING A STATE WHOSE OBJECT IS THE HIGHEST WELFARE OF ITS PEOPLE AND NOT MERELY THE PROFIT OF A PART. I BELIEVE THAT ALL MEN SHOULD BE EMPLOYED ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY AND THAT ~~A~~ WEALTH AND SERVICES SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO NEED. ONCE I THOUGHT THAT THESE ENDS COULD BE ATTAINED UNDER CAPITALISM, PRIVATELY OWNED, AND USED IN ACCORD WITH FREE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE. AFTER EARNEST OBSERVATION I NOW BELIEVE THAT PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL AND FREE ENTERPRISE ARE LEADING THE WORLD TO DISASTER. I RESENT THE CHARGE THAT COMMUNISM IS A CONSPIRACY; THAT ALL COMMUNISTS ARE CRIMINALS AND THAT COMMUNISM SPEAKS AND EXISTS mainly BY MEANS OF FORCE AND FRAUD. I SHALL THEREFORE HEREAFTER HELP THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM IN EVERY HONEST WAY THAT I CAN; WITHOUT DECEIT OR HURT; WITHOUT WAR; AND WITH GOODWILL TO ALL MEN OF ALL COLORS, CLASSES, AND CREEDS. IF BECAUSE OF THIS BELIEF AND SUCH ACTION, I BECOME THE VICTIM OF ATTACK AND CALUMNY, I WILL ~~ACT AS~~ react in the way that SEEMS TO ME BEST FOR THE WORLD IN WHICH I LIVE AND WHICH I HAVE TRIED EARNESTLY TO SERVE. I KNOW WELL THAT THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM WILL BE A SLOW AND DIFFICULT TASK, INVOLVING MISTAKES OF EVERY SORT. IT WILL CALL FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE IN HUMAN NATURE AND A BETTER TYPE OF MANHOOD THAN IS COMMON TODAY. I BELIEVE THIS POSSIBLE, OR OTHERWISE WE WILL CONTINUE TO LIE, STEAL AND KILL.

WHO NOW AM I WHO HAVE COME TO THESE CONCLUSIONS? AND OF WHAT IF ANY SIGNIFICANCE ARE MY DEDUCTIONS? WHAT HAS BEEN MY LIFE AND WORK AND OF WHAT SIGNIFICANCE TO MANKIND. THE FINAL ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS, TIME AND POSTERITY MUST MAKE. BUT PERHAPS IT IS MY DUTY TO CONTRIBUTE WHATEVER ENLIGHTENMENT I CAN. THIS IS THE EXCUSE FOR THIS WRITING, WHICH I CALL A SOLILOQUY ~~P~~ A MAN'S MEMORY AND EXPLANATION OF HIMSELF IS NEVER FINAL AUTHORITY.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY IS INEVITABLY BIASSED: MEMORY AS ONE GROWS OLD IS TREACHEROUS: AND LOGIC IS FATALLY LIMITED BY WHAT ONE DOES NOT KNOW OR OFTEN EVEN DREAM ABOUT OTHER PERSONS, WHAT THEY THINK AND FEEL; AND ABOUT EVENTS OF WHICH ONE HAS NOT HEARD OR UNDERSTOOD. AMID SUCH INEVITABLE DIFFICULTIES I WILL ATTEMPT TO REVIEW MY LIFE AS FRANKLY AND FAIRLY AS I CAN.

CHAPTER VII

BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON

Great Barrington was a town of middle-class people, mostly native white Americans of English and Dutch descent. There were differences of property and income and yet all the men worked and seemed at least to be earning their living. Naturally the income was not proportioned to the effort; some men worked a few hours a day and earned several thousand dollars a year; carpenters worked 12 hours a day for a dollar and servants toiled day and night for two dollars a week. But we did not dream of a day when a man doing nothing could be a millionaire at 35, while his fellow broke back and heart and starved.

The women were housekeepers, with a few exceptions, like teachers, the postmistress, and a clerk now and then in stores like Fassett's shop for women's apparel. The ownership of property, of homes and stores, of a few mills of various sorts, was fundamental, and the basis of social prestige. Most families owned their homes. There was some inherited wealth but not in very large amounts. There were no idle rich and no outstanding "society". I dimly remember one rich old man who was apparently retired and did no work. He rode about town now and then in a carriage with a liveried coachman. I recall my astonishment when I learned that the splendid gentleman on the high front seat, with beaver hat, shining boots and gold braid, was not the owner. The owner was the little fat man crouched in the rear seat.

This, however, was exceptional. The Russell brothers, middle-aged men whom I knew quite well, went to work every day, superintending the Berkshire Woolen Mills in the upper part of town. The Whitings, and old and well-to-do family, ran a drugstore, and a Burghardt who spelled his name Burgett had the leading grocery store. The Girlings had a clothing store, and the Brewers dealt in hardware and fuel. There were two hotels; the Berkshire catered to summer visitors, chiefly from New York; the Miller House depended on local trade. There was for a time a steam bakery which turned out delicious food until the National Biscuit Company swallowed it up and it disappeared.

There was a bank, the Mahaiwe National.

Of course there was also the usual contradiction: while property and income were the main bases of social status, at the same time the facts concerning them were a carefully guarded secret. No one knew exactly how rich the Russels were or just what was the financial status of the Coffins and Churches. There were, of course, rumors and general estimates which were in all probality not far from the truth, but few knew with any exactitude the economic status of the important persons of the town.

There was no great exhibition of wealth. The homes of the Russells, the Churches and Dr. Collins were comparatively large with perhaps eight or ten rooms and built of wood, or more rarely, of stone. There was an abundance of cheap blue granite in the neighboring mountains. Most of the homes were of wood, four to six rooms, and all of them were furnished according to a common pattern: horse-hair sofas and chairs in the "parlors", with ~~some things~~ old-fashioned wooden furniture and corner "what-nots". They were usually heated by coal stoves, one in each room. Anthracite coal, and wood from the vicinity were used. Bathroons and indoor toilets were rare; each home had its outdoor privy, often nicely arranged.
In general living, the contrast between the well-to-do and the poor was not great. Living was cheap and there was little real poverty. Some food like local fruit was almost common property; vegetables like potatoes, navy beans and cabbage were grown in small home gardens; corned beef and chickens fetched low prices and eggs could often be raised at home; "greens" and rhubard grew in back yards and in the Fall canning and preserving cost only the sugar. There were no flashy carriages and the social life was quite private. When the Berkshire Courier, our local weekly newspaper, made social announcements, it was usually marriages, births, and deaths, visiting relatives from out of town, and trips to New York or the West by local residents.

I grew up in the midst of definite ideas as to wealth and poverty, work and charity. Wealth was the result of work and saving and the rich rightly inherited the earth. The poor, on the whole, were themselves to be blamed. They were unfortunate and if so their fortunes could easily be mended with care.

But chiefly, they were "shiftless" and "shiftlessness" was unforgivable.

The chief criterion of local social standing was property and ancestry; but the ancestors were never magnates like the patroons of the manors along the Hudson to the West; nor were they persons of great prestige and learning with aristocratic connections like the residents of Boston and eastern Massachusetts. They were usually ordinary folk of solid respectability, farm owners, or artisans merging into industry. Standing did not depend on what the ancestor did, or who he was, but rather that he existed, lived decently and thus linked the individual to the community. Physically and socially our community belonged to the Dutch valley of the Hudson rather than to Puritan New England, and travel went south to New York more often and more easily than east to Boston.

The stores dealt chiefly in staples for ordinary living-- food, clothes, medicines, and so forth. Most of them were originally catered to ~~representatives of~~ a large farmer trade between country and town. The surrounding farmers brought in their produce and traded it for manufactured goods and certain luxuries. But this type of trading in my boyhood was being gradually reduced in extent. Western farm produce was underselling local efforts except in the case of milk, butter and fresh vegetables. There were one or two good jewelry and watch repairing stores, a confectionery store and a number of tropical fruit stands.

One of our citizens impressed me greatly: C.C. Taylor was a little white-haired man who was writing a history of the town; he was an official of the bank and what was of closer interest to me, he lived on a beautiful hill on lower Main street. He kept a herd of cattle. They gave so much milk that he told my mother that anytime she wanted skimmed milk, to send me down and get all we wanted.

I remember those morning walks, up to the great elm on our corner; down the vast expanse of Main street; past the Town Hall and the watering trough opposite; then by the Kellog meadow and home and Mike Gibbons' cottage and up to the Taylor home and the delicious fresh milk.

There were one or two liquor saloons, which the town did not like to recognize, but had to. George Briggs, a native American, used to run such a saloon, but got out of the business when I was quite small and went into the more respectable

business of selling meat; but the townspeople never forgot his former calling. The most prosperous saloon in my boyhood was on Railroad street, which led from Main street to the railroad station. It was run by a man of foreign descent named Brazie. ~~At any rate,~~ there was a center of drinking and carousing and perhaps some gambling. My mother laid down here one of her few strict commands; she was not talkative, but listened well. She gave few commands; but she said firmly that I was never to go into a liquor saloon or even near it. I never did, and indeed, so strong was the expression of her wishes here, that never in my life since have I felt at ease ~~a~~ing drink at a bar.

The reason for my mother's attitude was clear. Great Barrington had few places of amusement or means for recreation. Community social life centered in entertainments in Town Hall; the "Bohemian glass blowers," or, as I vividly remember, the Sam Lucas singers; but for the ordinary man, including both hard-working merchant and busy artisan, not to mention laborers and visitors passing through, the liquor saloon was recreation and drunkenness was escapism. Numbers of the most respectable townsfolk were sometimes seen openly the worse for overindulgence in liquor. My own Uncle Jim, a reputable and hardworking barber, came home mow and then walking very straight because of liquor. When the Murphy crusade for total abstinence swept the valley, I as a boy was one of the first to don the blue ribbon. I kept the pledge ~~for twelve years~~ until I went as a student to Germany.

Over against this general basic community of white Americans ~~of English or Dutch descent,~~ were two groups. One was composed of a mass of Irish peasants who began to reach this town in the early fifties after the well-known famine. They were Catholics and came in increasing numbers as house servants and workers in the local woolen mills. The older Irish families became laborers on the railroads and artisans of various sorts. They formed a group of the respectable poor. They were followed by poorer and more ignorant peasants, ill-trained and ragged and given to drink. They became herded in slum areas in the upper part of the town surrounding the mills. They received low wages and were exploited in the usual ways, not as much as in the cities, but more than was necessary in a town like Great Barrington.

As a boy, I was afraid of the Irish and kept away from their part of town as much as possible. Sometimes they called me "nigger" or tried to attack me. On the other hand, the older and better class of them had children in school whom I knew quite well.

The mass of the Irish, however, were separated from the townfolk by their religion and their ~~growing~~ monopoly of house service. The Catholic church was perched across the river beyond the mills, and thither the girl servants trudged faithfully of early mornings to mass. This and other traits of the Irish became the basis of jokes and ridicule in town and throughout New England. Indeed, I was struck in later years when I came back fron the South to New England, to find that the "nigger" jokes of Tennessee were replaced at Harvard by tales of the "two Irishmen" and songs like "mush-mush-mush turaliady".

My own attitude toward this hard-working Irish monority was naturally complicated. They did not belong to my traditional community and consequently I felt no comradeship with them. I think I rather assumed, along with most of the townfolk, that the dirty, stinking Irish slums were something that the Irish themselves preferred and made. Certainly in school and church and on the street, I got no idea that the town was responsible for the slums. My Housatonic River, for instance, was "golden" because of the waste which the paper and woolen mills poured into it and because more and more the river became a public sewer into which town and slum poured their filth.

The other minority in my town were my own colored people, but they were few in number. In Great Barrington there were perhaps twenty-five, certainly not more than fifty, colored folk in a population of five thousand. My family was among the oldest inhabitants of the valley. The family had spread slowly through the county intermarrying among cousins and other black folk, with some, but limited, infiltration of white blood. Other dark families had come in and there was some intermingling with local Indians. In one or two cases there were groups of apparently later black immigrants from Africa, near Sheffield for instance. There survived there an isolated group of black folk whose origin was obscure.

We knew little of them but felt above them because of our education and economic status.

The colored population of the town had been increased a little by "contrabands," freed Negroes from the South who on the whole were well received by the colored group; although the older group held some of its social distinctions and the newcomers astonished us by forming a little Negro Methodist Zion Church, which we sometimes attended. There were the Masons, a family of six, a little uncouth and very religious; but good-hearted, hard workers and so jolly. I came to like them very much. There were visitors from neighboring towns, I remember a lovely little plump and brown girl who appeared out of nowhere, and smiled at me demurely; and there were always strange cousins.

The colored folk were not set aside in the sense that the Irish were, but were a part of the community of long standing; and in my case as a child I felt no sense of difference or separation from the main mass of townspeople.

~~As a child~~ after I entered High School, I began to feel the pressure of the of Color "veil"; in little matters at first and then in larger. There were always certain compensations. For instance, George Beebe was a handsome classmate in high school, two or three years older than I, and extravagantly dressed. My own clothes were never ragged, but seldom new and certainly not in current style. Yet George and I were excellent friends because with all his clothes he was rather dumb in class and knew it, while I was bright and just this side of shabby, so that we balanced each other. The Sabins, Clarence and Ralph, lived near me on the opposite street. Clarence was serious and studious, and Ralph a little devil. We were friends and playmates. Art Benham, whose father was a railroad engineer, was a pixie, red-haired, ugly and gifted. He and I were joint editors of the only school paper that was ever published during my day. It was the High School Howler, gotten out by hand, and lasting only for two or three issues.

The boy who lived nearest me was Jim Parker, son of a watch-maker. He and Fred Sanford used to go hunting with firearms in the forest. This repelled me a little, as I did not like killing things, but they were all good pals whom I could easily outdistance in class.

Other boys of my group were Boardman Tobey, son of a jeweler, who came to school once with shoes said to have cost four dollars. We did not believe such a price possible. George Phelps, the tinner's son, lived next door and we met daily. Ned Hollister's father had his large grocery store near the watering-trough for horses; his stock of tropical fruit introduced me to dozens of oranges which Ned forced on me when accidently his stone hit me instead of the "duck on the rock" at which he was aiming. He attained fame by bringing the first high-wheeled bicycle to town. One girl, Mary Dewey, eldest daughter of our most distinguished lawyer, surpassed me in arithmetic. She could add up columns of figures with astonishing rapidity, but my grasp of history and ability to write were better than hers.
The other girls in my classes were not to me notable. Edith Pixley and Lottie Doolittle were pretty but did not know much. Sabra Taylor and Minnie Crissy were sober country girls and good students whom I liked. Agnes O'Neil was a newcomer to town whose ancestors nobody knew. She dressed quite gorgeously and George Beebe escorted her about. But otherwise she was negligible.

Indeed, even in high school it was not regarded as good form for the boys to pair about with the girls. They did not walk together on the streets. They did not talk with each other too often on the grounds. I suppose that this fact explains much that bothers us today. Today, high schools with their higher age level, and retarded pupils, have become social centers and even matrimonial agencies, particularly in the South. It is this concept of the high school which partially explains Little Rock.

In our day and school, because we were younger, and less sophisticated, our chief business was studying or playing. I can remember when the new school principal, Frank Hosmer of Amherst, tried to introduce a uniform cap with gilt lettering, G.B.H.S. on the front, to indicate the "Great Barrington High School". We were almost unanimously against it, and called it "The Great Big Hosmer Speculation". As a matter of fact, we students for the most part and particularly myself, did not have the money to pay for this unnecessary expense. On the other hand, we did have some interesting group activities. Hosmer and young Frank Wright, who was reading

law in Judge Dewey's office, put on a play at Town Hall-- Scott's "Lady of the Lake", and most high school students took some part. There was a folk play, "Old John Brown Had a Little Indian", in which I was one of the participants. For recreation we played games: "marbles", "hi-spy", "duck on a rock", and "Indians". We went mountain climbing and explored caves; we swam, and coasted the long hill from far up Castle street, across the railroad tracks down to Main street. (over)

Our chief holidays were fourth of July, Cattle-show and Christmas. Fourth of July was a romp for children with a few but not many casualties. Once in a while we had fire works as a treat from some philanthropist. Usually we only set off our individual packs of small crackers. Christmas was a festival of Church and home, and there was no public illumination, and no frantic buying of presents. We played base-ball but it had not yet become a national game and consisted of "one old cat" or at most two chosen sides. We tried football sometimes. I was not particularly good at these games but joined gaily in the fun.

Of other school mates, there were two Irish boys whom I liked. Mike Gibbons had marvelous facility at playing "marbles", and Ned Kelly who was fat and jolly. Later he became town clerk and an older fellow student of long English ancestry, Walter Sanford, became local judge. Will Beckwith lived on a farm near town, where sometimes my mother went as temporary "help". I always came out over week-ends, played with Will, and ate with the family. Mother always had a rich cake ready for me. Later, Will was one of the few Great Barrington boys who went to college. Three other boys I knew quite well, but they did not go to the public school. Charles and John Church went to Edward Van Lennep's private school, where numbers of rich young people from out of town were taught. Our own opinion in the high school was that these students did not have brains enough to go to public school. We were probably prejudiced. Mr. Van Lennep tried to have good relations between the town boys and his pupils. The Church family had considerable inherited wealth from their ancestors, the Coffins. The Coffins had taken advantage of the war tariffs and manufactured paper. The young Churdhes were educated to become a part of the idle rich, but Charles did not take to this role kindly. He and I were quite good friends.

Most of the children used to skate; but
not I for two reasons: skates cost too much,
and mother was afraid of water

(over)

The younger, John, on the other hand, was a little exclusive, ~~although we never quarreled~~. I remember him especially because he married May Loop, an orphaned hoyden of an old but poor family. She lived next door to me, and was one of the group with which I played on Church street, where I lived. Later, when I had left town and gone South to school, she had married John. She wrote me and asked if I could find her a colored servant. I couldn't.

There was one little boy to whom I was closely drawn. He was Louis Russell, the son of Parley Russell, the mill-owner, who had married a second wife. This Mrs. Russell, whom I knew and who was well acquainted with my family, was a lovely lady who tried to rear young Louis. He was frail, good-hearted, but slow-witted, and did not go to public school. Mostly he was kept at home, and Mrs. Russell made special effort to find companions for him and she especially chose me. So that quite often I went across the railroad tracks and up the wide and flowered meadow which led to the Russell home. It was one of the most imposing in the village, isolated, and surrounded with grass, flower, and fruit. There were stables in the rear, and outhouses for farming.

I always had a good time when I went to play with Louis. We were welcomed in the house; we ate bread and milk together in the big kitchen; and the Irish servants were kind. Once or twice Mrs. Russell insisted on my taking home certain of Louis's toys. The one which gave me most pleasure was an old wooden bicycle. It was to Mrs. Russell to whom my high school principal turned when he wanted me to take up Greek and I and my mother hesitated because of the cost of the books. She bought all my Greek books.

Of the other town folk outside my schoolmates, I remember especially Johnny Morgan. He was a small man, I think of Welsh descent, and ran a bookstore in the front part of the little shop where the village post office occupied the rear. I went to the post office daily, not because I was expecting mail or often got any, but because of the intriguing exhibition of periodicals and books in Johnny Morgan's store. He became interested in me and very sympathetic. He did not repel me by asking me too many questions or trying to find out my plans and ideas.

But he made little suggestions and did not object to my looking at the illustrations in Puck and Judge. I looked them over each week.

I remember one momentous transaction. From early days I had been intrigued by books as books. In our living room I took possession of an old secretary which had come down in the family and gathered together a number of stray volumes which I found about the house. One I distinctly remember, "Opie on Lying." There were a few others. I did not read them, but they formed my library. Then one Fall-- it was in 1882-- I was in my second year in high school. I saw in Johnny Morgan's window a gorgeous edition of Macauley's "History of England," in five volumes and I wanted it fiercely. Its price was, of course, far beyond by ability to pay, but Johnny Morgan suggested that I buy it on installments. This was not a usual method at that time in Great Barrington. It was our rule to "pay as you go". But I seized on Morgan's suggestion and for several months paid in installments of, I think, twenty-five cents a week. At Christmas time I took my precious purchase home and it still stands in my library.

Johnny Morgan made other suggestions to me. He arranged, while I was in high school, so that I became the local Great Barrington correspondent of the Springfield Republican, which was the most influential and widely circulated paper in western Massachusetts. I sent it from time to time some items of interest, but not many, as I was soon graduated from the high school.

Outside my school, my chief communication with the people of the town was through the church. In Great Barrington there were three leading Protestant churches, and later a fourth. The most important church was the Congregational. It had the largest attendance of all the churches, including merchants and farmers, and professional men of the town. My own family on both sides had been Episcopalians, but because we lived near the Congregational church, and because my mother had many acquaintances there, and because the minister, Scudder, was especially friendly and interested, my mother early joined this church. I think we were the only colored communicants. But I grew up in this church and its Sunday School, and it was there that one of the lady members, looking down on a chubby little brown child walking beside his mother, saw me take off my hat.

My long, rather stiff curls were revealed, and with considerate kindness she replaced my hat and said sweetly: "Little girls keep their hats on in church." This of course precipitated at home a wild fight on my part to have my curls cut off, and of course in time and to my mother's grief, off they came.

In the festivities of the whole year, when strawberries became ripe, when harvest brought in fruit and vegatables, and at Christmas time, there were celebrations in Sunday School, and I was always there. I felt absolutely no discrimination, and I do not think there was any, or any thought of it. When the great church was burned down, I was a sensitive mourner and oversaw at every period its pretentious rebuilding. I remember the altar, whose Greek inscription I was proudly able to read: " He alethia eleutherosi humas". (The truth shall make you free.) I heard the dedicatory sermon: "For thus said the High and Mighty One, who inhabiteth eternity, Whose Name is Holy. I dwell in the high and lofty place. With him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit to revive the spirit of the humble, to revive the sport of the contrite ones."

~~But of course~~ the new Sunday School building was my chief pride and joy. It had climbed out of the basement and had broad and beautiful rooms with sunlit windows looking out on lawn and flowers. The carpet, the chairs, the tables, were all new, and the teachers were inspired to new efforts with their growing classes. I was quite in my element and led in discussions, with embarrasing questions, and long disquisitions. I learned much of the Hebrew scriptures. I think I must have been both popular and a little dreaded, but I was very happy.

The other leading church was the Episcopalian, a little more heavy in architecture and aristocratic in concept. The older families and the more well-to-do attended. I remember one incident which characterized the religious situation in town. Our leading lawyer had been made a county judge. Judge Dewey lived on the corner of my street, and in a house with which I was very familiar. As a little boy there lived in one of the upper chambers there, overlooking both Main and Church streets, a young lady who was sick. My mother used to take me there once in a while and I would spend an hour or so in this chamber talking to the lady.

Of what we talked, I have not now the faintest idea, but apparently we both were much interested. My mother explained that the lady had cancer, which was the first I had heard of this dread disease. Then visits ceased.

In this house, Judge Dewey and his family lived, his eldest daughter Mary, who had the phenomenal mathematical ability which I have mentioned, a second daughter Sarah, and little Margaret. In the Congregational Church, of which Judge Dewey was a high official, the governing board decided to use at communions individual wine-cups instead of the one great silver beaker. Judge Dewey was outraged. He declared that the decision was against the Bible, and he led his flock from Church Street down to the Episcopal Church, where thereafter he became a communicant. It was a town sensation.

In the upper part of the town, toward the mill, was a small white wooden Methodist Church. It had a small congregation of the less well-known inhabitants of the town. They met quietly and regularly. Then of course across the river, and uncounted by the mass of townfolk, was the Catholic Church, with a large attendance of Irish working people and a cemetary near by. Later, and while I was in high school, the colored folk of the town, mostly newcomers, and not old families like the Burghardts, organized a small branch of the A.M.E. Zion Church, which had been formed in New York late in the eighteenth century. The colored people had long owned a small plot of land in the lower part of the town on Main street. They were induced to sell this for a small plot on a side street, and there they built a little chapel. The older Negroes were not at all happy about this segregated institution, but now and then we used to attend the services, which became an inconspicuous part of the religious organization of the community.

There was little crime or middemeanor in our town. We had a single policeman, a little old man named Abe who wore a badge and carried a club. We boys used to make sly fun of him. But there was a little stone one-roomed "lock-up" and once in a while it had an occupant for a night. In school there were the usual youthful disputes and arguments; but seldom were there fights and never gangs or feuds. I remember being principal of one fight when I was in grammar school.

apparition but we boys often ventured to visit him. Particularly was there Baretown Bebe, who came from forest fastnesses which I never penetrated. He was a particularly dirty, ragged, fat old man, who used regularly to come down from his rocks and woods and denounce high school education and expense.

I was thirteen or fourteen years of age and a student in the small High School with two teachers and perhaps 25 pupils. The High School was not too popular in this rural part of New England and received from the town a much too small appropriation. But the thing that exasperated me, was that every Spring at Town Meeting, which I religiously attended, this huge, ragged old man came down from the hills and for an hour or more reviled the High School and demanded its discontinuance.

I remember distinctly how furious I used to get at the stolid town folk, who sat and listened to him. He was nothing and nobody. Yet the town heard him gravely because he was a citizen and property-holder on a small scale and when he was through, they calmly voted the usual funds for the High School. Gradually as I grew up, I began to see that this was the essence of democracy; listening to the other man's opinion and then voting your own, honestly and intelligently.

While without conscious socialist tendencies the Town owned it own water supply which poured into the homes from a dark and secret lake hidden in the hills; our charity looked after the few paupers who were "on the Town" and we cared for our streets and sewers. On the other hand our fire department was volunteer and we had no public park save the square around the Town Hall. Indeed what with our meadows and mountains, we needed none.

We made no social arrangements for sickness. That was mainly a matter of friendly charity among relatives and neighbors. There was but one Hospital in the county and that was at Pittsfield and called the "House of Mercy". We had a few physicians in town and they in attending my family were very considerate in their charges. I was seldom sick: whooping cough and measles I remember, but little else. Fortunately I have never broken a bone.

It was with a strong country boy, but what it was about I have quite forgotten; it had no racial cause I am sure. We left school at noon and instead of going home to lunch, we went up back of the railway station. There before cheering schoolmates we slugged it out manfully. I was pretty throughly trounced, but we were both able to report to class at one o'clock looking fairly presentable with our "honor" vindicated. It was as I learned in after life, a quite usual human culture pattern.

Once while I was in high school, a number of us students stole some grapes from a tempting arbor. Now, taking fruit have never been regarded by us as more than the right of town boys and we knew all the best orchards. But in this case we filched some choice and carefully tended grapes from a prominent citizen. There was considerable indignation and Judge Dewey suggested that I and the others might be better off in Reform School. We had a very good one in the eastern part of the State which the Judge was connected with. The victim of the theft, however, refused to press any charge and nothing more was heard of Judge Dewey's proposal. But I was considerably disturbed. During my ten years of boyhood life there was in the county one murder; once the bank was robbed of a small sum; there were minor cases of stealing and trespass and some drunkenness which called for arrest.

In government, Great Barrington was in theory and largely in practice, a democracy of the New England type. In general politics we were nearly all Republicans. Indeed, it was not respectable to be anything else ; one of our prominent lawyers, Joyner, a thin, tall swarthy man, was a Democrat and we suspected him of low origin and questionable designs.

From early years, I attended the town meeting every spring and in the upper room in that little red brick town hall, fronted by a Roman "victory" commemorating the Civil War, I listened to the citizens discuss things about which I knew and had opinions: streets and bridges and schools, and particularly the high school, an institution comparatively new. We had in the town, several picturesque hermits, usually retrograde Americans of old families. There was Crosby, the gunsmith, who lived in a lovely dale with brook, waterfall and water wheel. He was a frightful

I have written elsewhere of the case of our exchanging visiting cards when one girl, a newcomer, did not seem to want mine, to my vast surprise.

I presume I was saved evidences of a good deal of actual discrimination by my own keen sensitiveness. My companions did not have a chance to refuse me invitations; they must seek me out and urge me to come as indeed they often did. When my presence was not wanted they had only to refrain from asking. But in the ordinary social affairs of the village-- the Sunday school with its picnics and festivals; the temporary skating rink in the town hall; the coasting in crowds on all the hills-- in all of these, I took part with no thought of discrimination on the part of my fellows, for that I would have been the first to notice.

Later, I was protected in part by the fact that there was little social activity in the high school; there were no fraternities; there were no school dances; there were no honor societies. Whatever of racial feeling gradually crept into my life, its effect upon me in these earlier days was rather one of exaltation and high disdain. They were the losers who did not ardently court me and not I, which seemed to be proven by the fact that I had no difficulty in outdoing them in nearly all competition, especially intellectual. In athletics I was not outstanding. I was only moderately good at baseball and football; but at running, exploring, story-telling and planning of intricate games, I was often if not always the leader.

After I entered the high school, economic problems and questions of the future began to loom. They were partly settled by my own activities. My mother's limited resources of income were helped through boarding the barber, my uncle; supplememted infrequently by her own day's work, and by some kindly but unobtrusive charity. But I was keen and eager to eke out this income by various jobs; splitting kindling, mowing lawns, doing chores. I early came to understand that to be "on the town," the recipient of public charity, was the depth not only of misfortune but of a certain guilt. I presume some of my folk sank to that but not to my knowledge. We earned our way. I have a little post card dating ~~from~~ 1883 in which Miss Smith on September 19 writes " We would like to have you come certainly next Saturday as you did last week to do some splitting for us."

In general thought and conduct I became quite throughly New England. It was not good form in Great Barrington to express one's thought volubly, or to give way to excessive emotion. We were even sparing in our daily greetings. There was on the street only a curt "good morning" to those whom you knew well and no greetings at all from others. I am quite sure that in a less restrained and conventional atmosphere I should have easily learned to express my emotions with far greater and more unrestrained intensity; but as it was I had the social heritage not only of a New England clan but Dutch taciturnity. This was later reinforced and strengthened by inner withdrawals in the face of real and imagined discriminations. The result was that I was early thrown in upon myself. I found it difficult and even unnecessary to approach other people and by that same token my own inner life perhaps grew the richer; but the habit of repression often returned to plague me in after years, for so early a habit could not easily be unlearned. The Negroes in the South, when I came to know them, could never understand why I did not naturally greet everyone I passed on the street or slap my friends on the back.

Of course our democracy was not full and free. Certain well-known and well-to-do citizens were always elected to office-- not the richest nor most noted but just as surely not the poorest nor the Irish Catholics.

The town and its surroundings were a boy's paradise: there were mountains to climb and rivers to wade and swim; lakes to freeze and hills for coasting. There were orchards and caves and wide green fields; and all of it was apparently property of the children of the town. My earlier contacts with playmates and other human beings were norman and pleasant. Sometimes there was a dearth of available playmates but that was peculiar to the conventions of the town where families were small and children must go to bed early and not loaf on the streets or congregate in miscellaneous crowds. Later, in the high school, there came some rather puzzling distinctions which I can see now were social and racial; but the racial angle was more clearly defined against the Irish than against me. It was a matter of income and ancestry more than color.

This was a matter of splitting up kindling for two maiden ladies and this was one of the first of my economic enterprises.

My first regular wage began as I entered the high school: I went early of mornings and filled with coal one or two of the new so-called "base burning" stoves in the millinery shop of Madame L'Hommedieu. From then on, all through my high school course, I worked after school and on Saturdays.

For some time too I sent weekly letters to a colored weekly "New York Age" and sold copies, and before the A and P stores dealt in groceries and simply were selling tea, I was one of their local agents. Thus in all sorts of little ways I managed to earn some money and never asked nor thought of gifts.

The first glimpse in the outer and wider world was through John Morgan's ~~news shop which occupied the front end of the post office~~. There ~~newspapers and books were on display and~~ I remember very early seeing pictures of U.S. Grant and Tweed who was beginning his extraordinary career in New York state; and later of Hayes and the smooth and rather cruel face of Tilden. Of the great things happening in the United States at that time we were touched only by the Panic of 1873, when my uncle in 1876 came home from the little town east of us where he was a leading barber, he brought me, I remember, a silver dollar which was an extraordinary thing. Up to that time I had seen nothing but paper money.

The United States in the decades 1870-1890 was an extraordinary country. Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Grover Cleveland were presidents. James G. Blaine was an aspirant who barely missed the highest office and the country was reckless and prosperous; squandering its seemingly endless resources; tying east and west with railways; exploiting iron and coal and oil and making fortunes for a new and ruthless caste of business men who were cashing in on the cost of Civil War. Many results of this I could see in my town.

On the other hand, the inner social group of my own relatives and colored friends always had furnished me as a boy most interesting and satisfying company. The number of colored people in the town and county was small. They were all, save directly after the war, old families, well-known to the old settlers among the whites.

The color line was manifest and yet not absolutely drawn. I remember a cousin of mine who brought home a white wife. The chief objection was that he was not able to support her and nobody knew her family; and knowledge of family history was counted as highly important. Many of the colored people had some white blood from unions several generations past. That colored folk congregated together in their own social life was natural because that was the rule in the town. There were little social knots of people, but not much that today would be called social life, save that which centered about the churches; and there the colored folk often took part.

The fate of my various relatives among the Black Burghardts I do not know very well. One cousin, Jimmie Burghardt, lived near Williams college and always wanted to enter. But he never did. He lacked both money and Greek and worked as college janitor. But his granddaughter is stenographer in a large New York corporation. Others have prospered as western farmers, one became a singer and teacher of music and another was head of the home economics department in the colored school system of a large Border state city. Of course it is probably true that there are hundreds of Black Burghardt descendants working as ordinary citizens- teachers and a few others in the professions, civil servants, artisans and skilled laborers; and plain hard workers on street and in home. I greet them all.

Now and then I made little trips to neighboring towns: to my cousins, the Pipers in Sheffield, five miles south, to play with John and his sisters; to Pittsfield, two long miles north, where my cousins Mary and Lizzie Potter lived and where I saw the lovely Rita Tredwell. Once I stayed with my uncle in Amherst who lived with a niece and owned a barber shop. He bought me a new suit of beautiful "navy-blue" cloth.

But my greatest boyhood trip came in 1883, when I was 15 and in third year high school.

In 1874 my Grandfather having lost his third wife was proposing to marry a widow, Mrs. Green, and assured her of a home in New Bedford whither he had moved from Springfield. He writes:

" I have bought of the Petomska Mills Corporation the house and lot southwest corner of Landby and Third Streets. The lot is the whole width of what the corporation owns on Landby and runs south far enough to comprise 20 roods for $2,000 -- one half to be paid in cash-- and the rest either over a year or with 7% interest and secured by mortgage on the premises."

Grandfather then adds: " Entreat me not to leave thee or to return from following after thee, for whither thous goest, I will go, where thou lodgest will I lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried."

" I like you better as our acquaintance extends, my dear Anna. Come to my house as soon as it shall please you so to do, there shall be but one home, one purse, one affection, one God."

They were eventually married, and in 1883 my grandfather's last wife wrote my mother. She had known and liked my father and understood his difficulties with his father. When he had left us and was presumably dead, she heard of me and wanted me to come and let my grandfather see and know me. My mother was excited and determined that I should make the trip. How she managed to raise the money, I do not know. But always, Mother, in her resourceful way always got for me whatever she thought I needed. She got together money for my trip, hoping that grandfather might eventually help in my education. So off I went to my first great excursion into the world.

I went down the Housatonic railroad to Bridgeport and missed my train to New Haven because of the contradiction of clocks with the new Standard time. I traded my ticket for another route by way of Hartford. There I saw the capitol building and wrote about signing the register for "distinguished guests!"-- was late in reaching Providence and a bit put out because my grandmother's friend was not promptly on hand to meet me.

One incident during my stay was unforgettable. One afternoon the center table in the parlor was decorated with a festive cloth, a cut-glass decanter of wine and two wine-glasses. Grandfather expected a visitor, and so I hovered in the background.

The visitor proved to be a large black man, with pleasant countenance and well-dressed. My grandfather in long black coat, received Mr. Freedom with grave courtesy. They sat down and talked seriously; finally my grandfather arose filled the wine glasses and raising his glass and touched the glass of his friend, murmuring a toast. I had never before seen such ceremony: I had read about it in books, but in Great Barrington both white and black avoided ceremony. To them it smacked of pretense. We went to the other extreme of casual greeting, sprawling posture and curt rejoinder; the black Burghardts indulged in jokes and back-slapping. I suddenly sensed in my grandfather's parlor what manners meant and how people of breeding behaved and were able to express what we in Great Barrington were loath to give act to, or unable. I never forgot that toast.

The house in New Bedford was sold after grandfather's death in 1887 for $2,110. He is buried in Oak Grove Cemetary near the Yale Campus, New Haven, in a lot which he owned, and which is next to that of Jehudi Ashmun of Liberian fame. His eldest daughter married a light mulatto and their ~~children~~ descendants are now passing for white and probably quite unaware of their colored blood. My Aunt Henrietta married a man named Bates, of Cumberland, Alleghany County, Maryland.

On my return from New Bedford I had another ~~shook-making~~ stirring experience. I stopped again with grandmother's friend in Providence and he took me to the annual picnic at Rocky Point on Narragansett Bay where the colored people of three states were wont to assemble. I viewed with astonishment 10,000 Negroes of every hue and bearing; saw in open-mouthed astonishment the whole gorgeous color gamut of the American Negro world; the swaggering men, the beautiful girls, the laughter and gaiety, the unhampered self-expression. I was astonished and inspired. I apparently noted nothing of poverty or degradation, but only extraordinary beauty of skin-color and utter equality of mien, with absense so far as I could see of even the shadow of the line of race. I came home by way of Springfield and Albany where I was a guest of my elder half-brother and saw my first electric street light blink and sputter.

I was graduated from high school in 1884 and was of course the only colored student. Once during my course another dark ~~man~~ boy had attended the school for a short time, but I was very much ashamed of him because he did not excel the whites as I was quite used to doing. All thirteen of us graduates had orations, and mine was on "Wendell Phillips." The great anti-slavery agitator had just died in February and I presume that some of my teachers must have suggested the subject, although it is quite possible that I chose it myself. But I was facinated by his life and his work and took a long step toward a wider conception of what I was going to do.

Most of the short speeches were fairly conventional essays; but I thought the talk of Minnie Crissey on reading was especially good and I envied her knowledge of books. My own essay brought loud applause from the audience because of my race and subject. I was born in a community which conceived itself as having helped put down a wicked rebellion for the purpose of freeing four million slaves. They deeply admired Phillips despite the fact that recently he had adopted Socialism. My mother was in the audience and was filled with pride.

Meanwhile elsewhere in the world there were stirring and change which were to mean so much in my life: In Japan the Meiji Emperors rose to power the year I was born; in China the intrepid Empress Dowager was fighting strangulation by England and France; Prussia had fought with Austria and France, and the German Empire arose in 1871. In England, Victoria opened her eighth parliament and the duel of Disraeli and Gladstone began; while in Africa came the Abyssinian expedition and opening of the Suez Canal, so fatefull for all my people.

CHAPTER IX

HARVARD IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Harvard University in 1888 was a great institution of learning. It was 238 yeas old and on its governing board were Alexander Agassiz, Phillips Brooks. Henry Cabot Lodge amd Charles Francis Adams; and a John Quincy Adams, but not the ex-President. Charles William Eliot, a gentleman by training and a scholar by broad study and travel, was president. Among its teachers emeriti were Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell. Among the active teachers were Francis Child, Charles Eliot Norton, Charles Dunbar, Justin Winsor and John Trowbridge; William Goodwin, Frank Taussig, Nathaniel Shaler, George Palmer, William James, Francis Peabody, Josiah Royce, Barrett Wendell, Edward Channing, and Albert Bushnell Hart. A young instructor who arrived in 1890 was George Santayana. Seldom, if ever, has any American University had such a galaxy of great men and fine teachers as Harvard in the decade between 1885 and 1895.

To make my own attitude towards the Harvard of that day clear, it must be remembered that I went to Harvard as a Negro, not simply by birth, but as a recognizing myself deliberate member of a segregated caste whose situation I accepted and working but was determined to work from within that caste was determined to find my way upward. out

The Harvard of which most white students conceived I knew little. Of fraternities I had not even heard of Phi Beta Kappa, and of such important social organizations as the Hasty Pudding Club, I knew nothing. I was not in Harvard for high marks, except as marks would insure my staying. I did not pick out "snap" courses. I was there to enlarge my grasp of the meaning of the universe. We had for instance no chemical laboratory at Fisk. Our mathematical course was very limited; but above all I wanted to study philosophy. I wanted to get hold of the basis of knowledge, and explore foundations and beginnings. I chose therefore, Palmer's course in ethics, but he being on Sabbatical for the year, William James replaced him, and I became a devoted follower of James at the time he was

developing his pragmatic philosophy.

Fortunately I did not fall into the mistake of regarding Harvard as the beginning rather than the continuing of my college training. I did not find better teachers at Harvard, but teachers better known, ~~with~~ who had had wider facilities for grasping and in broader atmosphere for approaching truth. ~~Up to this time, I had been absorbing a general view of human knowledge: in ancient and modern literatures; in mathematics, physics and chemistry and history.~~ knowledge

I ~~chose~~ elected to pursue ~~science, especially what was called~~ philosophy as my life career, with teaching for support. With this program I studied at Harvard from the Fall of 1888 to 1890, as undergraduate. I took a varied course in Chemistry, Geology, Social Science and Philosophy. My salvation here was the type of teacher I met rather than the content of the courses. William James guided me out of the sterilities of scholastic philosophy to realist pragmatism; from social reform with a religious tinge, I turned to Albert Bushnell Hart to study his tory with documentary research; and from Taussig with his reactionary British economics of the Ricardo school, I approached what was later to become Sociology. Meantime Karl Marx was mentioned but only incidentally and as one whose doubtful theories had long since been refuted. Socialism as dream of philanthropy or as will-o-wisp of hotheads was dismissed as unimportant.

When I arrived at Harvard, the question of board and lodging was of first importance. Naturally, I could not afford a room in the college yard in the old and venerable buildings which housed most of the well-to-do students under the magnificent elms. Neither did I think of looking for lodgings among white families, where numbers of the ordinary students lived. I tried to find a colored home, and finally at 20 Flagg street, I came upon the neat home of a colored woman from Nova Scotia, a descendant of those black Jamaican Maroons whom Britain deported after solemnly promising them peace if they would surrender. For a very reasonable sum, I rented the second story front room and for two years this was my home. I wrote of this abode at the time:

"My room is, for a college man's abode, very ordinary indeed. It is quite pleasantly situated-- second floor, front, with a bay window and one other window. The door is on the south west corner. As you enter you will perceive the bed in the opposite corner, small and decorated with floral designs calculated to puzzle a botanist. It is a good comfortable bed however, and my landlady keeps it neat. On the left hand is a bureau with a mirror of doubtful accuracy. In front of the bay window is a stand with three shelves of books, and on the left of the bureau is an improvised bookcase made of unpainted boards and uprights, containing most of my library of which I am growing quite proud. Over the heat register, near the door, is a mantle with a plaster of Paris pug-dog and a calendar, and the usual array of odds and ends. A sofa, commode, trunk, table and chairs complete the floor furniture. On the wall are a few quite ordinary pictures. In this commonplace den I am quite content."

Later I became a boarder at Memorial Hall, which was the great dining hall of the university, and after that a member of the Foxcroft Club, where many students of moderate means boarded.

Following the attitudes which I had adopted in the South, I sought no friendships among my fellow students nor even acquaintanceships. My class was large; ~~in the Junior year when I became a member, there were~~ with some 300 students. I doubt if I knew a dozen of them. I did not seek them, and naturally they did not seek me. I made no attempt to contribute to the college periodicals. Only one organization did I ~~seek~~ try to enter and I ought to have known better than to make this attempt. But I did have a good singing voice and loved music, so I entered the competition for the Glee Club. I ought to have known that Harvard could not afford to have a Negro on its Glee Club travelling about the country. Quite naturally I was rejected.

I was happy at Harvard, but for unusual reasons. One of these circumstances was my acceptance of racial segregation. Had I gone from Great Barrington high school directly to Harvard I would have sought companionship with my white fellows and been disappointed and embittered by a discovery of social

limitations to which I had not been used. But I came by way of Fisk and the South and there I had accepted (Cabin Caste) and embraced eagerly the companionship of those of my own color. This, was of course, no final solution. Eventually with them and in mass assault, led by culture, we Negroes were going to break down the boundaries of race; but at present we were banded together in a great crusade and happily so. Indeed, I suspect that the prospect of ultimate full human intercourse without reservations and annoying distinctions, made me all ~~too~~ too willing to consort now with mine own and to disdain and forget as far as was possible that outer, whiter world.

In general, I asked nothing of Harvard but the tutelage of teachers and the freedom of the laboratory and library. I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life. I found friends and most interesting and inspiring friends among the colored folk of Boston and surrounding places. Naturally social intercourse with whites could not be entirely forgotten, so that now and then I joined its currents and rose or fell with them. I escorted colored girls to various gatherings, and as pretty ones as I could find to the vesper excercises and the class day and commencement social functions. (there to) Naturally we attracted attention and the Crimson noted my girl friends; on the other part came sometimes the shadow of insult as when at one reception a white woman seemed determined to mistake me for a waiter.

In general, I ~~tried to~~ (was) encase ~~myself~~ (of) in a completely colored world, self-sufficient and provincial, and ignoring just as far as possible the white world which conditioned it. This was self-protective coloration, with perhaps an inferiority complex, but ~~more of increasing~~ (with) belief in the ability and future of black folk. I sought ~~at Harvard no acquaintanceship with white students and~~ only such contacts with white teachers as lay directly in the line of my work. I joined certain clubs like the Philosophical Club; I was a member of the Foxcroft dining club because it was cheap. James and one or two other teachers had me at their homes at meal and reception.

~~Nevertheless~~ My friends and companions were taken (mainly) from the colored students

of Harvard and neighboring institutions, and the colored folk of Boston and ~~other cities~~. With them I led a happy and inspiring life. There were among them many educated and well-to-do folk; many young people studying or planning to study; many charming young women. We met and ate, danced and argued and planned a new world.

I was not arrogant; I was simply not obsequious, and to a white Harvard student of my day, a Negro student who did not ~~ask~~ recognition was trying to be more than a Negro. The same Harvard man had much the same attitude toward Jews and Irishmen.

I was, however exceptional ~~even~~ among ~~them~~, in my ideas on voluntary race segregation; they for the most part saw salvation only in integration at the earliest moment and on almost any terms in white culture: I was firm in my criticism of white folk and in my dream of a Negro self-sufficient culture even in America.

This cutting of myself off from my fellows did not mean unhappiness nor resentment. I was in my early manhood, unusually full of high spirits and humor. I throughly enjoyed life. I was conscious of understanding and power, and conceited enough still to think, as in high school, that they who did not know me were the losers, not I. On the other hand, I do not think that my classmates found me personally objectionable. I was clean, not well-dressed but decently clothed. Manners I regarded as more or less superflous and deliberately cultivated a certain brusquerie. Personal adornment I regarded as pleasant but not important. I was in Harvard but not of it and realized all the irony of my singing "Fair Harvard." I sang it because I liked the music, and not from any pride in the Pilgrims.

With my colored friends I carried on lively social intercourse, but necessarily one which involved little expenditure of money. I called at their homes and ate at their tables. We danced at private parties. We went on excursions down the Bay. Once, with a group of colored students gathered from

surrounding institutions, we gave Aristophanes' "The Birds" in a Boston colored church. The rendition was good, but not outstanding; not quite appreciated by the colored audience; but well-worth doing, & even though it worked me near to death, I was proud of it.

Thus this group of professional men, students, white-collar workers and upper servants, whose common bond was color of skin in themselves or in their fathers; together with a common history and current experience of discrimination, formed a unit which like many tens of thousands of like units across the nation had or were getting, a common culture pattern which made them an interlocking mass, so that increasingly a colored person in Boston was more neighbor to a colored person in Chicago that to the white person across the street.

Mrs. Ruffin of Charles Street, Boston, and her daughter Birdie were often hostesses to ~~parts of~~ this colored group: she was widow of the first colored judge appointed in Massachusetts; ~~she was~~ an aristocratic lady, with olive skin and high piled masses of white hair. Once a Boston lady said to Mrs Ruffin, "I have always been interested in your race." Mrs. Ruffin ~~answered~~ blared: "Which race"? She began a national organization of colored women and ~~in Boston~~ published the "Courant" ~~the~~ a small type of colored weekly paper which was spreading over the nation. In this I published many of my Harvard daily themes.

Naturally in this close group there grew up among the young people friendship ~~and love~~, ending in marriages. I myself outgrowing the ~~immature~~ youthful attractions of Fisk, began serious dreams of love and marriage. There however, were still my study plans to hold me back and there were curious other reasons. For instance it happened that two of the girls whom I particularly liked had what was to me then ~~an~~ the insuperable handicap of looking like white, really they had ~~little Negro blood although~~ black enough to make them "Negroes" in America. I could not let the world even imagine that I had married a white wife. Yet these girls were intelligent and companionable. One went to Vassar College which then refused entrance to Negroes. Years later when I went there to lecture I remember

disagreeing violently with ~~one~~ a teacher who thought the girl ought not to have "deceived" the college by graduating before it knew her Negro descent. Another favorite of mine was Deenie Pindell. She was a fine forthright woman, blonde, blue-eyed and fragile. In the end I had no chance to choose here, for she married Monroe Trotter.

Trotter was the son of a well-to-do colored father and entered Harvard in my first year in the Graduate School. He was thick-set, yellow with close cut dark hair. He was stubborn and straight-laced and an influential member of his class. He organized the first Total Abstinence club in the Yard. I came to know him and when he and other colored students ~~joined~~ took in a trip to Amherst to see Forbes and Lewis graduate in the class with Calvin Coolidge.

Lewis afterward entered the Harvard Law School and became the celebrated center rush of th Harvard football team. He married the beautiful Bessie Baker who had been with us on that Amherst trip. Forbes, a brilliant, cyncical dark man, later joined with Trotter in publishing the Guardian, the first Negro paper to attack Booker T. Washington with open bitter opposition. Washington's friends retorted by sending Trotter to jail when he dared to heckle Washington on his political views in a public Boston meeting. I was not present nor privy to this ~~indictment~~ occurrence, but the unfairness of the jail sentence led me eventually to form the Niagara Movement, which later became the N.A.A.C.P.

Thus I lived near to life, love and tragedy; and when I met Maud Cuney, I became doubly interested. She was ~~an~~ a tall imperious brunette, with gold-bronze skin, ~~black~~ brilliant coily black eyes and hair; daughter of the Collector of Customs at Galveston, Texas. She came to study music and was a skilled performer, when the New England Conservatory of Music tried to "jim-crow" her in ~~some activities~~ the dormitory with her students. We rushed to her defense and we won. ~~Also~~ I fell deeply in love and we were ~~secretly~~ engaged.

Thus it is clear how in the general social intercourse on the campus I consciously missed nothing. Some white students made themselves known to me and a few, a very few, became life-long friends. Most of my classmates, I knew

neither by sight nor name. Among my ~~Harvard classmates~~ them many made their mark in life: Norman Hapgood, Robert Herrick, Herbert Croly, George Dorsey, Homer Folks, Augustus Hand, James Brown Scott and others. I knew none of these intimately. For the most part I do not doubt that I was voted a somewhat selfish and self-centered "grind" with a chip on my shoulder and a sharp tongue.

Something of a certain inferiority complex was possible a cause of this. I was desperately afraid of not ~~being~~ wanted; ~~intruding~~ appearing without invitation; of ~~appearing to~~ showing a desire for the company of those who had no desire for me. I should have been pleased if most of my fellow students had ~~desired~~ wanted to associate with me; if I had been popular and envied. But the absence of this made me neither unhappy nor morose. I had my "island within" and it was a fair country.

Only once or twice did I come to the surface of college life. First, by careful calculation, I found that I needed the cash of one of the Boylston prizes in oratory to piece out my years expenses. I got it through winning a second oratorical prize. The occasion was noteworthy by the fact that another black student, Clement Morgan, got first prize at the same contest.

With the new increase at Harvard of students who grew up outside of New England, there arose at this time a certain resentment at the way New ~~York~~ England students were dominating and conducting college affairs. The class marshall on commencement day was always a Saltonstall, a Cabot, a Lowell, or some such New England family. The crew and ~~some~~ most of the other athletic teams were selected from similarly limited social group. The class poet, class orator, and other commencement officials invariably ~~came from this same clique~~ were selected because of family & not for merit. It so happened that when the officials of the class of 1890 were being selected in early spring, a plot ripened. Personally, I knew nothing of it, and was not greatly interested ~~in this kind of shenanigans~~. But in Boston and in the Harvard Yard the result of the elections was of tremendous significance, ~~and when~~ for this conspiratorial clique selected Clement Morgan as class orator. New England and indeed the whole country reverberated.

Morgan was a black man. He was working in a barber shop in St. Louis at the time when he ought to have been in school. ~~Finally,~~ With the encouragement and help of a

colored teacher whom he later married, he came to Boston and entered the Latin school. This meant that when he finally entered Harvard, he entered as freshman in the orthodox way and was well acquainted with his classmates, a large number and fairly well received, considering his color. He was a pleasant unassuming person and one of the best clearly unmarked English speakers on the campus. In his Junior year, he had earned the first Boylston prize for oratory, in the same contest where I won second prize. It was, then logical for him to become class orator and yet this was against all the traditions of America. There were editorials in the leading newspapers, and the South especially raged and sneered at the audience of "black washerwomen" who would replace Boston society at the next Harvard commencement.

At the same time, the action was contagious and that year and the next in several leading Northern colleges, colored students became the class orators. While, as I have said, I had nothing to do with this plot, and was not even present at the election which chose Morgan, I was greatly pleased at this breaking of the color line. Morgan and I became fast friends and spent a summer giving readings along the North Shore to help our college costs.

Harvard of this day was a great opportunity for a young mand and a young American Negro and I realized it. I formed habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the daytime and had my day parceled out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with thoroughness and with prevision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. From the beginning my relations with most of the teachers at Harvard were pleasant. They were on the whole glad to receive a serious student, to whom extra-curricular activities were not of paramount importance and one who in a general way knew what he wanted.

Ex-President Taft, as I shall relate later, invited me to lunch.

 117A

with Latin and Greek, philosophy and some history. At Harvard I started in with philosophy and then turned toward United States history and social problems. But there the way was difficult. Harvard had in the social sciences no such leadership of thought and breadth of learning as in philosophy, literature and physical science. She was then groping and is still groping toward a scientific treatment of human action. She was facing at the end of the century a tremendous economic era. In the United States, finance was succeeding in monopolizing transportation, and raw materials like sugar, coal and oil. The power of the trust and combine was so great that the Sherman Act was passed in 1890. On the other hand, the tariff at the demand of manufacturers continued to rise in height from the McKinley to the indefensible Wilson tariff of 1894. I was graduated just at the beginning of the term of President Harrison, when the trusts were dominating industry and the McKinley tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the Industrial North and the New South was being perfected and in 1890 the series of disfranchising laws began to be enacted by the Southern states destined in the next sixteen years to make voting by Southern Negroes practically impossible. A financial crisis shook the land in 1893 and popular discontent showed itself in the Populist movement and Coxey's Army. The whole question of the burden of taxation began to be discussed.

These things we discussed with some clearness and factual understanding at Harvard. The tendency was toward English free trade and against the American tariff policy. We reverenced Ricardo and wasted long hours on the "Wages-fund." I remember Taussig's course supporting dying Ricardean economics. Wages came from what employers had left for labor after they had subtracted their own reward. Suppose that this profit was too small to attract the employer, what would the poor worker do but starve! The trusts and monopolies were viewed frankly as dangerous enemies of democracies, but at the same time as inevitable methods of industry. We were strong for the gold standard and fearful of silver. On the other hand, the attitude of Harvard toward labor was on the whole contemptuous and condemnatory. Strikes like that of the

anarchists in Chicago, the railway strikes of 1886; the terrible Homstead strike of 1892 and Coxey's Army of 1894 were pictured as ignorant lawlessness, lurching against conditions largely inevitable.

Karl Marx was mentioned, only to point out how thoroughly his theses had been disproven; of that theory itself almost nothing was said. Henry George was given but tolerant notice. The anarchists of Spain, the Nihilists of Russia, the British miners -- all these were viewed not as part of the political development and the tremendous economic organization but as sporadic evil. This was natural. Harvard was the child of its era. The intellectual freedom and flowering of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were yielding to the deadening economic pressure which would make Harvard rich but reactionary. This defender of wealth and capital, already half ashamed of Sumner and Phillips, was willing finally to replace an Eliot with manufacturers and a nervous warmonger. The social community that mobbed Garrison, easily electrocuted Sacco and Vanzetti.

It was not until I was long out of college and had finished the first phase of my teaching career that I began to see clearly the connection of economics and politics; the fundamental influence of man's efforts to earn a living upon all his other efforts. The politics which we studied in college were conventional, especially when it came to describing and elucidating the current scene in Europe. The Queen's Jubilee in June, 1887, while I was still at Fisk, set the pattern of our thinking. The little old woman at Windsor became a magnificent symbol of Empire. Here was England with her flag draped around the world, ruling more black folk than white and leading the colored peoples of the earth to Christian baptism, and as we assumed, to civilization and eventual self-rule.

In 1885, Stanley, the traveling American reporter, became a hero and symbol of white world leadership in Africa. The wild, fierce fight of the Mahdi and the driving of the English out of the Sudan for sixteen years did not reveal its inner truth to me. I heard only of the martyrdom of the drunken Bible-reader and freebooter, Chinese Gordon.

117 c

105.

-23-

The Congo Free State was established and the Berlin Conference of 1885 was reported to be an act of civilization against the slave trade and liquor. French, English and Germans pushed on in Africa, but I did not question the interpretation which pictured this as the advance of civilization and the benevolent tutelage of barbarians. I read of the confirmation of the Triple Alliance in 1891. Later I saw the celebration of the renewed Triple Alliance on the Tempelhofer Feld, with the new young Emperor Wilhelm II, who, fresh from his dismissal of Bismarck, led the splendid pageantry; and finally the year I left Germany, Nicholas II became Czar of all the Russias. In all this I had not yet linked the political development of Europe with the race problem in America.

I was repeatedly a guest in the home of William James; he was my friend and guide to clear thinking; I was a member of the Philosophical Club and talked with Royce and Palmer; I remember vividly once standing beside Mrs. Royce at a small reception. We ceased conversation for a moment and both glanced across the room. Professor Royce was opposite talking excitedly. He was an extraordinary sight:

a little body; indifferently clothed; a big red-thatched head and blazing blue eyes. Mrs. Royce put my thought into words:"Funny-looking man, isn't he?" I nearly fainted! Yet I knew how she worshipped him.

I sat in an upper room and read Kant's Critique with Santayana; Shaler invited a Southerner, who objected to sitting beside me, out of his class; he said he wasn't doing very well, anyway. I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany. Most of my courses of study went well. It was in English that I came nearest my Waterloo at Harvard. I had unwittingly arrived at Harvard in the midst of a violent controversy about poor English among students. A number of fastidious Englishmen like Barrett Wendell had come to Harvard about this time; moreover New England itself was getting sensitive over western slang and Southern drawls and general ignorance of grammar. Freshmen then at this time could nearly elect all their courses except English; that was compulsory, with theses, daily themes and tough examinations.

On the other hand I was at the point in my intellectual development when the content rather than the form of my writing was to me of prime importance. Words and ideas surged in my mind and spilled out with disregard of exact accuracy in grammar, taste in word or restraint in style. I knew the Negro problem and this was more important to me than literary ~~style~~ form. I knew grammar and I had a pretty wide vocabulary; but I was bitter, angry and intemperate in my first theses. Naturally my English instructors had no ideas of nor interest in the way in which Southern attacks on the Negro ~~was~~ were scratching me on the raw flesh. Tillman was raging in the Senate like a beast and literary clubs engaged his services eagerly and listened avidly. Senator Morgan of Alabama had just published a scathing attack on "niggers" in a leading magazine, when my first Harvard thesis was due. I let go at him with no holds barred. My long and blazing effort came back marked "E" -- not passed! It was the first time in my scholastic career that I had encountered such a failure. I was aghast, but I was not a fool. I did not doubt but that my instructors were fair in judging my English

technically even if they did not understand the Negro Problem. I went to work at my English and raised it to a "C" by the end of that term. I realized that while style is subordinate to content, and that no real literature can be composed of meticulous and fastidious phrases, nevertheless, literary style carries a message further than bad grammar and muddled syntax. I elected the best course on the campus for English composition--English 12.

I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890, for Barrett Wendell, then the great pundit of Harvard English. I wrote: "Spurred by my circumstances, I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in the high school to go to college-- partly because other men did, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life ... I believe, foolishly perhaps, but sincerely, that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken Englihs 12 in order to say it well."

Barrett Wendell liked that last sentence. Out of fifty essays, he picked this out to read to the class.

Commencement was approaching, when, one day I found myself at midnight on one of the swaggering streetcars that used to roll out from Boston on its way to Cambridge. It was in the spring of 1890, and quite accidentally I was sitting by a classmate who would graduate with me in June. As I dimly remember, he was a nice-looking young man, almost dapper; well-dressed, charming in manner. Probably he was rich or at least well-to-do, and doubtless belonged to an exclusive fraternity, although that did not interest me. Indeed I have even forgotten his name. But one thing I shall never forget and that was his rather regretful admission (which slipped out as we gossiped) that he had no idea as to what his life work would be, because, as he added, "There's nothing in which I am particularly interested!"

I was more than astonished-- I was almost outraged to meet any human being of the mature age of twenty-two who did not have his life all planned before him, at least in general outline; and who was not supremely, if not desperately, interested in what he planned to do.

Since then, my wonder has left my classmate, and been turned in and backward upon myself: how long had I been so sure of my life-work and how had I come so confidently to survey and plan it? I now realize that most college seniors are by no means certain of what they want to do or can do with life; but stand rather upon a hesitating threshold, awaiting will, chance or opportunity. Because I had not mingled intimately or understandingly with my white Harvard classmates, I did not at the time realize this, but thought my ~~rather~~ unusual attitude was general. ~~How had this attitude come to seem normal to me?~~

In June 1890, I received my bachelor's degree from Harvard cum laude in philosophy. I was one of the five graduating students selected to speak at commencement. My subject was "Jefferson Davis." I chose it with deliberate intent of facing Harvard and the nation with a discussion of slavery as illustrated in the person of the president of the Confederate States of America. Naturally, my effort made a ~~considerable~~ sensation. I said, among other things:

"I wish to consider not the man, but the type of civilization which his life represented: its foundation is the idea of the strong man-- Individualism coupled with the rule of might-- and it is this idea that has made the logic of even modern history, the cool logic of the Club. It made a naturally brave and generous man Jefferson Davis-- now advancing civilization by murdering Indians, now hero of a national disgrace, called by courtesy the Mexican War; and finally as the crowning absurdity, the peculiar champion of a people fighting to be free in order that another people should not be free. Whenever this idea has for a moment escaped from the individual realm, it has found an even more secure foot-hold in the policy and philosophy of the State. The strong man and his mighty Right Arm has become the Strong Nation with its armies. Under

whatever guise, however a Jefferson Davis may appear as man, as race, or as a nation, his life can only logically mean this: the advance of a part of the world at the expense of the whole; the overwhelming sense of the I, and the consequent forgetting of the Thou. It has thus happened that advance in civilization has always been handicapped by shortsighted nationsl selfishness. The vital principal of division of labor has been stifled not only in industry, but also in civilization; so as to render it well nigh impossible for a new race to introduce a new idea into the world except by means of the cudgel. To say that a nation is in the way of civilization is a contradiction in terms, and a system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie. Yet this is the type of civilization which Jefferson Davis represented: it represents a field for stalwart manhood and heroic character, and at the same time for moral obtuseness and refined brutality. These striking contradictions of character always arise when a people seemingly become convinced that the object of the world is not civilizat on, but Teutonic civilization."

A Harvard professor wrote to Kate Field's Washington then a leading periodical: "Du Bois, the colored orator of the commencement stage, made a ten-strike. It is agreed upon by all the people I have seen that he was the star of the occasion. His paper was on 'Jefferson Davis,' and you would have been surprised to hear a colored man deal with him so generously. Such phrases as a 'great man,' a 'keen thinker,' a 'strong leader,' and others akin occurred in the address. One of the trustees of the University told me yesterday that the paper was considered masterly in every way. Du Bois is from Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and doubtless has some white blood in his veins. He, too, has been in my classes the past year. If he did not head the class, he came pretty near the head, for he is an excellent scholar in every way, and altogether the best black man that has come to Cambridge."[11]

Bishop Henry Potter of New York wrote in the Boston Herald: "But when at the last commencement of Harvard University, I saw a young colored man

appear . . . . and heard his brilliant and eloquent address, I said to myself: 'Here is what an historic race can do if they have a clear field, a high purpose, and a resolute will.'"

The New York Nation commented editorially:

"When the name of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was called and a slender, intellectual-looking mulatto ascended the platform and made his bow to the President of the University, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Bishop of New York, and a hundred other notables, the applause burst out heartily as if in recognition of the strange significance of his appearance there. His theme ... heightened this significance. Du Bois handled his difficult and hazardous subject with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."

Already I had now received more education than most young white men, having been almost continously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel prepared. I felt that to cope with the new and extraordinary situations then developing in the United States and the world, I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun my training in knowledge of social conditions.

I revelled in the keen analysis of William James, Josiah Royce and young George Santayana. But it was James with his pragmatism and Albert Bushnell Hart with his research method, that turned me back from the lovely but sterile land of philosophic speculation, to the social sciences as the field for gathering and interpreting that body of fact which would apply to my program for the Negro. I had talked frankly with William James about teaching philosophy, my major subject, as undergraduate. He discouraged me, not by any means because of my record in his classes. He used to give me A's and even A-plus, but as he said candidly, there is "not much chance for anyone earning a living as a philosopher." He was repeating just what Chase of Fisk had said a few years previously.

I knew by this time that practically my sole chance of earning a living combined with study was to teach, and after my work with Albert Bushnell Hart in United States history, I conceived the idea of applying philosophy to an historical interpretation of race relations.

In other words, I was trying to take my first steps towards sociology as the science of human action. It goes without saying that no such field of study was then recognized at Harvard or came to be recognized for twenty years after. But I began with some research in Negro history and finally at the suggestion of Hart I chose the suppression of the African slave trade to America as my doctor's thesis. Then came the question as to whether I could continue study in the graduate school. I had no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school of Harvard and was appointed Henry Bromfield Rogers fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed; so that from 1890 to 1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University, studying in history and political science and what would have been sociology if Harvard had yet recognized such a field.

My grandfather Du Bois died while I was at Harvard, and although the settlement of the estate was held up for lack of exact data concerning my father's death, eventually $400 was paid me during my senior year. I finished the first draft of my thesis and delivered an outline of it at the seminaries of American history and political economy December 7, 1891. I received my Masters degree in Feb 1892 was thereupon elected to the American Historical Society and asked to speak in Washington at their meeting in December 1892. The New York Independent noted this among the "three best papers presented," and continued:

"The article upon the 'enforcement of the Slave Laws' was written and read by a black man. It was thrilling when one could, for a moment, turn his thoughts from listening to think that scarcely thirty years have elapsed since the war that freed his race, and here was an audience of white men listening to a black man-- listening moreover, to a careful, cool, philosophical history of the

laws which had not prevented the enslavement of his race. The voice, the diction, the manner of the speaker were faultless. As one looked at him, one could not help saying 'Let us not worry about the future of our country in the matter of race distinctions.'"

I began with a bibliography of Nat Turner and ended with this history of the suppression of the African Slave Trade to America; neither needed to be done again at least in my day. Thus in my quest for basic knowledge with which to help guide the American Negro, I came to the study of sociology, by way of philosophy and history rather than by physics and biology, which was the current approach; moreover at that day, Harvard recognized no "science" of sociology and for my doctorate, after hesitating between history and economics, I chose history. On the other hand, psychology, hovering then on the threshold of experiment under Muensterberg, soon took a new orientation which I could understand from the beginning. I worked on my thesis, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America" ~~taking my master's degree, and hoping~~ and to get my doctor's degree in another two years.

Already I had made up my mind that what I needed was further training in Europe. The German Universities were at the top of their reputation. Any American scholar who wanted preferment went to Germany for study. The faculties of John Hopkins and the new University of Chicago, were beginning to be filled with German PH.D's, and even Harvard had imported Muensterberg for the new experimental psychology, and Kuno Frank had long taught there. British universities did not recognize American degrees and French universities made no special effort to encourage American graduates. I wanted then to study in Germany. I was determined that any failure on my part to become a recognized American scholar must not be based on any lack of modern training. I was confident. So far I had met no failure. I willed and lo! I was walking beneath the elms of Harvard,-- the name of allurement, the college of my youngest, wildest visions! I needed money; scholarships and prizes fell into my lap-- not all I wanted or strove for, but all I needed to keep in school. Commencement came and standing before governor,

president, and grave gowned men, I told them certain truths, waving my arms and breathing fast! They applauded with what may have seemed to many as uncalled-for fervor, but ~~then~~ I walked home on pink clouds of glory! I asked for a fellowship and got it. I announced my plan of studying in Germany, but Harvard had no more fellowships for me. A friend, however, told me of the Slater Fund and how the Board was looking for colored men worth educating.

No thought of modest hesitation occurred to me. I rushed at the chance. It was one of those tricks of fortune which always seem partly due to chance: In 1882, the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and the board in 1890 was headed by ex-President R.B. Hayes. Ex-President Hayes went down to John Hopkins University which admitted no Negro students and told a "darkey" joke in a frank talk about the plans of the fund. The Boston Herald of November 2, 1890, quoted him as saying:"If there is any young colored man in the South whom we find to have a talent for art or literature or any special aptitude for study, we are willing to give him money from the education funds to send him to Europe or give him advanced education." He added that so far they had been able to find only "orators." This seemed to me a nasty fling at my black classmate, Morgan, who had been Harvard class orator a few months earlier.

The Hayes statement was brought to my attention at a card party one evening; it not only made me good and angry but inspired me to write ex-President Hayes and ask for a scholarship. I received a pleasant reply saying that the newspaper quotation was incorrect; that his board had had some such program in the past but had no present plans for such scholarships. I ~~proceeded to collect letters~~ wrote him referring him to my teachers and to others who knew me and from ~~every person I knew in the Harvard Yard and places outside, and literally deluged the unfortunate chairman of the Slater Fund,~~ intimating that his change of plan did not seem to me fair nor honest. He wrote again in apolgetic mood and said that he was sorry the plan had been given up; that he recognized that I was a candidate who might otherwise have been given attention.

I then sat down and wrote Mr. Hayes this letter:

May 25, 1891

"Your favor of the 2nd. is at hand. I thank you for your kind wishes. You will pardon me if I add a few words of explanation as to my application. The outcome of the matter is as I expected it would be. The announcement that any agency of the American people was willing to give a Negro a throughly liberal education and that it had been looking in vain for men to educate was to say the least rather startling. When the newspaper clipping was handed me in a company of friends, my first impulse was to make in some public way a categorical statement denying that such an offer had ever been made know to colored students. I saw this would be injudicious and fruitless, and I therefore determined on the plan of applying myself. I did so and have been refused along with a "number of cases" beside mine." As to my case I personally care little. I am perfectly capable of fighting alone for an education if the trustees do not see fit to help me. On the other hand the injury you have - unwittingly I trust - done the race I represent, and am not ashamed of, is almost irreparable. You went before a number of keenly observant men who looked upon you as an authority in the matter, and told them in substance that the Negroes of the United States either couldn't or wouldn't embrace a most liberal opportunity for advancement. That statement went all over the country. When now finally you receive three or four applications for the fulfillment of that offer, the offer is suddenly withdrawn, while the impression still remains." If the offer was an experiment, you ought to have had at least one case before withdrawing it; if you have given aid before (and I mean here toward liberal education - not toward training plowmen) then your statement at John Hopkins was partial. From the above facts I think you owe an apology to the Negro people. We are ready to furnish competent men for every European scholarship furnished us off paper. But we can't educate ourselves on nothing and we can't have the moral courage to try, if in the midst of our work our friends turn public sentiment against us by making statements which injure us and which they cannot stand by.

"That you have been looking for men to liberally educate in the past may be so,

but it is certainly strange so few have heard of it. It was never mentioned during my three years stay at Fisk University. President Price of Livingstone has told me that he never heard of it, and students from various other Southern schools have expressed great surprise at the offer. The fact is that when I was wanting to come (to) Harvard, while yet in the South, I wrote to Dr. Haygood for a loan merely, and he never even answered my letter. I find men willing to help me thro' cheap theological schools, I find men willing to help me use my hands before I have got my brains in working order, I have an abundance of good wishes on hand, but I never found a man willing to help me get a Harvard PH.D."

Hayes was stirred ~~and apologized~~. He promised to take up the matter the next year with the board. Thereupon, the next year I proceeded to write the board: "At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of Master of Arts, and was reappointed to my fellowship for the year 1891-92. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the Suppression of the Slave Trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington during the Christmas holidays . . . . Properly to finish my education, careful training in an European university for at least a year is, in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable." I thereupon asked respectfully "aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices" and if this was not practicable, "that the board loan me a sufficient sum for this purpose." I did not of course believe that this would get me an appointment, but I did think that possibly through the influence of people who thus came to know about my work, I might somehow borrow or beg enough to get to Europe.

I rained recommendations upon Mr.Hayes. The Slater Fund Board surrendered, and I was given a fellowship of seven hundred and fifty dollars to study abroad a year; with the promise that it might possibly be renewed for a second year. To salve their souls, however, this grant was made as half gift and a half repayable loan with 5% interest.

I remember rushing down to New York and talking with ex-President Hayes in the old Astor House, and ~~then going~~ emerging at walking on air. I saw an especially delectable shirt in a shop window. I went in and asked about it. It cost three dollars, which was about four times as much as I had ever paid for a shirt in my life; but I bought it.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE 1892 TO 1894

When I was a young man I conceived that the foundations of World culture were laid, the way was charted, the progress toward certain great goals was undoubted and inevitable. There was room for argument concerning details and methods and possible detours in the onsweep of civilization; but the fundamental facts were clear, unquestioned and unquestionable.

Between the years 1885 and 1894 I received my education at Fisk University, Harvard College and the University of Berlin. It was difficult for me at the time to form any critical estimate of any meaning of the world which differed from the conventional unanimity about me. Apparently one consideration alone saved me from complete conformity with the thoughts and confusions of then current social trends; and that was the problem of racial and cultural contacts. Otherwise I might easily have been simply the current product of my day. Even as it was, the struggle for which I was preparing and the situations which I was trying to conceive and study, related themselves primarily to the plight of the comparatively small group of American Negroes with which I was identified, and theoretically to the larger Negro race. I did not face the general plight and conditions of all human mankind. That I took for granted, and in the unanimity of thought and development of that day, as I saw it, this was scarcely to be wondered at.

It was to my mind and the minds of most of my teachers a day of Progress with a capital P. Population in all the culture lands was increasing, awfully doubling and more; cities everywhere were growing and expanding and making themselves the centers and almost the only centers of civilization; transportation by land and sea was drawing the nations near and making the lands of the earth increasingly accessible. Inventions and technique were a perpetual marvel and their accomplishment infinite in possibility. Commerce was madly seeking markets all around the earth; colonies were being seized and countries integrated into European civilization in Asia, Africa, South America and the islands. Of the methods of this colonial imperialism, the condition of colonial peoples and the effect of colonies on home labor, I knew little until years later.

Above all, science was becoming ~~religious~~ religion; psychology was reducing metaphysics to experiment and a sociology of human action was planned. Fighting the vast concept of evolution, religion went into its heresy trials, its struggles with "higher criticism," its discomfort at the "revised version" of the New Testament which was published the year I entered college. Everywhere men sought wealth and especially in America there was extravagant living among the rich; everywhere the poor planned to be rich and the rich planned to be richer; everywhere wider, bigger, higher, better things were set down as inevitable.

All this, of course, dominated education; especially the economic order determined what the next generation should learn and know. On the whole, looking at the marvelous industrial expansion of America, seeing the rise of the western farmer and the wages of the eastern mechanic, all seemed well; or if not, if there were ominous protests and upheavals, these were but the friction necessary to all advance. "God's in His heaven; All's right with the world," Browning was singing -- that colored Robert Browning, who died just after I received my first bachelor's degree.

Had it not been for the race problem early thrust upon me and enveloping me, I should have probably been an unquestioning worshipper at the shrine of the established social order and of the economic development into which I was born. But just that part of this order which seemed to most of my fellows nearest perfection, seemed to me most inequitable and wrong; and starting from that critique, I gradually, as the years went by, found other things on which to question in my environment.

At first, however, my criticism was confined to the relation of my people to the world movement. I was not questioning the world movement in itself. What the white world was doing, its goals and ideals, I had not doubted were quite right. What was wrong was that I and people like me and thousands of others who might have my ability and aspiration, were refused permission to be a part of this world. It was as though moving on a rushing express, my main thought was as to my relations with the other passengers on the express, and not to its rate of speed and its destination.

In the days of my formal education, my interest became concentrated upon the race struggle. [redacted] My attention from the first was focused on democracy and democratic development; and upon the problem of the admission of my people into the freedom of democracy. This my school training touched but obliquely. We studied history and politics almost exclusively from the point of view of ancient German freedom, English and New England democracy, and the development of the white United States. Here, however, I could bring criticism from what I knew and saw touching the Negro.

Europe modified profoundly my outlook on life and my thought and feeling toward it, even though I was there but two short years with my contacts limited and my friends few. But something of the possible beauty and elegance of life permeated my soul; I gained a respect for manners. I had been before, above all, in a hurry. I wanted a world, hard, smooth and swift, and had no time for rounded corners and ornament, for unhurried thought and slow contemplation. Now at times I sat still. I came to know Beethoven's symphonies and Wagner's Ring. I looked long at the colors of Rembrandt and Titian. I saw in arch and stone and steeple the history and striving of men and also their taste and expression. Form, color, and words took new combinations and meanings.

I crossed the ocean in a trance. Always I seemed to be saying, "It is not real; I must be dreaming!" I can live it again -- the little, Dutch ship -- the blue waters -- the smell of new-mown hay -- Holland and the Rhine. I saw the Wartburg and Berlin; I made the Harzreise and climbed the Brocken; I saw the Hansa towns and the cities and dorfs of South Germany; I saw the Alps at Berne, the Cathedral at Milan; Florence, Rome, Venice, Vienna, and Pesth; I looked on the boundaries of Russia; and I sat in Paris and London.

On mountain and valley, in home and school, I met men and women as I had never met them before. Slowly they became, not white folks, but folks. The unity beneath all life clutched me. I was not less fanatically a Negro, but "Negro" meant a greater, broader sense of humanity and world-fellowship. I felt myself standing, not against

the world, but simply against American narrowness and color prejudice, with the greater, finer world at my back.

In Germany, [illegible] in 1892, I found myself on the outside of the American world, looking in. With me were white folk -- students, acquaintances, teachers -- who viewed the scene with me. They did not always pause to regard me as a curiosity, or something sub-human; I was just a man of the somewhat privileged student rank, with whom they were glad to meet and talk over the world; particularly, the part of the world whence I came.

I found to my gratification that they, with me, did not regard America as the last word in civilization. Indeed I derived a certain satisfaction in learning that the University of Berlin did not recognize a degree even from Harvard University, no more than Harvard did from Fisk. Even I was a little startled to realize how much that I had regarded as white American, was white European and not American at all: America's music is German, the Germans said; the Americans have no art, said the Italians; and their literature, remarked the English, is mainly English. All agreed that Americans could make money and did not care how they made it. And the like. Sometimes their criticism got under even my anti-American skin, but it was refreshing on the whole to hear voiced my own attitude toward so much that America had meant to me.

I sailed in the summer of 1892 on a Dutch boat, the old "Amsterdam," landing in Holland. I wrote in my diary:

"Holland is an extremely neat and well-ordered mud-puddle, situated at the confluence of the English, French, and German languages. My memory of my first sight of it is inextricably interwoven with a smell of clover. It was after a two weeks' sea voyage -- pleasant to be sure, fascinating as the changing, changeless sea ever is, but <u>two weeks</u> -- then I came on deck one sunny morning to see long low green fields, sleepy little farm-houses, long, prim, and decent rows of trees, stolid windmills and cows. So far as landscape is concerned, I never saw ought else in Holland and had I (God forbid!) followed my first inclinations, I should have gone away from this dear old nook with the usual uninteresting tale. I stayed a week or

so, and I am very glad.

"There is to be sure a certain sameness about the homely country -- a slowness which makes an American gasp and sometimes swear, and yet the very monotony of the country, the low dogged hum of its simple life, has for the leiterer a charm I can only liken to that of the old backyard of my New England home. The Dutchman is in no hurry; he sees no necessary connection between the new and the good -- rather the contrary; he is ponderously honest, and he is guiltless of anything savoring of personal beauty. His nation may become grasping and greedy, but the individual Dutchman is too honest to know it or to believe it when it is told.

"Moreover the Dutchman is distressingly neat. I thought my soul they would scrub every splinter of the little Dutch steamer I crossed in, off into the ocean, before we made port. They scrubbed morning, noon, and night; then they polished and swept; then they painted; and when we were that neat that we dared scarcely breathe carelessly, we discovered them scraping off some of the paint in order to paint again. In the cozy little hotel where I stopped in Rotterdam, I have yet to get a good glimpse of the chambermaid -- but oh! her work: clean linenn and fresh water appeared by magic; modest and prim candles mysteriously climbed the candlestick; at twilight the window-curtains were decorously closed -- or possibly closed themselves; and when I dared during the day to rumple my bed, its frigid and unruffled appearance when I returned warned me against a repetition of the offense. And all I saw of the maid was now and then the vision of a white befrilled head-dress.

"Out of doors, too, the case is the same; a Dutch tree seldom stands in the shameless abandon of an American tree -- rather it is the modest and regular member of a row of two or three hundred of its fellows along a long road.

"But the glory of Holland is its windmills: none of your little popinjay skeletons of painted wood -- but just what a Dutch windmill should be -- short, sturdy, stolid, and stone; with great beams and canvas sails, and covered with story and history. Then, too, I mustn't forget the Dutch cows; the calm and sweet-eyed cow,

whose life in a little green island of pasture, passed in the peace and contentment of knowing that its butter will not be colored or even salted, but served in nice fresh dabs for beakfast -- ah me! such a life very nearly approaches the ideal heaven of my Sunday school days; and I could even now find myself wishing that instead of being a black and white American, I was a little black and white Dutch cow.

"If Rotterdam had been any but a Dutch town, I shouldn't have seen it -- I mean if Dutch business methods had not been so exasperatingly deliberate as to take six days to get a draft on Baring Bros. of London cashed, I should not have spent even a night at this interesting place. As it was, I was imprisoned for nearly a week in the town, in daily terror lest mine host should present his ruddy bill before my extremely wan purse. And I liked it: a nice place in its way. To be sure I must say I never saw such a poorly tailored town in my life. I saw very few persons whose clothes seemed to have been made with the slightest reference to their bodies, except the housemaids. In maidservants, Rotterdam has apparently reached the ne plus ultra: elaborately beruffled caps, immaculate white stockings and slippers, simple gingham dresses, and healthy, honestly homely faces, made them most pleasant figures to meet on the promenade. Rotterdam as a city has a certain lack of individuality which is in itself characteristic. You see, it lies in the midstream of Dutch commerce with the great world and the current has changed it. It has almost forgotten its native tongue -- so used is it to jabbering English, French, and German, and it has a general unconnected sort of air which would make a nervous people picturesque, but only makes the Rotterdamites a wee bit ludicrous.

"One annoyance I met here and all over Europe: the landlord would hasten to inform me beamingly that 'Fellow Americans had just arrived ~~from Boston~~'. If there was one thing less desirable than 'white fellow Americans' to me, it was black 'fellow Americans' to them."

Of greatest importance was the opportunity which my Wanderjahre in Europe gave of looking at the world as a man and not simply from a narrow racial and

provincial outlook. This was primarily the result not so much of my study, as of my human companionship, unveiled by the accident of color. From the days of my later youth on the South to my boarding a Rhine passenger steamer at Rotterdam in August, 1892, I had not regarded white folk as human in quite the same way that I was. I had reached the habit of expecting color prejudice so universally, that I found it even when it was not there. So when I saw on this little steamer a Dutch lady with two grown daughters and one of twelve, I proceeded to put as much space between us as the small vessel allowed. But it did not allow much, and the lady's innate breeding allowed less. Soon the little daughter came straight across the deck and placed herself squarely before me. She asked if I spoke German; before I could explain, the mother and other daughters approached and we were conversing.

Before we reached the end of our trip, we were happy companions, laughing, eating and singing together, talking English, French and German and viewing the lovely castled German towns. Once or twice when the vessel docked for change of cargo, the family strolled off to visit the town. Each time I found excuse to linger behind and visit alone later; until once at Düsseldorf, all got away before I sensed it and left me and the prettiest daughter conversing. Then seeing we had docked she suggested we follow and see the town. We did; and thereafter we continued acting like normal, well-bred human beings. I waved them all good-bye, in the solemn arched aisles of the Cologne cathedral, with tears in my eyes.

So too in brave old Eisenach, beneath the shadow of Luther's Wartburg, I spent a happy holiday ~~with French and English boys, and German girls~~, in a home where university training and German home-making left no room for American color prejudice; although one American woman did what she could to introduce it. She thought that I was far too popular with the German girls, and secretly warned the house-mother. I was popular, but there was no danger in the American sense. I was quite wedded to my task in America. When blue-eyed blond-haired Dora confessed her readiness to marry me "gleich!" I told her frankly and gravely that it would be unfair to himself and cruel to her for a colored man to take a white bride to America. She could not understand. I found it

difficult to explain.

From this unhampered social intermingling with Europeans of education and manners, I emerged from the extremes of my racial provincialism. I became more human; learned the place in life of "Wine, Women, and Song;" I ceased to hate or suspect people simply because they belonged to one race or color; and above all I began to understand the real meaning of scientific research and the dim outline of methods of employing its technique and its results in the new social sciences for the settlement of the Negro problems in America.

In the Marbach home which took only properly introduced "paying guests" were two grown daughters, and two young women who were relatives; two young Frenchmen, an English youth and myself. Herr Oberpharrer Doctor Marbach and his efficient and correct wife presided. At first my German was halting and I was shy. But soon the courtesy of the elders and the ebullient spirits of the young folks brought out my good nature and keen sense of cameraderie. The very mistakes of those of us who were foreigners -- mistakes in grammer and usage and etiquette -- became a source of merriment and sympathy. We became a happy group closely bound to each other. We went together to church services and to concerts. We took long excursions through field and forest to places of interest, lunching in homely inns or in the open.

I remember once the contest in poetry we had in a forest glen looking out on a great mountain range; I recited in English and one of the Frenchmen in his tongue. Then Madame Marbach (who always chaperoned us) recited "Du bist wie eine Blume". We wept openly at its beauty and I looked at Dora with her blue eyes and black hair and the lovely coloring of her skin. Dora almost always paired with me, first to correct my German and then by preference. Once we all went to the annual ball of the upper middle class folk in the town. It was formal and a little stiff. The carefully gowned matrons sat around the walls of the room, knitting and gossiping and keeping watch over the demure white gowned girls in their charge. The fathers sat at tables and drank beer. I danced with all the girls of our home; then bowing

from the waist ventured to ask other young ladies to whom I had been introduced. Then came the "Damen Wahl"; I drew back, but it was unnecessary, for my card was filled for every dance.

I was very fond of Dora Marbach and as I well knew, so was she of me. Our fellows joked about us and when I sang the folk-song of "Die Lora am There", little Bertha invariably changed the name to "Dora". ~~But I did not make love to Dora, for~~ I knew this would be unfair to her and fatal for my work at home, where I had neither property nor social standing for this blue-eyed stranger. (She could not quite understand) Naturally I received much advice as to marriage plans. One lady told me very seriously "Sie soll heirathen eine hell-blonde!" But I knew better, although there may have been some echo in my mind of the proverb:

"Es waer so schoen gewesen
Es hat nicht sollen sein!"

~~But~~ it was an American woman who sought to see to it that no entanglement between me and Dora took place. She and her husband came to board with the Marbachs for a month or so. He was a professor in Colorado, a good-natured, ill-mannered Westerner. She was a nervous gossip, astonished to see a Negro so ~~popular and~~ well-received in this household. What she told Frau Marbach about American Negroes I do not know, but I can imagine. There was nothing said of the couple but all were glad when they left. I felt a little sensitive when I left. I exchanged letters with the family while I remained in Germany but I never returned to this beloved foster home.

Eisenach was so interesting that I wrote to my Great Barrington Sunday school about it; on September 29, 1892:

"In the middle of Germany, on the north-west edge of the famous Thuringian forest stand the town of Eisenach, one of the most beautiful spots of a beautiful region. I shall not attempt to describe the natural beauty of the place, first because I know I would not do it justice, and secondly because the memory of my own blue Berkshire hills tells me that the task would be an unnecessary one. It is however of the rich legacy of history and legend which belongs to these hills that I wish to speak. It

is ever a strange experience for an American to walk for the first time in a land, the natural beauty of which is surrounded and enhanced by the thought, legends, and deeds of a thousand years. Such is the case here, and the deeds are all the more interesting because they furthered that freedom of conscience and deeper religion which is the heritage of Great Barrington and of the world.

"Let us suppose our hills were thrown in somewhat wilder confusion, our shingles turned into red tiles, and our streets a bit more crooked; so would you imagine yourselves in Eisenach. We can take a walk through the old town treading on centuries of footsteps and breathing air full of ancient whispers. Here on the Luther Square is the house where Martin Luther, the first Protestant, lived, while he attended school in Eisenach. His father and mother dwelt over the hills yonder to the west, in "Mohra" -- poor ordinary peasants, too poor to keep the boy in school. So Frau Vreula Cotta gave him a place at her table and here, in the same decade as that in which Columbus discovered America, lived the great boy, in this queer old house with its projecting stories and little windows.

" A little farther on, in the great square market-place, he went to school under the shadow of a huge, unsightly Gothic church, which for half a thousand years has stood here. I attended service here last Sunday; it is a queer place with stiff old pews, great pillars, galleries, ancient gravestones, and an old high gilded pulpit. As I heard the grey-haired preacher in the pulpit, I remembered that 371 years ago, Luther himself had preached in the self-same pulpit, and under the same cherub-bedecked covering. It was on his return from the Diet of Worms in 1521, where, before the Emperor Charles V, and the assembled princes and prelates of Europe he had defended liberty of conscience. 'Here I stand; God help me, I cannot do otherwise'.

"Excommunicated by the church and forbidden to preach, he defied the edict of the Emperor and preached in this church, and then was spirited away by his friends and for nearly a year remained hidden from his persecutors -- so costly was it to be brave. And where was he hidden? Let us see: imagining still that Great

Barrington is Eisenach, let us take our stand in the market-place in front of our Town Hall. Look now upon East Mountain, and in place of East Rock, imagine the height crowned by a rambling old castle with great walls, buildings and towers. It is the castle Wartburg, and it is very old. When Washington was President it was old; when your great-great-grandfathers stole my great-[redacted]-grandfather and brought him a slave to America, it was old; when Wycliffe translated the Bible, it was old -- indeed, it was at the time that William the Conqueror invaded England, that Ludwig the Springer, a warrior, saw this height and saying: 'Wart, Berg! Du sollst mir ein Burg sein' (Wait, mountain! You shall be my fortress), he forthwith builded this castle. Thus for 825 years has it guarded the land, and her Luther found asylum in 1521 when the rest of Christenthum was closed against him.

"Protestantism could have had no more significent cradle. Here classic heathen and Christian legend meet and join hands. Here is the scene of Wagner's great opera Tannhäuser. The Frankish singer came riding out of the west at the behest of Herman, lord of the Wartburg, but upon the Horselberg, a peak facing the castle, he was turned aside from his journey by the goddess of beauty and perished miserably. So runs the legend.

"Here too lived that beautiful half-mystic Austrian princess, St. Elizabeth, whom the Germans have made an ideal figure of self-denying charity, and whom they always picture as standing before her hard-hearted lord with the food in her apron which she carried to the hungry, turned, as by a miracle, into roses to deceive his greed. In the midst of such scenes, of such more or less true tales, Luther lived for nearly a year, known in the castle as Junker-Jorg, burying himself in writing polemics and translating the bible. The chamber where he lived and the table on which he wrote are still shown to visitors."

In the fall I went up to Berlin and registered in the university. In my study, I came in contact with several of the great leaders of the developing social sciences: in economic sociology and in social history. My horizon in the social sciences was broadened not only by teachers, but by students from France, Belgium, Russia, Italy and Poland.

For matriculation in groups of one hundred we went into a large room with a high ceiling ornamented with busts of Berlin's famous professors. The year's Rector Magnificus was the widely famous Rudolf Virchow. He was a meek and calm little man, white-haired and white-bearded, with kindly face and pleasant voice. I had again at Berlin as at Harvard, unusual opportunity. Although a foreigner, I was admitted my first semester to two seminars under Schmoller and Wagner, both of them at the time the most distinguished men in their line; I received eventually from both of them pleasant testimony on my work in economics, history, and sociology. I sat under the voice of the fire-eating Pan-German, von Treitschke; I heard Sering and Weber; I wrote on American agriculture for Schmoller and discussed social conditions in Europe with teachers and students. Under these teachers and in this social setting, I began to see the race problem in America, the problem of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the political development of Europe as one. I began to unite my economics and politics; but I still assumed that in these groups of activities and forces, the political realm was dominant.

"Yes, it is a wonderful and beautiful place, this great and famous University, in the center of the new, old world of Tannhauser and Bismarck. The spell of the city is upon me tonight as I stand looking from the Mittelbau of the vast building in the Opera Platz. On the right is the Royal Library with its treasury of souls dead and gone; that and this is Germany, whose empire is the air. Directly opposite over the flickering gas jets of a pretty little methodical Square stands the stolid Dresdener Bank which is the mercantile Germany which once met the ridicule of the Royal Library. In the left-hand corner rises the dark bulk of the Catholic Church -- a stucco reproduction of the Pantheon at Rome. That is the Germany that sought to lead this world.

"On the left is the Opera House, which Frederick Wilhelm raised "Appolini et Musis" (To Appolo and the Muses). Above, the setting sun has left applauding pink and blue clouds, and the tender crescent moon hangs hesitatingly above the Augustine Vase. A silently eloquent scene: a tale of a great city -- the past and present hopefully ominous. I wonder why this all is -- I wonder what it all means -- I wonder --

and wonder! I look out over the bowed head of Alexander von Humboldt sitting in his great marble chair and I see the bronze Frederick surrounded by his soldiers and his Kant, riding up the Unter den Linden under the full moon. His back is toward the Reichstag and he seems coming toward the great dark palace yonder where William the Second sits brooding over his army bill.

"I find a boarding place. My landlady is elderly, a bit garrulous, but motherly and kind withal, and it really is fun to see her puzzle over my German now and then. My bill is ceremoniously directed to the 'Geehrter Herr von Bois'. For the various privileges enjoyed in this den of mine I pay $8 per month, including coffee. I had nearly forgotten to mention my colossal stove -- a German tile stove with its cleanliness and ornamentation is certainly a thing of beauty but it's hardly a joy at the time of year when it should be. It is altogether too modest and unobtrusive and has inherited the national characteristic of slowness to a most surprising extent.

"After coffee I wander up to the University. Through the busy little square, with its fine statue of the great Stein, through the Leipziger Strasse, the third great thoroughfare of Berlin, with its metropolitan hurry and sheen; then into the second great stretch, the Friedrichstrasse with its continual crowd and more easy, pleasure-seeking aspect; finally into the Unter den Linden, rightly more famous for its history than for its rather disappointing appearance as a thoroughfare.

"In such surroundings I live pretty contentedly and with no more than the average amount of homesickness. I take my coffee at eight with two fat rolls and butter. Most students, I believe, take it earlier, and about ten o'clock shoot through the academic halls munching a "Zweiter Fruestik" consisting of a roll sandwich, if they have pretensions to upper-ten-dom; or black bread sandwich if they are more humble. My dinner I take at 12 or 1, the time of dining being irrevocably settled for the nation by the name of the meal -- Mittagsessen. I always eat in a restaurant and generally get enough for about 21 cents, including beer and a tip to the waiter. My supper I take in my room from my private larder -- my landlady warming tea for me. My total expense including the opera and theater once or twice a week, the Philharmonic and various miscellanies cost me about $200 a semester. I could make it for $150, on a

pinch.

"On the Unter den Linden, just beyond the Friedrich der Grosse statue and opposit the Opera Platz, stands the "Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universitaet zu Berlin" as official documents call it. There's a story around Harvard, of a simple-minded stranger looking over the Yard and finding the buildings strewn about in that endless irregularity so dear to English traditions, who inquired anxiously: "Well, now, just which one is the Harvard University?" Here the problem is simplified, for the vast stone building before us, with its two wings, contains so much of the institution that it can be right off called the University. It is built of gray sandstone and consists of a center and two wings, enclosing a paved court on three sides. The fourth side on the Linden is closed by an iron palisade with a great gate in the center and on the side two large marble statues of William and Alexander von Humboldt.

"The building is three stories high, the second story being the highest and the first story more of a basement and flush with the ground. Six fluted Greek columns reaching to the roof adorn the front entrance surrounded by sculptures and the inscription "Universitati Litterarae Fredricus Wilhelmus III, Rex ~~[illegible]~~ A-C1D1 ccc VIIII The rather small main portal is surmounted by the inevitable grilled Prussian eagle and leads into a large low, marble-paved hall. This is the general students' rendezvous; it contains the various business offices, the theater ticket agency, a small lunchroom, notice board for official news, advertisements, etc. and numerous recitation rooms. This is generally thronged with students from nine to twelve on weekdays; at twelve or one they disappear and not a soul can be found till four or five, when again it is crowded. It is not a Harvard student crowd, however, rather a dress parade, where all are uniformly polite, hats being raised to most intimate acquaintances and all promenading and conversing in groups in ordinary conversational tones.

"Matriculation commenced the 15th of October. I registered as number 85 of the more than 5,000 who usually matriculate here. The lectures mostly began the week following. Each professor writes a more or less legible announcement as to the

time and place of the commencement of his lectures. The student then has to scurry about and examine a dozen different blackboards and hundreds of different slips of paper to find his particular professor's announcement. Poorly written English is bad enough, but when puzzling German is cloaked in execrably written German script, it is a combination fearful and wonderful to behold. Schmoller's scrawl caused me trouble, Wagner was well-nigh illegible, but Treitschke -- well, I haven't deciphered his announcement yet.

"The lectures are of two sorts -- private and public. The first have four hours a week, generally mornings on Tuesdays or Fridays, or on two afternoons from four to six. These lectures must be paid for at the rate of $5 a course for the semester. In this heaven of eclecticism every student must take at least a one-point course. The public lectures are full, and have one or two hours a week, on Wednesday or Saturday mornings or on other evenings at six or seven.

"An American astounded a professor by asking how much work a student was expected to do. The real answer is none or all he can manage. Only two things are required: the signature of the teacher at the beginning and at the end of the course. One of the articles furnished at matriculation is an "Anmelde-Buch" in which the names of the various professors and lectures you propose to take must be written. This is taken to the Questor who receives the tuition and receipts. Then you must trot to each professor and get his signature for each set of lectures at the beginning and end of the semester. Autographically this is interesting, but otherwise it is an unmitigated nuisance. In the first few weeks scarcely has a professor the last words of his lecture out of his mouth, than students waving their white books swoop down on him like an avalanche, forming a circle about his desk, of which he is the worried center. One does not wonder that the writing of Berlin professors is frightfully bad, and the Anmelde-Buch signatures in most cases absolutely unrecognizable.

"The recitation rooms are lighted by electricity, plainly furnished with desks and seats, and fairly well heated and ventilated. The regular recitation room proceedings are much different from ours and warrant description. Take for example a

lecture in political economy by Wagner. It is booked for Mondays and Fridays, from six to eight in the afternoon in Auditorium No. 40 -- a large room seating perhaps 300 and generally full. At six you find a half-dozen students. They stroll in desultorily till ten minutes past. Then they come in crowds until 15 minutes past. The regular lecture room paraphernalia consists of a small black desk piled high with notebooks, pen, and pocket inkstand. At 15 or 20 minutes past, there is a general stamping of feet that betokens the arrival of the professor. A tall man enters. He is bald on the crown, with a little fringe of brown hair hanging to his collar; he is probably past sixty, with a closely cropped little gray mustache, a firm chin, a face rather stern but still kindly, with traces of wrinkles used for emphasis and for smiling. This is Adolf Wagner, the great economist. He speaks in a quick, decisive manner, does not confine himself much to his notes, and shows a certain sympathy with his audience not common in German professors. He wears eyeglasses over a pair of spectacles. He sits when he lectures, tilts his chair, gesturing a bit with his right hand, and using his little finger as an exclamation point.

"The students take part in the recitation room proceeding mainly with their feet. A shuffle of feet presages disapproval, a stamping means applause. A few days ago, when Wagner mentioned Bismarck and called him the principal creator of German unity, a rub-a-dub followed from the 300 students for nearly five minutes. Shuffling is used also to express disapproval of late arrivals. Sometimes the disturbance is not generally thought great enough and the shuffling is rebuked by hissing. At other times when the tardy one is unusually noisy, there is a deafening whirr of feet which stops the lecture and never fails to abash the intruder. Commencing late, the lectures also end late. The students generally submit to remaining 5 minutes past but after that there comes an ominous clicking of inkstands and now and then designed and premature applause cuts off the lecturer's last words.

"To me by far the most interesting of the professors is the well-known von Treitschke, the German Machiavelli. He never comes to his lectures until very late, often commencing his ten o'clock lecture on Politik at 10:30 -- never before 10:20

He is a large man, of 'fair round belly with good capon lined', or possibly with the more unpoetic beer; he generally dresses rather carefully in dark gry or blue cutaway with cylinder hat, gloves and the all-pervading German cane. His complexion is dark, his well-kept hair and full beard iron gray, and his features rather gross. He is ston deaf with a slight impediment in his speech, and a sort of breathless way of speaking that makes him very difficult at first for a foreigner to understand. The task, however, is worth all pains, for his is one of the most forcible and independent minds on the faculty. His entrance is always the same. He comes in slowly, somewhat out of breath, with his overcoat, hat, and cane on his left arm. These he hangs on the wall and ascends to his desk where he stands as he speaks. He then takes off his right glove and putting his head a bit on one side says: 'Meine Herrn,' with a falling inflection. Then begins the lecture, which, as I overheard a puzzled and sighing American say, 'has but one period and that's at the end.' He does not speak so fast, but his articulation is bad (imagine badly articulated German!) and he has a way of catching his breath in the midst of his sentences instead of at the end, giving the ear no natural pause.

"His lectures are nevertheless intensely interesting. He is rapt in his subject, a man of intense likes and dislikes, beliefs and disbeliefs. He is the very embodiment of united monarchical, armed Germany. He has pity for France, hearty dislike for all things English -- while for America, well, the United States is his bete noir, which he seldom fails to excoriate. One day he startled me by suddenly declaring during a lecture on America: 'Die Mullattern sind niedrig! Sie fühlen sich niedrig.' ('Mulattoes are inferior; they feel themselves inferior.') I felt as if he were pointing me out; but I presume he was quite unaware of my presence. However my presence or absence would have made no difference to him. He was given to making extraordinary assertions out of a clear sky and evidently believing just what he said. My fellow students gave no evidence of connecting what he said with me. Yet von Treitschke was not a narrow man. His outlook is that of the born aristocrat who has something of the Carlyle contempt of levelling democracy. On the other hand he criticizes his own

government and nation unsparingly when he sees fit -- I have heard him characterize one of the highest officials as a 'verrueckte Dumkopf' while the students cheered. He grows enthusiastic in his lectures, gestures considerably, and has a little half-caustic smile which always foreshadows some sharp critical sally that usually brings down the house; as for instance when he characterized some current author's work as efforts 'to widen the boundaries of human stupidity.'

"The Berlin student is not typical of the type, nor will the stranger find here so much of the purely student life. Berlin stands, I imagine, to the smaller universities something as Harvard to the Western Universities. The students generally go to a local university first, then spend a semester or more in the classic glare of Berlin with its 83 full professors, 87 assistant professors, and 186 instructors; returning finally to their own universities to take their degree. The galaxy of learning here at Berlin is not so brilliant today, I imagine, as in the day of the great Mommsen.

"Yet it is sufficiently attractive. All of these professors, of course, I have not yet had the opportunity of seeing, much less hearing -- indeed, four years at Harvard left some great names and faces unconnected in my mind. Those I have seen here are more especially connected with my department of political science; but they are celebrated enough to merit some particular notice. Wagner I have already spoken of personally -- his hobby is the discovery of the golden mean between the warring extremes of his science. He comes dangerously near committing the common mistake in such cases of mistaking his extremes. He is publishing a new edition of his valuable Lehrbuch, and as inducement is offering various blandishments to the national apparition of socialism. The bete noire of the German economist is, of course, the British school founded, as Wagner says, with a jerk of his head, by 'Adahm Smiss.' Wagner, however, gives them due credit for their great work and agrees with them more fully than with the younger German radicals headed by Schmoller.

"There is evidently no intellectual love lost between Wagner and Schmoller.

Schmoller is a large man about 50, with flowing beard, grown bald and prematurely gray. His complexion is dark and his eyes small and bright. He wears glasses, speaks with an accent, and is evidently a man of strong prejudices, fearless and sharp in expression of opinion, but a tireless investigator. He strikes me as more of a historian than economist. He conducts the economics seminar every other semester, alternating with Wagner. This semester Schmoller has the seminar, consisting of upward of 40 members, two of whom are American born, representing Harvard and Boston University. The papers presented so far have been indifferent, but the discussion animated and intelligent.

"Von Gneist is apparently the only German who has any wide knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history. He is old and rather droll, wears a little flaxen wig, and meager gray side-whiskers. His enunciation is not good, and he sits and talks away in easy conversational tones, interspersing his drier matter with a joke, a criticism, or a little general political philosophy at which he himself smiles complacently. Zeller, known in philosophy, is an old man, who dresses neatly, and stands while lecturing. He has a benevolent face, but a very weak voice and most of the Americans deserted him after the first lecture. Perhaps the most widely known professor today in Berlin is Dubois-Reymond.

"The difference in general appearance between the Berlin student and his Harvard brother is very marked. The Harvard man affects a slouchy stride, jams his hands in his pockets, dresses well, and yet with a certain conscious carelessness; and would appear as a sort of devel-may-care young fellow, out of swaddling clothes but not yet in straitjacket. The Berlin student affects a strut, never uses his trousers pockets or whistles in public, dresses poorly but with a certain primness of collar, gloves, and cane; and would appear as a young man of intellect, promise, and present importance. A crowd of German students is more picturesque.

"In social life particularism is more marked here than even at Harvard. The simpleton who asks: Well, how about the social life of the Harvard students? should be questioned in turn: Which Harvard students? So in Berlin. Most of the students have spent their 'kneipe' years elsewhere and come here if not for more serious, at least for a different sort of play. The 'Verbindungen' do not consequently play so

much of a role here as elsewhere.

"After so much has been written, most people understand the German student fraternities. They are of two sorts: the Verbindungen and the Vereine. The Verbindungen are in two great divisions: the ~~Inter~~-Verbindungen with affiliate chapters in all universities; under these come the corps, to which formerly only the nobles belonged, but which now differ but little from the other divisions -- the Burschenshaften, the Landsmannschaften, which have the bulk of members. Second, the 'Freie Verbindungen,' which are local societies.

"All the inter-university Verbindungen wear the student caps, a band of three colors across the breast; practice the sham scar duels to a considerable extent, do not wear bears, 'kneipe' together, and address each other by the familiar 'Du' instead of the polite 'Sie.' The objects of the Verbindungen are purely social. They meet at stated times in their 'local', drink beer, and sing, fight, etc. Duelling still goes on -- have recently seen three or four freshly cut cheeks and heads -- but not to a very great extent. I should judge that less than a tenth, possibly less than a twentieth of the ~~students,~~ members bear scars. The custom as carried out now is entirely harmless -- more so than the Harvard Dickey initiation, I should say. All the different societies parade slowly in the little square before the University in full regalia. Their number are, however, insignificant -- generally not more than fifty or sixty in all.

"The Vereine are clubs for local social and literary purposes. They wear no caps or only colors on their fob watch chains. There are numerous ~~such~~ Vereine in Berlin for all purposes, from philosophy to chess, and from converting the Jews to Alp-climbing. Outside of this, there is also an independent 'student union' of those belonging to no societies.

The political situation is followed with keen interest by the students, though there is very little outspoken opinion. It is easy to see, however, that William II is not altogether popular among the young men, that many are not averse to coquetting a bit with socialism, and that there is a general unrest and dissatisfaction among these future citizens. ~~One incident which recently occurred is not without interest.~~

The Independent Student Association has been holding a number of meetings lately in the auditorium of the University. The Jews, who are not admitted into the Verbindungen, and the socialist students, captured one of the meetings and had things their own way. This aroused a perfect furore among the German nationalist students, among whom a strong and even bitter anti-Semitic feeling is developing. They called a meeting in the same hall, but Rector Virchow refused to allow it, fearing that the breach among the students would become too great. Whereupon the honored professor received some disrespectful manifestations in his recitation room and the meeting was called in an outside hall by a handbill headed:

"Comrades! Since a full expression of opinion in the University precincts has been refused to the great national thinking part of the Berlin students," etc.

"There were upwards of 700 students present, seated along rows of tables, smoking and drinking beer. The meeting opened with a 'Hoch' to the Emperor, and than the assembly disported itself in condemning the Jews in no uncertain terms, even showing marked discourtesy to several speakers who sought to defend them. The meeting ended in smoke and song and afterward I went to a Socialist meeting as a fit conclusion to the day.

"Naturally I am attracted to the socialist movement, but the history of the development of Marxism and of the revisionists like Lasalle, Bernstein and Bakunin was too complicated for a student like myself to understand, who had received no real teaching along this line. I was overwhelmed with rebuttals of Marxism before I understood the original doctrine. Even such great occurrences as the French Commune were minimized by the main history teaching to which I had listened in America. Until the fall of Bismarck in 1890, socialist organization or agitation were illegal in Germany, but the increase of industrial workers had led to a vast scheme of state insurance for accidents, old age relief and the like under Bismarck. In 1891, William II through his new Chancellor Caprivi tried a new social policy which allowed socialists to organize and a new Social Democratic party was beginning to grow rapidly at the time I arrived as a student. I frequently attended their meetings, but my student rank hindered me from that close personal acquaintanceship

with workers which I should have had for complete understanding. I did soon realize that the Social Democratic party was the largest in the state, but kept from its rightful representation in the Reichstag by privilege and systematic gerrymandering.

The pageantry and patriotism of Germany in 1892 astonished me. In New England our patriotism was cool and intellectual. Ours was a great nation and it was our duty to preserve it. We "loved" it but with reason not passion. In the South, Negroes simply did not speak or think of patriotism for the nation which held their fathers in slavery for 250 years. On the other hand we revered rebels like John Brown, Garrison, Phillips and Douglass. We knew little or nothing of rebels like Robert Dale Owen, Henry George or Edward Bellamy. When I heard my German companions sing "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber Alles, ueber Alles in der Welt" I realized that they felt something I had never felt and perhaps never would.

The march of soldiers, the saluting of magnificent uniforms, the martial music and rhythm of movement stirred my senses.

Then there was that new, young Emperor, "von Gottes Gnade, deutsche Kaiser, Koenig von Preussen", who led and pin-pointed the pageantry. Ever and again he came riding ahead of his white and golden troops on prancing chargers through the great Brandenburg gate, up the Linden "With banners gaily flying, with trumpet and with drums!" I thrilled at the sight even though I knew of that shrivelled left arm and of his impossible demand for supreme power. I even trimmed my beard and mustache to a fashion like his and still follow it. If I a stranger was thus influenced, what about the youth of Germany? I began to feel that dichotomy which all my life has characterized my thought: how far can love for my oppressed race accord with love for the opporessing country? And when these loyalties diverge, where shall my soul find refuge?

Germany took up my music and art where Fisk had left me; to religious oratorio was now added opera and symphony, song and sonata. I heard cheaply and often from the balcony seats offered students, the great music of the world: but I heard it in reverse; I heard Wagner before Verdi; I listened to Tannhauser before "Il Trovatore." Nevertheless my delight in good music was signally increased. Beside the Negro folk

songs I could now place "Jetz geh' I' an's Brunelle, trink aber net!"

The many vacations of the academic year I used for trips in Germany and to other parts of Europe; but missing after the Summer in Eisenach, the companionship of close friends, I kept up my older habit of travelling alone. This began in New England where as I grew up I was thrown increasingly on my own company and began to enjoy uninterrupted thought and fantasy. At Fisk I had less of this and yet even there found myself taking walks alone and mooning in favorite nooks by myself. In later life this habit increased, especially when I was in conflict with my fellows and my world or preferred my own company to that of antagonistic or frivolous companions. The habit was early misconstrued as due to feelings of superiority, rather than to sheer lonesomeness.

I had some student companionship in Germany and might easily have had more, I was invited to join a "Gesellschaft" for study of comparative international law; I found there some good companions and we talked and published a set of by-laws. To this we added a song book, to which at unanimous request I added a translation of the then popular "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de ay!" Nevertheless I took my first excursion alone and chose the Hansa cities of north-west Germany. I planned this trip for March, but before leaving there came my twenty-fifth birthday on February twenty third. I asked in no companions.

It was in th long, dark winter of northern Germany, and while I was comfortable, I felt a little lonesome and far-away from home and boyhood friends. I arose at eight and took coffee and oranges, read letters, thought of my dead parents, and was sorry. The night before I had heard Schubert's beautiful unfinished symphony planned my celebration and written to Grandma and Mabel and had a curious little ceremony with candles, Greek wine, oil, and song and prayer. Then I dedicated my library to mother, I wandered up to the reading room, then to the art gallery, and finally had a fine dinner with Sonderhof over a bottle of Rudesheimer and cigarettes. Then we went to Potsdam for coffee and saw a pretty girl. We came back to the Seminar, took a walk supped on cocoa, wine, oranges and cake and came home alone. I had candles in

my room on Schoeneburger Ufer, and a dedication of my small library to the memory of my mother; and I wrote something rather sentimental about life in general:

"Night -- grand and wonderful. I am glad I am living. I rejoice as a strong man to win a race, and I am strong -- is it egotism -- is it assurance -- or is the silent call of the world spirit that makes me feel that I am royal and that beneath my sceptre a world of kings shall bow. The hot dark blood of a black forefather is beating at my heart, and I know that I am either a genius or a fool. O I wonder what I am -- I wonder what the world is -- I wonder if life is worth the Sturm. I do not know -- perhaps I never shall know: But this I do know: be the Truth what it may I will seek it on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking -- and Heaven nor Hell, God nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die. I will in this second quarter century of my life, enter the dark forest of the unknown world for which I have so many years served my apprenticeship --- in the chart and compass which the world furnishes me I have little faith in -- yet I have nothing better -- I will seek till I find -- and die. There is a grandeur in the very hopelessness of such a life -- Life? And is life all? If I strive, shall I live to strive again? I do not know and in spite of the wild sehnsucht for Eternity that makes my heart sick now and then -- I shut my teeth and say I do not care. Carpe Diem! What is life but life, after all? Its end is its greatest and fullest self -- this end is the Good: the Beautiful is its attribute -- its soul, and Truth is its being. Not three commensurable things are these, they are three dimensions of the cube. Mayhap God is the fourth, but for that very reason he will be incomprehensible. The greatest and fullest life is by definition beautiful, beautiful -- beautiful as a dark passionate woman, beautiful as a golden-hearted school girl, beautiful as a grey haired hero. That is the dimension of breadth. Then comes Truth -- what is, cold and indisputable: What is height. Now I will, so help my soul, multiply breadth by height, beauty by truth and then goodness, strength shall bind them together into a solid whole. Wherefore? I know not now. Perhaps infinite other dimensions do. This is a wretched figure and yet it roughly represents my attitude

toward the world. I am striving to make my life all that life may be -- and I am limiting that strife only in so far as that strife is incompatible with others of my brothers and sisters making their lives similar. The crucial question now is where that limit comes. I am too often puzzled to know. Paul ~~it~~ put it as meat-eating, which was asinine. I have put it as the (perhaps) life-ruin of Amalie which is cruel. God knows I am sorely puzzled. I am firmly convinced that my own best development is not one and the same with the best development of the world and here I am willing to sacrifice. That sacrifice to the world's good becomes too soon sickly sentimentality. I therefore take the world that the Unknown lay in my hands and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world ....."

The next month I started on my trek and kept a diary:

"It was the 24th day of March, Friday, that I started -- a beautiful day with clear blue sky and floods of the sweetest yellow sunshine imaginable. I arose at half past six and put the finishing touches to my packing. My coffee came at 7 with some ham for my sandwiches. Then I bade them goodbye -- two lonely old people, and went downstairs and ordered a cab. The cabman cheated me -- they always do. I only try to escape as cheaply as possible. I rode only the Friedrichstrasse Bahnhof and sent my canvas bag to Cassell, then boarded an omnibus and rode to the Stettiner Bahnhof, where I took the 8.25 'express' for Luebeck -- I quote 'express' from the timetable, for it was like all German trains, very, very deliberate.

"Oh, but it was a glorious ride, scarcely a could in the sky -- one perfect symphony of yellow sunshine, blue sky, and blue lakes and marshes; with a little more highland, the scenery would have been perfectly grand. The country, however, was flat, with wide shallow lakes and marshes and now and then little rolling hillocks and over the little red-tiled villages with cute and curious guardian churches. There were many low-thatched roofs to be seen, and once a canal with boats propelled by hoisted sails. And over all was the breath of the new-born spring, breathing an

almost magic incense over the plowed fields, the roughly wholesome peasant maidens and the homely homes all full of love and sorrow.

"I had a coupe all to myself and I sang in my joy at the wonderful evening -- and sang what I had heard two nights before -- the wonderful chorus from the Ninth Symphony of the Master Beethoven -- 'Alle Mensehen werden Brueder" -- so wonderful -- so wonderful -- I could sing it over the wide gray-green fields, over the green pine forests -- over this great North world awakening today into a new life of toil and gladness. There was little change in the scenery -- every now and then shallow lakes and marshes, villages and rolling hills, pine and birch forests and the like. At a

Next comes the Rathhaus, its side elevation reminding one of the Lubeck but on the whole not nearly so interesting. Then I saw a palace again -- and wouldn't live in a palace on a salary, a great endless pile of square, cold, cheerless rooms full of mustn't-touch articles. The palace of the old Hanoverian kings was chiefly remarkable for its series of fine inlaid floors which were really grand.

"One notices in Hanover as in South Germany not a few signs of German particularism -- Hanover clings jealously to her title of 'royal' residence, erects a big statue to her king Ernst-August and speaks with some feeling of her old kings. In the afternoon I wandered to the Herrenhausen, saw the great palms and sat in the garden of the Georges looking at the bad statues and the green grass. Well, I caught the train -- one can't miss a German train -- and started on my journey.

"There was a pretty schloss in Naumberg, whose only fault was that it was new. Gottingen, a perfectly charming little town, nestles in a broad plain with blue mountains for a background. So at last I came back to Berlin and my work."

I was considerably alarmed at the end of my second semester toward the middle of the year 1893 when no word arrived as to re-appointment to my fellowship which I had confidently expected. I cabled without success. Finally this rather casual reply came from the President of Johns Hopkins, D.C. Gilman:

"The Slater Trustees have renewed your appointment with the understanding that you should give a note for one half the sum as before. You will presently hear from Mr. Strong representing the Treasurer.

"A telegram was received here May 8th, reading: 'Was Du Bois reappointed?' without signature. I answered it and there came back a dispatch from Berlin, saying that the message was undelivered. I did not repeat the message.

"I shall hope to hear from you after receiving this note, and to have the semi-annual letters in the coming year as in the past."

The Christmas holidays of 1893 I spent in making a trip through south Germany. Three of us visited Weimar, Frankfort, Heidelberg and Mannheim. From Christmas Day

to New Year's we stopped in a little German "Dorf" in the Rheinpfalz, where I had an excellent opportunity to study the peasant life closely and compare it with country life in the South. Three of us started out -- a Scotsman, an American and myself. The American was descended from German immigrants to the United States and had relatives in the Rhineland in southwest Germany. We spent Christmas in the village of Gimmeldigen. What a lovely holiday, with tasting of the new wine crop, visiting and feasting among peasant folk who treated me like a [redacted] prince. We visited perhaps twenty different families, talked, ate and drank new wine with them; listened to their gossip, attended their social assemblies, etc. The bill which my obsequious landlord presented on my departure was about one-tenth of what I expected. We stayed in Neustadt a week, with a family whose dead father had driven the first locomotive into France at the opening of the Franco-German war. The daughter was a fine, homely young woman who did everything to make us comfortable.

We then went to Strassburg, Stuttgart, Ulm, Muenchen, Nuernberg, Prague and Dresden. In those places we stayed from one to five days following our Baedekers closely and paying much attention to the Muenchen and Dresden art galleries. The whole trip cost me about eighty dollars. We parted from our American: he was a good-hearted but rather vulgar man, with an education that left no visible results. John Dollar my British companion and I got on famously together because we were so opposite in temperament. He was coldly and conventionally British in dress and speech. He paraded more than he walked, hated Catholic priests for no reason which he ever stated and was constitutionally afraid of women. With this went a strange simplicity and deep sympathy with human suffering. Later we decided to go down to Italy; to Genoa, Rome and Naples and then over to Venice and Vienna and Budapest. On this trip we used German instead of English because as Dollar assured me it would be much cheaper. He was quite right. We went over the vast barrier of the Alps gazing up on its heaven of snow and sky and then down on the incomparable beauty of the Italian lakes.

These were troubled days all over Europe. Switzerland was following Socialism

by adopting social insurance and was on the brink of buying up her railroads. Humbert I and Leo XIII were at loggerheads over papal territory in Italy. Crispi had risen, fallen and come back to power, and was now heading for the fatal Ethiopian war of 1896. We went to Genoa and Turin; to Florence, Rome and Naples. I saw for the first time some of the world's great sculpture and painting; its historical monuments; I sensed the historical difficulties between France and Italy when Dollar and I, mistaken for Frenchmen were stoned by youth in the Roman forum. We lived cheaply and fared bountifully. We saw Naples, free, lovely and dirty, in all the gay abandon of the fin-de-siecle. It was a great and inspiring trip. We turned back north and saw Venice with its doves and the Palace of the Doges, and then went north east to Vienna.

This was Vienna in its glory, not at its height but still magnificent. I remember the great Opera house and the way men stood in their seats and looked the audience over; the leisurely way in which we all promenaded in the wide and long halls and lunched at will; and then the finely conducted music and acting. It was one of the world's greatest and most influential cities. Here Dollar left me. I do not think he liked Austria as much as Rome and also his engagements called him.

As for me I had further scenes to examine. While at Berlin, I found myself once explaining to a schoolmate, Stanislaus Ritter von Estreicher, the race problem in America. He was not as impressed as I thought he should be. He said "I understand only too well; but you should see the race antagonism in my home. Come to Krakow and see the clash of German and Pole!" I promised that I would visit him when near. So now I travelled alone into Hungary, with the object of turning north through Slovenia and over the Tatra mountains into Poland. It was a journey with a hint of adventure and with a far-off likeness to my American South.

In Budapesth I was struck by the hostility to German Austria. This was four years after the suicide of Crown Prince Rudolf at Meyerling. Taafe was prime minister and had sought to placate the rising Hungarian drive to greater independence by grant of manhood suffrage. But the Hungarians were asserting their desire for independence. In the post office, they pretended not to understand German even when I tried to buy stamps. It would be the very next year that Kossuth was to

die in Italy and increase the demand for Hungarian independence from Austria.

I fared north over that great plain along which the Magyars came west a thousand years before. I had glimpses of Hungary as I travelled slowly by third-class railway coach, stopping to spend a night here and there. A Hungarian peasant wrote later of conditions in Hungary at the time: "Come with me in the Spring and hoe for sixteen hours for twelve cents a day; eat dry bread and rotten bacon, sleep in a hole dug with his own hoe for six hours. We work even longer in summer. On the putzsas four families, 20 to 25 people, live in one room. I have seen men collapsing on the street from starvation. Such things are not exactly calculated to make one enthusiastic about the Fatherland. Do our lords think we shall starve to death without a word?"

All this I did not actually see, but I heard its echoes; my dark face elicited none of the curiosity which it had in blonde north Germany, for there were too many dark Gypsies and other brunettes. I saw poverty and despair. I was several times mistaken for a Jew; arriving one night in a town of north Slovenia, the driver of a rickety cab whispered in my ear, "Unter die Juden?" I stared and then said yes. I stayed in a little Jewish inn. I was a little frightened as in the gathering twilight I traversed the foothills of the dark Tatras alone and on foot. I crossed into Poland and stopped to go down into the salt mines of Wielitza.

Finally I came to Krakow and my friend. It was an interesting visit and an old tale. Tyranny in school and work; insult in home and on the street. Of course here, in contrast to America, there were the privileged Poles who escaped personal insult; there was the aristocracy who had some recognized rights. The whole mass of the oppressed were not reduced to one level; nevertheless the degradation was only too familiar. The venerable librarian of the university treated me to Polish "schnapps" which nearly choked me. The family made me most welcome. I never saw my schoolmate again, but I heard later that in the First World War, the Germans tried to make him a Quisling for them. In 1940, von Estreicher died in a German concentration camp, after he had refused to be one of Germany's puppet rulers of Poland. I came back to Berlin by way of Prague and Dresden and started my third and final semester. Schmoller

wanted to present me for my doctorate, despite the fact that I had not finished the "triennium" required in a German University and my work at Harvard was not recognized. The faculty was willing in my case but was restrained by the professor of English who threatened to push the similar claims of several Britishers. I therefore regretfully had to forego the chance of a German doctorate and wait for the degree from Harvard.

As a farewell to Germany, I made the Hartzreise in the spring of 1894. Again I went alone, but with my now familiar German and wide experience of travel, I felt at home. I kept no diary of this trip, but started west from Berlin to Magdeburg and Halberstadt in Saxony. I passed the splendid seat of the Prince zu Steinberg-Wernigerhode. Then I climbed to the Brocken and lived Walpurgis night again. I forded streams and climbed mountains until in full darkness I came to an old inn. Back at the inn I ordered beer and kalbsbratten and dined alone. This was my peffect farewell to a Germany which no longer exists.

I stayed in Europe as long as the last penny allowed -- eager for work and home and yet reluctant. My old pal Dollar wrote me from England and we planned to meet in London before I left for America.

I now turned home. If I had spent a fourth semester at Berlin, that would not only have exceeded my funds covering two years of work but also have taken me up to Christmas and made the securing of work in America for the next year unlikely. A better alternative occurred to me and that was to spend the Spring in France. The years of preparation were over and life was to begin. I computed my balance of funds carefully. I could go first class to London, spend a short time with my friend Dollar and then take first class cabin accomodation to the United States. Or by carefully husbanding my funds, riding third class on railways and returning steerage to New York I could spend a month or more in France. My earlier idea had been to spend a year in Germany and a year in France in graduate study; but I had to choose between a more complete German experience and two incomplete glimpses of both countries. So I spent nearly all my time in Germany. But here at the end was an

opportunity at least to have a glimpse of France and then rough it home. Of course if I had intimated my need for further funds to Dollar he would have been willing and able to make me a loan. But here my New England frugality stopped me. I already was in debt for my half of my fellowships; I had no job; and I had lived well enough in Europe to endure for a week, the experiences of immigrants to America. Even they on arrival might easily have a better chance for life than I in my own country.

I went to France and saw Paris; wandered wide and deep and made my French fairly understandable. I sensed the everlasting lure of Paris, three years after the suicide of Boulanger and the year of the final completion of the Franco-Russian alliance. It was also the year President Carnot was assassinated and Dreyfus condemned for treason. But these events gained only my passing attention. I was fascinated by the glory of French culture in painting, sculpture, architecture and historical monument. I saw Sarah Bernhardt; I haunted the Louvre.

In June I met my friend Dollar in London for a few days of a last farewell. Dollar, dear old boy, hadn't the slightest idea that I was going steerage and prattled finely about "selecting a cabin" and all that. We whiled about the depot, watching the crowds, edified by Dollar's explanation of the station until finally I entered the carriage, bade my good friend adieu and rattled off.

We stopped at Southhampton in a sort of flurry, nobody not even the guards seeming to know what we were to do next. As we stood helplessly on the platform the guard suddenly screamed "2nd cabin passengers this way" and left us steerage people alone. Finally they called us and grabbing our luggage we followed our guide who led us thru' the streets in one long line to a small brick shed about a mile off, where we deposited our baggage in the ante-room and entered. Within the walls were white-washed bricks, the ceiling wooden and iron and wooden columns in the center. At one end there was an alcove where several cooks were busy and

distributed thru' the room were long wooden tables and benches on which not over clean tablecloths were spread. It was a most miscellaneous crowd: men, women, children, girls, husbands, wives, ~~English, German, Jews Negroes~~ — and as I should judge about an even mixture of honest people and rascals. Let me describe some types about me: opposite me a good-natured, honest, red bearded Englishman, well dressed — paper collar, silver ring etc. Tells me he's been in America before and talks sensibly. Beside me a short bull necked candidate for states prison, drunk and sleeping with his head on the table; on the other side an ill-smelling old man with chin beard, goodnatured and a bit stupid. Yonder is a tall girl — rather good looking, a bit tawdrily dressed — afraid for her future. There is a motherly old lady in black with a look of sorrow on her face — poor thing. They're eating now — grabbing things and swilling tea.

Well there we sat in this great bare room that whole afternoon: the ship would not sail till the morrow and we must of course sleep there unless as the steward gently hinted, we went to a hotel. By careful maneuvering I secured a doorless compartment alone and ~~a rather~~ an ill-smelling bunk. A rather restless night it was however — the smell, the noise of the drunken roisterers and the thoughts of the wild trip I was about to take. Two of the roisterers came staggering in about midnight, mistook my compartment for theirs, staggered about, guffawed, hiccoughed and joked and at last managed to tumble ~~into~~ bed. Then I was waked again by one of them crawling thru' the hall on his knees with a lighted match, seeking a penny he'd dropped — not exactly a comfort giving exhibition in a dry, wooden hovel. Finally my troubled morning dreams were mingled with the stench of the beer which his poor stomach refused longer to hold. This was too much — I could not eat breakfast but rushed out of the fetid atmosphere of the crowded hall into the wet misty atmosphere of Southhampton. It was early Sunday morning and all shops were closed — oh what a dreary lonesome feeling that was. At last I bought an

indifferent breakfast for 10 pence and then returned to the "barracks" to find that we would not sail before afternoon. In despair I started off again and succeeded in finding a more interesting wandering. Southampton is in many respects a fine old town with its historic gates and old bits of town wall and I enjoyed this all thoroughly. Finally I returned to dinner — a jam and a crowd in which I joined with loathing. Then came a baggage van and away we straggled to the quay amid the undisguised amusement of the inhabitants — and it was a picturesque and laughable crowd — young and old — lame and well — rags and fine clothes — Jew and gentile, russians, English, Americans, Poles, Germans, French, Greeks, Austrians — all running and waddling along. Ah — it was funny and yet sad — this great stream of hopes and longing — of disappointment and sorrw, of happiness and crime about to turn itself into Americans. At the quay we were hemmed in by ropes for about a half or three-quarters of an hour and a big red tag with the stamps of the U.S. Consul attached to our bags certifying that he had inspected us — which was of course a lie. Finally we showed our tickets and came on board. In a few minutes, the two tugs started with us in tow and we had embarked.

I'm not myself of the seasick getting kind but I must confess that the next morning as I felt the ship rising and fading away under my feet and rolling from side to side with something more than ordinary enthusiasm — I felt a certain settled melancholy which compelled me to confine my first breakfast to an orange and rush in rather undignified haste from the dark dungeons below onto the wet and dirty deck. I was not sicker than this — missed no meals and gave up no further offering to the sea; but it was a trying time. The sea was very choppy even a bit stormy. Then in addition to that, the filth and nastiness of the people about me, the small amount of deck room — that was enough to cause the stoutest stomach to revolt, even on land. And the people were sick — oh so sick, it was pitiable to see them and yet at the same time so laughable. In spite of the efforts of the crew it was well nigh impossible to keep the deck clean, everywhere lay unsightly messes — as one fellow

said as I told of the good dinner we'd had: "yes, I saw a lot of it up on deck." One can hardly realize how sick it's possible to get. Some of the pale, drawn faces looked quite deathlike and the whole tone of melancholly hopelessness that pervaded the ~~whole~~ crowd was most remarkable. Some made no attempt at first to come on deck and after a few days I was continually surprised by the appearance of new faces which until then had lain low in the cabins below. Such a sort of universal sickness however is a strange opportunity to view human character: these 350 human beings so accidently thrown together learned to know each other first amid pain and suffering and the little friendships made there, the little deeds good and bad, sank deeper into their souls than usual. It is perhaps this circumstance that gives a sea voyage its most peculiar flavor.

On this our floating island the world is much simpler than usual. First it consists of us ~~-~~ and the trembling world of cabins, decks, masts and chimneys. Then there is a great circle of dark blue waters stretching away, away evenly in a circle until meeting with the sky in the dim and misty distance it becomes one with the sky world and its clouds and pale day moon. Our ship is a fairly large one not very swift and a bit old -- the "Chester" of the American line with, all told, some 800 souls aboard. My first work in the morning is to get a slight bath -- a thing of no ordinary difficulty for steerage passengers. I generally get up on deck a bit early. A bell rings and I hasten down two rickety pairs of steep stairs -- that is two stories below the deck where our cabins are. This is a long room -- perhaps 15 yards long and as wide as the ship. The sides are taken up with the bunks leaving a space perhaps 15 feet in the middle through which a long narrow table of plain boards runs lengthwise. Beside this are narrow stationary seats without backs. The whole room is lighted by only a half dozen small port holes and kerosene lamps giving it a rather gloomy appearance. It is fairly well ventilated, considering its depth below the world. We range ourselves by the tables each bringing the utensils delivered to him by the steward at the beginning of the trip -- a tin plate, cup and

and spoon, and a knife and fork. The breakfast consists of rather poor coffee (with milk and molasses already in) plenty of good bread and fair butter, and good porridge or stew: a breakfast in which in spite of the noise the broad talk and the very primitive table manners of my neighbors, I generaly enjoy. The next duty is to wash your own dishes for which a can for slops and a can of hot water is provided — the dish cloth being furnished by the passenger. As usual, some omit even this bit of trouble and have apparently not washed their plates since starting.

~~The Negroes~~ There are two fullblooded Negroes aboard and (including myself) 3 mulattoes. We do not go together — indeed have not all spoken together, but I think all have had a pleasant voyage with little cause to complain of any prejudice. Of course we awakened more or less curiosity with some and I fancy something of dislike in others. Yet I find us all talking to the women and one, especially from his good heartedness seems a general favorite; in fine in a gradual line of individuals here the Blacks would by no means stand at the bottom of the row. What I notice in them is their goodheartedness — their straightforwardness. There is not a trace of deception and desire to injure or envy others traceable. A people with such hearts do not deserve annihilation.

Society: What happens when 350 people of the lower classes are for 9 days thrown together with very little outside government? The answer to this can be seen on this voyage and is most interesting. We have here of course all grades of society but a majority of what must be called lower. Yet I think that the better classes here, the better and more orderly elements though scarcely greater in numbers has been distinctly more influential. The experience has proven in a degree what I have always thought, that the number of "estates" is unlimited in a sense. One can scarcely bring any sort of a crowd of people together without finding a large number of distinct classes. Then again the number of estates is quite limited, for the several classes here developed differences here in no great degree from the

classes elsewhere in the world — it is the same old strife of finer souls against brutality.

We have of course strange divisions here: that of education, of course, that of wealth, that of life object, that of nation, and that of language and that of color. There is here a great number of half educated men — men who for lack of opportunity or perseverance have but tasted the beginning of life. They are, when not dogmatic and conceited, most interesting men and in all cases studies in human nature. They are often compounded of opposites and intellectual acuman and desire to learn with low habits and even brutality; then again there are embryonic cranks.

After a week we began to become tired and uneasy. We wanted Life to end and begin. A new land loomed there beyond the horizon and we began searching the skies. I who was born there was also approaching something new and untried after 24 years of preparation. At last it loomed on the morning when we saw the statue of Liberty. I know not what multitude of emotions surged in the others, but I had to recall that mischievous little French girl whose eyes twinkled as she said: "O, yes! the statue of Liberty! With its back toward America, and its face toward France!"

CHAPTER ~~VI~~ XI

WILBERFORCE

As a student in Germany, I builded great castles in Spain and lived therein. I dreamed and loved and wandered and sang; then after two long years I dropped suddenly back into "nigger"-hating America!

My Days of Disillusion which followed were not disappointing enough to discourage me. I was still upheld by that fund of infinite faith, although dimly about me I saw the shadow of disaster. I began to realize how much of what I had called Will and Ability was sheer Luck! Suppose my good mother had preferred a steady income from my child labor rather than bank on the precarious dividend of my higher training? Suppose that pompous old village judge, whose dignity we often ruffled and whose apples we stole, had had his way and sent me while a child to a "reform" school to learn a "trade": Suppose Principal Hosmer had been born with no faith in "darkies," and instead of giving me Greek and Latin had taught me carpentry and the making of tin pans? Suppose I had missed a Harvard scholarship? Suppose the Slater Board had then, as now, distinct ideas as to where the education of Negroes should stop? Suppose and suppose! As I sat down calmly on flat earth and looked at my life a certain great fear seized me. Was I the masterful captain or the pawn of laughing sprites? Who was I to fight a world of color prejudice? I raise my hat to myself when I remember that, even with these thoughts, I did not hesitate or waver; but just went doggedly to work, and therein lay whatever salvation I have achieved.

I returned to the United States by way of Paris where I stayed as long as possible and then, having reduced myself almost to the last cent, took passage to the United States in steerage. It was no no means a pleasant trip, but perhaps it was a good introduction to the new life; because ~~now at last~~ at twenty-six years of age and after twenty years of study I was coming home to look for a job and begin work.

It was a disturbed world in which I landed; 1892 saw the high tide of lynching in the United States; Cleveland had entered his second term in 1893 and the Chicago Exposition had taken place. The Dreyfus case had opened in France with his conviction and imprisonment, and he was destined for twelve years to suffer martyrdom. The war between China and Japan broke out the year of my return. I had rejoiced in the million dollar gift of Daniel Hand for education in my graduation year but recognized clearly the blow that democracy received when Congress repealed the so-called Force bills in 1894, refusing longer even to try to protect the legal citizenship rights of Negroes. But on the other hand, I did not at all understand the implications of the Matabele War in 1893. I did not see how the gold and diamonds of South Africa and later the copper, ivory, cocoa, tin and vegetable oils of other parts of Africa and especially the black labor force were determining and conditioning the political action of Europe.

First came the task of earning a living. I was not nice or hard to please. I just got down on my knees and begged for work, anything and anywhere. I began a systematic mail campaign. I wrote on a public school in East Tennessee, not far from where I had taught school. The board hesitated, but finally indicated that I had rather too much education for their use. I applied to Howard University, Hampton Institute and my own Fisk. They had no openings. I wrote my friend Dollar in London:

"You know I landed in New York in June, 1924 with $2 plus my fare home up in the Berkshire. It was not altogether a happy homecoming -- it was too much of a disillusionment after months of picturesque German gutturals, days of sunny skies, and weeks of dirty mighty Romes. I felt as though the bottom of the universe was loose and might go down if after all this soaring I stepped full feet upon it. And I must step, walk, stumble and climb now; for the lehrjahre were passed -- I fancied -- and the meister jahre begun."

So I sat down and wrote more letters -- let's see: "President of so and so college:

I wrote to no white institution
I knew there were no openings
there

Sir: I am a Negro, 27 years of age, educated in the public schools of Massachusetts, at Fisk University, Nashville and Harvard University, where I took the degrees of A.B. and A.M. I wish to teach next year. Have you a vacancy, etc." I wrote so many that I scarcely remember where. The hot months rolled by and answers came slowly — brief no's, polite regret, general disclaimers and one or two vague notes with dubious hopes. The editors notwithstanding, no college man expects the gates of the wide world to fly open before him 'with impetuous recoil' and yet I say it wasn't too much for a colored man with a Harvard A.M. to expect a bread and butter job — was it?

At last a few offers came — ~~in a bunch~~. The first was a telegram from Wilberforce University, a colored church school in Ohio. "Our chair of classics $800 is yours. Wire acceptance. Come next week." I immediately accepted with gratitude. Later there was Lincoln Institute, a state colored school out in Missouri, that offered $1,050 for a teacher of "classics and mathematics." I refused, ~~I preferred~~ Wilberforce, I ~~had heard of it~~, (knew something about it) it was venerable and well known. Finally, August 25, I received a telegram: "Can give mathematics if terms suit. Will you accept. Booker T. Washington." It would be interesting to speculate just what would have happened, if I had ~~accepted~~ received the offer of Tuskegee instead of that of Wilberforce.

(Since I had accepted first,)

So late in hot August I started for Wilberforce. Life was now begun and I was half happy. Up through the Berkshire Valley with its quiet beauty, then across New York I glided, wrapped in dreams. The lights of Buffalo bade me goodnight, and half asleep I drifted across Ohio.

The depot at Xenia was small and "busy" with a slight admixture of dirt and tobacco juice which was unpleasant. I telephoned to Wilberforce. Then I waited an hour. Finally the President entered the waiting room. I shall never forget that man. He had by long odds the prettiest smile of any man I ever saw -- so quiet and charming. All I remember now of that first meeting is the vision of that smile softly entering the waiting room and remember too that it was borne on two short and rather disreutable looking bowlegs.

Wilberforce was a small colored denominational college, married to a state normal school. The church was too poor to run the college; the State tolerated the normal school so as to keep Negroes out of other state schools. Consequently, there were enormous difficulties in both church and state politics. This I soon realized. I had been hired to teach "Latin and Greek." They were not my specialty and despite years spent in their study I really knew far too little to teach them. But I had assumed that I was to assist Professor Scarborough, a well-known Negro scholar long working at Wilberforce. To my amazement I found that I was to replace him, since in a quarrel between him and the President, he had been ousted and I had been advertised as a learned professor just from Germany. This was my introduction to Church politics. I did not like it but the name of Wilberforce lured me.

The breath of it had swept the water and dropped into southern Ohio, where white Southerners had once taken their cure at Tawawa Springs and where white Methodists later planted a school. Then came the little bishop, Daniel Payne, a Negro, who bought it and made it a school of the African Methodists. This was the school that called me, and when re-considered offers from Tuskegee and Jefferson City followed, I refused; I was so thankful for that first offer.

Into this situation I landed with the cane and gloves of my German student days; with my rather inflated ideas of what a "university" ought to be and with a terrible plainness of speech that was continually getting me into difficulty; as when, for instance, the student leader of a prayer meeting into which I had wandered casually to look local religion over, suddenly and without warning announced that "Professor Du Bois will lead us in prayer," I simply answered, "No, he won't," and as a result nearly lost my new job. It took a great deal of explaining to the board of bishops why a professor in Wilberforce should not be able at all times and sundry to address God in extemporaneous prayer. I was saved only by the fact that my coming to Wilberforce had been widely advertised and I was so willing to do endless work when the work seemed to me worth doing.

I went to Wilberforce with high ideals. I wanted to help build a great university. I was willing to work night as well as day. I helped ~~in the discipline~~, took part in the social life, and began to write books. But I found myself against a stone wall. Nothing stirred before my impatient pounding! Or if it stirred, it soon slept again.

The African Methodist Church was the greatest social institution of American Negroes. Wilberforce was its ~~greatest~~ largest school. This school therefore became the capital of a nation-wide institution. Its ~~vast~~ large body of trustees were interested in the church organization, not in the college. The bishops and would-be bishops gathered here in force on each commencement where elders and ministers waylaid them in long conferences. The teachers also found it expedient to make powerful acquaintances at these occasions; but I in my independence met no one but walked off into the woods as the hosts talked.

But I worked hard and this most students and many teachers liked. My program for the day at Wilberforce looked almost as long as a week's program now. I taught Latin, Greek, German, and English, and wanted to add sociology. I had charge of some of the most unpleasant duties of discipline and had outside work in investigation. ~~But~~ I met and made many friends: Charles Young, a Negro soldier not long graduated from West Point, was one; he was serving as military instructor here for the Federal government. He and I both refused to attend the annual "revivals" of religion which interrupted school work every year at Christmas time. We both dreamed of a great future for this Negro school. Later Young fought in Mexico against Villa. He ranked first for a generalship in the army when the First World

War opened, but was deftly shoved aside. He accepted duty later in Nigeria, West Africa, and died deliberately of black water fever. There was also at Wilberforce a student Charles Burroughs, a gifted reader, who was in my classes; Paul Laurence Dunbar came over from Dayton and read to us. I had known his work but was astonished to find that he was a Negro. And not least, I met the slender, quiet, and dark-eyed girl Nina Gomer who became Mrs. Du Bois in 1896. Her father was chef in the leading hotel of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and her dead mother a native of Alsace.

In May, 1896, I was not only in love with a beautiful girl, but also had carefully calculated that (A) I should marry before thirty, and that (B) my salary of $800 was sufficient for two -- if paid. They had an irritating way at Wilberforce in those days of not paying salaries very promptly. Indeed this nearly ruined my plans. It was May 1, I was penniless and my bride was awaiting me in Iowa. The treasurer was about to leave for General Conference where he had more weighty matters to discuss than teachers' salaries. I waylaid him ~~firmly~~ firmly, and persuaded him that until my salary due was paid, he was unlikely to see General Conference. He agreed and on May 12, I arrived in Cedar Rapids.

I went to a little white cottage and met a tall, heavy father, a young step-mother and a shy fat little sister. A benevolent white minister married us, and after inarticulate greetings, we rushed to the Chicago train and next day were back at Wilberforce with a very tired young bride. There was a reception with hilarious students, critical teachers, and good town folk. I had ~~myself~~ furnished ~~the~~ a two-room apartment in the men's dormitory, a bedroom on the west looking down on the ravine and across the hall a sitting-room which I remember chiefly because of a gorgeous crimson

couch-cover which I had bought of Carson-Pirie (in Chicago) by mail order.

Probably Wilberforce was about the least likely of all Negro colleges to adopt me and my program. First of all I was cocky and self-satisfied; ~~I were invariably the cane and gloves of a German student.~~ I doubtless strutted and I certainly knew what I wanted. My redeeming feature was infinite capacity for work and terrible earnestness, with appalling and tactless frankness. But not all was discouragement and frustration at Wilberforce. Of importance that exceeded everything, was the group of students whom I met and taught. Most of the student body was in high school grades and poorly equipped for study. But filtering into the small college department were a few men and women of first-class intelligence, able and eager to work. As working companions, we made excursions into Greek literature; I gathered a class in German which talked German from the first day; I guided the writing of English themes and did a bit of modern history. Try as I might, however, the institution would have no sociology, even though I offered to teach it on my own time.

I tried various other lines of effort: there was for instance a beautiful ravine where a stream of water flowing through the campus rolled and slithered down to a wide, green meadow, amid trees, vines, and boulders. On the campus above stood Shorter Hall, named after a dead bishop whose middle-aged son was a professor of mathematics, a good-hearted, irascible man, combined of orthodox religion and wrath for students who couldn't count. In the wing of Shorter Hall, next the ravine, was the library; or rather a few piles of old books which I had arranged to drag down from the attic and planned in this big empty room a real library and reading

room for students and teachers. Hitherto the only [redacted] library facilities were in that upper attic where Professor Scott might admit you with his key, if perchance he could spare time from his chemistry. Remember the libraries at Harvard and Berlin which I had used! And even that at Fisk! I was determined to have a library. But there was no money. There was never money for anything. Then I had an idea: there were my students, boys and girls, with rare talent with voice and action. There was the divine ravine: why not give "A Midsummer Night's Dream" in that rare bit of wood and foliage? The campus went quite wild over the proposal. It could be given in the Spring just after Commencement. It need not cost much. The whole county would visit it. We began to study the text, plan the scenes, and choose the players. I began to see this play as the greatest course in education of the whole year, of many years gone.

Then came the catastrophe: we haard that Ben Arnett had been appointed Professor of Literature for the year beginning with Commencement. We lay down our text; we turned our backs on the lush ravine; the waters trickled in vain and the students wandered disconsolately. We teachers began to fight: we wrote, we visited, we held meetings; we stormed through the campus; we faced the bishop. And to understand all this, one must know the Bishopric of the great African Methodist Church.

It was a hierarchy of the conventional type and yet more and different. I knew a dozen of these bishops and a more varied and impressive, a more astonishing body of men I never met. Bishop Payne died the year before I arrived at Wilberforce. He was a man of tremendous character, a Man of God, if such there ever was. Tiny in figure, soft in voice, he thundered through this widespread mass of black folk like a prophet. He made them buy

Wilberforce when they had nothing and knew little; he arranged the grounds, gathered the first teachers, and husbanded the pennies. He enforced discipline in the church, he traveled, he preached until his name was known from Carolina to the Rockies. Then he died, but his soul lived on.

Among his successors was Benjamin Arnett, the presiding Bishop over Wilberforce when I arrived; and what Arnett said, went. He was a thick-set man with a sharp, dark face, a blazing eye, and a rare smile and a will to do. With little literary ability, he established hm a sort of school of literature, bringing together and reprinting thousands of books, pamphlets, and scraps of the writings of American Negro literature. He was a power in Ohio politics. He distributed offices in the church and settled the appointment of teachers at Wilberforce. My own appointment must have had his consent, perhaps even his advocacy, else I would not have been at Wilberforce. He lived in a lovely old home bowered by oaks and there he was handicapped by his family. His oldest son, named after him, was not a complete devil, but he certainly was not fitted to teach youth at Wilberforce. Yet at the end of my first year, the Bishop thrust him down our throats without even the courtesy of a notice; and we raised Hell without stopping to consider what opposition to Bishop Arnett meant. As a body we refused to teach with Ben Arnett

We won. Young Ben Arnett never became professor at Wilberforce. But of course the Bishop won too. He held power for life and no one stayed at Wilberforce long when he did not like him. Under my impetuous and uncurbed assault, the Bishop had to bend, but I knew well that my days at Wilberforce were numbered. The ravine with its vines and shrubbery,

its singing waters and all its faerie, slept long in peace until twenty-five years later it was buried beneath a culvert of stone and its voice stilled forever.

As I realized that none of my dreams would be realized at Wilberforce, I knew all the sadness of a spent dream. Wilberforce was near the center of the Negro population of the nation. We drew students from New Orleans and New York; from the Atlantic and the Pacific. We escaped the "Jim-Crow" of the slave South and the ostracism of the cold North. The college was poor and neglected and yet the Church which owned it and whose prized child it was, formed a marvellous human institution. Its leaders were of every sort: selfless saints like Payne, Lee, and William Mitchell; ruthless politicians like Arnett; scoundrels like Derrick; and charging bulls like Turner. With high ideals and brute force they rolled and jammed this mass of men and women forward and together until they became a force in the whole nation. Suppose I had had the cunning to help harness and guide this superhuman energy, what could I/not have helped to turn it into? Not into a University, certainly, such as I dreamed, but perhaps into something greater. But no, I did not have ability of that sort, nor will to dream of it. And so I turned away, or, rather, I was turned toward other and different goals.

I left one curious and subtle complication spun in the subtle brain of that President Mitchell of whom I have spoken. Wilberforce, as I said, lacked funds. There was no visible source of Negro income large enough to support a college. The members of the church were fighting desperately for food and clothes. Their labor was being exploited to the last dime by every white American who had a chance or could steal it. President Mitchell found

himself always in a financial hole and he eyed the coffers of the State of Ohio, as many before and since had done. Miss Bierce carried on certain classes in teaching. She was a stern, accurate white daughter of the Western Reserve, severe and devoted to her work. When these normal classes threatened to cease because of lack of funds, the President suggested that he and Miss Bierce ask the state teaching authorities for a little help, since the state so needed teachers for its colored children. These children had a right to attend the white schools but they seldom did. The State helped. Opponents pointed out that the State had no right to support a colored State institution, but the President was ready. He and Arnett induced the Legislature to establish "a combined Normal and Industrial Department at Wilberforce University." The witchery in this wording lay in "Industrial" which lured the support of the followers of the rising Booker T. Washington; and also in that little word "at" which made this University a department not of Wilberforce, but at Wilberforce. This appropriation grew yearly until by 1900 two-thirds of the cost of Wilberforce was borne by the State. Finally the State set up its own college, and Wilberforce again tried indifferently to stand alone.

in 1942

Probably, looking back after the event, I have rationalized my life into a planned, coherent unity which was not as true to fact as it now seems; probably there were hesitancies, gropings, and half-essayed bypaths, now forgotten or unconsciously ignored. But my first quarter-century of life seems to me at this distance as singularly well-aimed at a certain goal, along a clearly planned path. I returned ready and eager to begin a life-work, leading to the emancipation of the American Negro. History and the other social sciences were to be my weapons, to be sharpened and applied by research and writing. Where and how, was the question in 1895. I became uneasy about my life program. I had published my first book, Sud in 1894. I was doing nothing directly in the social sciences and saw no immediate prospect. Then the door of opportunity opened: just a crack, to be sure, but a distinct opening.

When, ~~therefore,~~ a temporary appointment came from the University of Pennsylvania for one year as "assistant instructor" at $900, I accepted forthwith in the fall of 1896; that year Abyssinia ~~overthrew~~ vanquished Italy, and England, suddenly seeing two black nations threatening her Cape to Cairo plans, threw her army back into the Sudan and recaptured Khartoum. The next year the free silver controversy of Bryan and McKinley flamed in America.

First, then, in 1896, I married -- a slip of a girl, beautifully ~~dark~~-eyed and thorough and good as a German ~~housewife.~~ her mother. Then I accepted a job to make a study of Negroes in Philadelphia for the University of Pennsylvania -- one year at $900. How did I dare these two things? I do not know. Yet they spelled salvation. To remain at Wilberforce without doing my ideals meant spiritual death. Both my wife and I were homeless. I dared a home and a temporary job. But it was a different daring from the days of my first youth. I was ready to admit that the best of men might fail. I meant still to be captain of my soul, but I realized that even captains are not omnipotent in uncharted and angry seas.

~~I knew too that there was no future for me at Wilberforce.~~

I did not hesitate at institute but reported for duty with a complete plan of work and outline of methods and aims and even proposed schedules to be filled out. My general plan was promptly accepted and I started to work, consulting Lindsay regularly but never meeting the faculty

CHAPTER XII

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

In the Fall of 1896, I went to the University of Pennsylvania as "Assistant Instructor" in Sociology. It all happened this way: Philadelphia, then and still one of the worst governed of America's badly governed cities, was having one of its periodic spasms of reform. A thorough study of causes was called for. Not but what the underlying cause was evident to most white Philadelphians: the corrupt, semi-criminal vote of the Negro Seventh Ward. Everyone agreed that here lay the cancer; but would it not be well to give scientific sanction to the known causes by an investigation, with imprimatur of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

There must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $900 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, no official recognition of any kind; my name was eventually omitted from the catalogue; I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my own department. With my bride of three months, I settled in one room, over a cafeteria run by a College Settlement, in the worst part of the Seventh Ward. We lived there a year, in the midst of an atmosphere of dirt, drunkenness, poverty, and crime. Murder sat on our doorsteps, police were our government, and philanthropy dropped in with periodic advice.

The world seized and whirled me. I hardly know what was important — what negligible; somehow I remember life, curiously enough, chiefly as a succession of homes: the settlement at Philadelphia at Seventh and Lombard in the slums where kids played intriguing games like "cops and Lady Bums"; and where in the night when pistols popped, you didn't get up lest you find you couldn't.

I wrote of my first Christmas in Philadelphia:

"We haven't been married long enough to escape the condescending smiles of our neighbors, and yet we feel quite like old married folks. This is our first

CHAPTER XII

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

In the Fall of 1896, I went to the University of Pennsylvania as "Assistant Instructor" in Sociology. It all happened this way: Philadelphia, then and still one of the worst governed of America's badly governed cities, was having one of its periodic spasms of reform. A thorough study of causes was called for. Not but what the underlying cause was evident to most white Philadelphians: the corrupt, semi-criminal vote of the Negro Seventh Ward. Everyone agreed that here lay the cancer; but would it not be well to give scientific sanction to the known causes by an investigation, with imprimatur of the University? It certainly would, answered Samuel McCune Lindsay of the Department of Sociology. And he put his finger on me for the task.

There must have been some opposition, for the invitation was not particularly cordial. I was offered a salary of $900 for a period limited to one year. I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, no official recognition of any kind; my name was eventually omitted from the catalogue; I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my own department. With my bride of three months, I settled in one room in the early cafeteria run by a College Settlement, in the worst part of the Seventh Ward. We lived there a year, in the midst of an atmosphere of dirt, drunkenness, poverty, and crime. Murder sat on our doorsteps, police were our government, and philanthropy dropped in with periodic advice.

The world seized and whirled me. I hardly know what was important — what negligible; somehow I remember life, curiously enough, chiefly as a succession of homes: the settlement at Philadelphia at Seventh and Lombard in the slums where kids played intriguing games like "cops and Lady Bums"; and where in the night when pistols popped, you didn't get up lest you find you couldn't.

I wrote of my first Christmas in Philadelphia:

"We haven't been married long enough to escape the condescending smiles of our neighbors, and yet we feel quite like old married folks. This is our first

If Lindsay had been a smaller man and had been induced to follow the usual American pattern of treating Negroes, he would have asked me to assist him as his clerk in this study. Probably I would have accepted having nothing better in sight for work in sociology. But Lindsay regarded me as a scholar in my own right and probably proposed to make me an instructor. Evidently the faculty demurred at having a colored instructor. But since I had a Harvard Ph.D., and had published a recognized work in history, the University could hardly offer me a fellowship. A compromise was hit on and I was nominated to the unusual status of "assistant" instructor. Even at that there

Christmas and wife thinks we owe to the public to tell just how merry it has been. It began some days ago when wife asked me cautiously how much we could afford to spend for Christmas. I sat down and figured carefully: for there was the sewing machine to pay for out of this month's salary, and doctor's bill, and one other debt -- an old family friend. I finally evolved a surplus of $10.56, and told wife that we could spend five dollars apiece for the holidays. She was perfectly happy, and after some hours of calculating, sallied forth to Wanamaker's.

"The next week was filled with shopping and bookkeeping; one would have thought we were spending hundreds of dollars. Wife consulted me religiously on many points: what grandma would like best -- how to make Edna's collar, and so forth. On other points, however, both of us maintained a jolly silence. Tuesday we both went down South Street to the Second Street market, and bought two wreaths, a cross, and a fifteen-cent Christmas tree. Wife was somewhat alarmed at first at the prospect of a Christmas tree in our snug little room, but when it was safely ensconced in a corner on the machine, with tinsel, fruit, and cotton snow, she was quite delighted.

"Christmas Eve found our little gift-packages mailed, the tree glowing and both our empty stockings hung beside it. I had secreted a dainty silk umbrella under the lounge, and I knew that other corners of the room held secrets -- the question being how to get them into the stockings.

"About eight in the evening we sallied out into the crisp air and hurried down to the Mission, where the folks had a tree for the little ones. How much happiness can be packed within four walls! The children were boisterous, rude, and noisy, but so brimming over with pleasure that it did one good to see them. Once at home again and with a last look at our own little tree, we were soon snug in bed, and the thought of the hidden umbrella alone kept me awake. I had almost despaired of getting it into the stocking, when the regular breathing of my wife told me that she

had fallen asleep in spite of herself. I carefully slipped from bed, listened, crawled across the floor, listened again, and at last slipped the umbrella into wife's stocking; in a minute more I had chuckled myself to sleep. I was dreaming that I held a professorship that paid $1500 a year — when suddenly I awoke with a start. Wife hasn't forgiven me yet for awaking so inopportunely, and if I had known the situation before I awoke, I would have stayed asleep. As it was I awoke and caught wife in her little white gown secreting bundles in and about my sock. I laughed, then kept as quiet as I could, and wife didn't say a word.

"Christmas day came with laughing over the night's adventure, the revealing of hiding places and enjoyment of the umbrella, suspenders, and neckties. At three came a cozy dinner with a little brown chicken and bills-of-fare written on old visiting cards. Finally the whole day melted away in misty happiness and to round it out, I wrote this."

The Provost of the University furnished the following credentials:

"In connection with the College Settlement, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania have undertaken the study of the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia. The University has entered upon this work as a part of its duty and wishes to make the investigation as thorough and exact as possible. We want to know precisely how this class of people live; what occupations they follow; from what occupations they are excluded; how many of their children go to school; and to ascertain every fact which will throw light upon this social problem; and then having this information and these accurate statistics before us, to see to what extend and in what way, proper remedies may be applied. D.r W.E.B. Du Bois is the investigator on behalf of the University, and I write to bespeak for him your cordial reception and earnest co-operation."

The two years at Wilberforce had been my uneasy apprenticeship, and with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania, I began a more clearly planned career which had an unusual measure of success, but was in the end pushed aside by forces which, if not entirely beyond my control, were yet of great weight.

The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania seemed just what I wanted. I had offered to teach social science at Wilberforce outside of my overloaded program, but I was not allowed. My vision was becoming clearer. The Negro problem was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation. At the University of Pennsylvania I ignored the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that, that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing save once to pilot a pack of idiots through the Negro slums.

Of ~~this~~ the theory back of the plan of this study of Negroes I neither knew nor cared. I saw only here a chance to study an historical group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community. I did it despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. Whites said: Why study the obvious? Blacks said: Are we animals to be dissected and by an unknown Negro at that? Yet, I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism of sixty years.

I counted my task here as simple and clear-cut; I proposed to find out what was the matter with this area and why. I started with no "research methods" and I asked little advice as to procedure. The problem lay before me. Study it. I studied it personally and not by Proxy. I sent out no canvassers. I went myself. Personally I visited and talked with 5000 persons. What I could, I set down in orderly sequence on schedules which I made out and submitted to the University for criticism. Other information I stoed in my memory or wrote out as memoranda. I went through the Philadelphia libraries for data, gained access in many instances to private libraries of colored folk and got individual information. I mapped the district, classifying it by condition; I compiled two centuries of the history of

the Negro in Philadelphia and in the Seventh Ward.

I essayed a thorough piece of work in Philadelphia. I labored morning, noon, and night. Few persons ever read that fat volume on "The Philadelphia Negro," but they treat it with respect, and that consoles me. The colored people of Philadelphia received me with no open arms. They had a natural dislike to being studied like a strange species. I met again and in different guise those curious cross-currents and inner social whirlings ~~of my own people~~. They set me to groping. I concluded that I did not know so much as I might about my own people.

It was a hard job, but I completed it by the Spring of 1898 and published it a year later, under the auspices of the University, as The Philadelphia Negro: a formidable tome of nearly a thousand pages. But the greatest import to me was the fact, that after years, I had at last learned just what I wanted to do, in this life program of mine, and how to do it. First of all I became painfully aware that merely being born in a group, does not necessarily make one possessed of complete knowledge concerning it. I had learned far more from Philadelphia Negroes than I had taught them concerning the Negro Problem.

It was as complete a scientific study and answer as could have then been given, with defective facts and statistics, one lone worker and little money. It revealed the Negro group as a symptom, not a cause; as a striving, palpitating group, and not an inert, sick body of crime; as a long historic development and not a transient occurrence. ~~It~~

In this ointment there was one fly which I have never mentioned; it would have been a fine thing if after this difficult, successful piece of work, the University of Pennsylvania had at least offered me a temporary instructorship in the college or in the Wharton School. Harvard had never dreamed of such a thing; a half century later one of Harvard's professors said of a gifted Negro student: "We'd give him a position if he were not a Negro!" White classmates of lower academic rank than I, became full

professors at Pennsylvania and Chicago. Here in my case an academic accolade from a great American university would have given immense impetus to my life work which I was already determined to make in a Negro institution in the South. The thing that galled was that such an idea never even occurred to this institution whose head was a high official of the Sugar Trust. But I did not mention this rebuff. I did not let myself think of it. But then, as now, I know an insult when I see it.

Before the American Academy, affiliated with the University, I laid down in public session in 1899, a broad program of scientific attack on this problem, by systematic and continuous study; and I appealed to Harvard, Columbia and Pennsylvania, to take up the task.

Needless to say, they paid not the slightest attention to this challenge and for twenty-five years thereafter not a single first-grade college in America undertook to give any considerable scientific attention to the American Negro. Of the methods of my research, I wrote:

"The best available methods of sociological research are at present so liable to inaccuracies that the careful student discloses the results of individual research with diffidence; he knows that they are liable to error from the seemingly ineradicable faults of the statistical method; to even great error from the methods of general observation; and, above all, he must ever tremble lest some personal bias, some moral conviction or some unconscious trend of thought due to previous training, has to a degree distorted the picture in his view. Convictions on all great matters of human interest one must have to a greater or less degree, and they will enter to some extent into the most cold-blooded scientific research as a disturbing factor.

"Nevertheless, here are some social problems before us demanding careful study, questions awaiting satisfactory answers. We must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve; and the utmost that the world can demand is, not lack of human interest and moral conviction, but rather the heart-quality of fairness and an earnest desire for the truth despite its possible unpleasantness."

At the end of that study, I announced with a certain pride my plan of studying the complete Negro problem in the United States. I spoke at the forty-second meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 19, 1897, and my subject was "The Study of the Negro Problems." I began by asserting that in the development of sociological study there was at least one positive answer which years of research and speculation had been able to return, and that was: "The phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing." I then defined and tried to follow the development of the Negro problem not as one problem, but "rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the fact that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land."

I insisted on the necessity of carefully studying these problems and said: "The American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science in general. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity -- if they do the work in a slip-shod, unsystematic manner -- if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity."

Finally I tried to lay down a plan for the study, postulating only: that the Negro "is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions as to the

common weal."

Dividing the prospective scientific study of the Negro into two parts: the social group and his peculiar social environment, I proposed to study the social group by historical investigation, statistical measurement and sociological interpretation. Particularly with regard to anthropology, I said:

"That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world — another subject which rests under a cloud of ignorance."

In concluding, I said:

"It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been the first to recognize her duty in this respect and in so far as restricted means and opportunity allowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger system; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of high Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist today in the center of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution, devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of 'college' at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems?

"What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the center of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective

step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a center of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and University of Pennsylvania.

"Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such times true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it, and there is but one coward on earth and that is the coward that dare not know."

While I was making this study, I tried to interest the Federal government in making some such studies in other areas. In 1897, I wrote Carrol D. Wright, head of the Federal Labor Bureau, and received an encouraging reply. I then wrote more in detail.

"In accordance with your suggestion I have been for the last month giving considerable thought as to method of studying certain aspects of the industrial development of the Negro. It seems to me that the difficulties of studying so vast and varied a subject are so large that the first work to be done should be rather of an experimental or preliminary nature calculated to locate and define the difficulties and to indicate lines upon which a larger investigation could be carried to success. At the same time the results of a series of preliminary studies could be published and would by allaying false notions and prejudices prepare the public mind for the larger work.

Both the preliminary and the main work must of course be strictly limited in scope; great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to white or black, to raise no suspicions and at the same time to get definite accurate information. For the preliminary work I propose two plans -- the first o my mind preferable, the second feasable:

Plan A

The Industrial Development of the Negro

Preliminary Study: The economic situation of a typical town containing from 1,000-5,000 Negro inhabitants situated in Va., or the Carolinas, or Ga.

Study:
- Occupations
- Wages
- Ownership of homes
- Hours of labor
- Economic history
- Cost of living
- Organizations
- Crops

Study to be conducted, visits, schedules, county records, etc.
To be carried out in the months of July and August 1897

Plan B

The Industrial Development of the Negro

Preliminary Study: Condition of Negroes in the (Barber / Public waiter / Caterer / Building / Mining / etc.) trade

In the city of Richmond or Raleigh or Charleston or Atlanta etc.

Study:
- Number
- Wages
- Hours of Labor
- Cost of Living
- Economic history
- Organization
- General condition

OTHER PLANS

A study of domestic service in a certain city

A study of the Negro in the professions in several cities

A study of the Negro farm laborer in a typical agricultural region

A study of the Negro church as a ~~sound~~ social institution in certain cities

An "Enquete" of the graduates of Southern schools into their own economic life and the general industrial situation

A study of the attitude of organized labor toward Negroes

A study of Negro stevedores

A bibliography of the economic condition of the Negro since emancipation

Plan A could be begun immediately. I could spend the summer in some typical village of the South and have the results ready to print in the fall. This plan could be repeated from time to time until from these preliminary studies conducted in various districts in various times of year and under various circumstances would give a basis of fact and experience upon which a larger survey could be planned with a great saving of time and expense. Or, after one or two experiments the whole enterprise might take the form of a series of simultaneous investigations of this sort in selected typical districts of ~~the~~ town and country upon lines indicated by the actual experience of the preliminary studies.

Plan B could also be carried out this summer within certain limitations. The other plans are suggested and if they strike you as preferable to the first two I could work them out more carefully.

Will you kindly look over these plans and let me know which, if any, meet your ideas. We can than discuss details further."

Eventually this resulted in a series of studies for the Labor Bureau and one major effort which I shall tell of ~~in~~ a later chapter. The successors of Carrol Wright deliberately destroyed this piece of my best sociological work.

CHAPTER ~~VIII~~ XIII

(1)

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

From the fall of 1894 to the spring of 1910, for sixteen years, I was a teacher. For two years I remained at Wilberforce; for a year and a half at the University of Pennsylvania; and for thirteen years at Atlanta University in Georgia. I sought in these years to teach youth the meaning and way of the world. ~~What did I know about the world and how could I teach my knowledge?~~

The main result of my schooling had been to emphasize science and the scientific attitude. I got some insight into the laws of the physical world at Fisk and in the chemical laboratory and class in geology at Harvard. I was interested in evolution, geology and the new psychology. I began to conceive of the world as a continuing growth rather than a finished product. In Germany I turned still further from religious dogma and began to grasp the idea of a world of human beings whose actions, like those of the physical world, were subject to law. The triumphs of the scientific world thrilled me: the X-ray and radium came during my teaching term, the airplane and the wireless. The machine increased in

technical efficiency and the North and South Poles were invaded.

On the other hand the difficulties of applying scientific law and discovering cause and effect in ~~the so-called~~ a world (of Runny heroes Wo) ~~were~~ still great. Social thinkers were engaged in vague statements and were seeking to lay down the methods by which, in some not too distant future, social law analogous to physical law would be discovered. Herbert Spencer finished his ten volumes of Synthetic Philosophy in 1896. The biological analogy, the vast generalizations, were striking, but actual scientific accomplishment lagged. For me an opportunity seemed to present itself. I could not lull my mind to hypnosis by regarding a phrase like "consciousness of kind" as a scientific law. But turning my gaze from fruitless word-twisting and facing the facts of my own social situation and racial world, I determined to put science into sociology through a study of the conditions and problems of my own group.

I was going to study the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalizations which I could. I entered this primarily with the utilitarian object of reform and uplift; but nevertheless, I wanted to do the work with scientific accuracy. Thus, in my own sociology, because of firm belief in a changing racial group, I easily grasped the idea of a changing developing society rather than a fixed social structure.

The decade and a half in which I taught, was riotous with happenings in the world of social development; with economic expansion, with political control, with racial difficulties. Above all, it was the era of empire

3.

and while I had some equipment to deal with a scientific approach to social studies, I did not have any clear conception or grasp of the meaning of that ~~industrial~~ Colonialism imperialism which was beginning to grip the world. My only approach to meanings and helpful study there again was through my interest in race contact.

That interest began to clear my vision and interpret the whirl of events which swept the world ~~a~~. Japan was rising to national status and through the Chinese War and the Russian War, despite rivalry with Germany, Russia, and Great Britain, she achieved a new ~~semi-nearly equal~~ status in the world, which only the United States refused to recognize. But all this, I began to realize, was but a result of the expansion of Europe into Africa where a fierce fight was precipitated for the labor, gold, and diamonds of South Africa; for domination of the Nile Valley; for the gold, cocoa, raw materials, and labor of West Africa; and for the exploitation of the Belgian Congo. Europe was determined to dominate China and all but succeeded in dividing it between the chief white nations, when Japan stopped the process. After sixteen years, stirred by the triumph of the Abyssinians at Adowa, and the pushing forward of the French in North Africa, England returned to the Egyptian Sudan.

The Queen's Jubilee ~~in China~~, I knew, was not merely a sentimental outburst; it was a triumph of English economic aggression around the world and it aroused the cupidity and fear of Germany who proceeded to double ~~in~~ her navy, expand into Asia, and consolidate her European position. Germany challenged France and England at Algeciras, prelude to the World War. Imperialism, despite Cleveland's opposition, spread to America,

and the Hawaiian sugar fields were annexed. The Spanish war brought Cuban sugar under control and annexed Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The Panama Canal brought the Pacific nearer the Atlantic and protected capital investment in San Domingo and South America.

All this might have been interpreted as history and politics. Mainly I did so interpret it; but continually I was forced to consider the economic aspects of world movements as they were developing at the time. Chiefly this was because the group in which I was interested were workers, earners of wages, owners of small bits of land, servants. The labor strikes interested and puzzled me. They were for the most part strikes of workers led by organizations to which Negroes were not admitted. There was the great steel strike; the railway strikes, actual and threatened; the teamsters' strike in Chicago; the long strike in Leadville, Colorado. Only in the coal strike were Negroes involved. But there was a difference. During my school days, strikes were regarded as futile and ill-advised struggles against economic laws; and when the government intervened, it was to cow the strikers as law-breakers. But during my teaching period, the plight of the worker began to sift through into the consciousness of the average citizen. Public opinion not only allowed but forced Theodore Roosevelt to intervention in the coal strike, and the steel strikers had widespread sympathy.

Then there were the tariff agitations, the continual raising and shifting and manipulation of tariff rates, always in the end for the purpose of subsidizing the manufacturer and making the consumer pay. The political power of the great organizations of capital in coal, oil and sugar, the extraordinary immunities of the corporations, made the President openly attack the trusts as a kind of super-government and we began

to see more and more clearly the outlines of economic battle. The Supreme Court stood staunchly behind capital. It outlawed the labor boycott, it denied the right of the states to make railway rates. It declared the income tax unconstitutional.

With all that, and the memory of the Panic of 1873 not forgotten, came the Panic of 1893 and the financial upheaval of 1907. Into this economic turmoil, politics had to intrude. The older role of free, individual enterprise, with little or no government interference, had to be surrendered and the whole political agitation during these days took on a distinct economic tinge and object. The impassioned plea of Bryan in 1896 that labor be not "crucified upon a cross of gold" could not be wholly ridiculed to silence. The Populist Movement which swept over the West and South, I began now to believe, was a third party movement of deep significance and it was kept from political power on the one hand by the established election frauds of the South, of which I knew, and by the fabulous election fund which made McKinley President of the United States. With this went the diversion of the Spanish war with its sordid scandals of rotten beef, cheating and stealing, fever and death from neglect. Politics and economics thus in those days of my teaching became but two aspects of a united body of action and effort.

I tried to isolate myself in the ivory tower of race. I wanted to explain the difficulties of race and the ways in which these difficulties caused political and economic troubles. It was this concentration of thought and action and effort that really, in the end, saved my scientific accuracy and search for truth. But first came a period of three years when I was casting about to find a way of applying science to the race

problem. In these years I was torn with excitement of quick-moving events. Lynching, for instance, was still a continuing horror in the United States at the time of my entrance upon a teaching career. It reached a climax in 1892, when 235 persons were publicly murdered, and in the sixteen years of my teaching nearly two thousand persons were publicly killed by mobs, and not a single one of the murderers punished. The partition, domination, and exploitation of Africa gradually centered my thought as part of my problem of race. I saw in Asia and the West Indies the results of race discrimination while right here in America came the wild foray of the exasperated Negro soldiers at Brownsville and the political-economic riot at Atlanta.

One happening in America linked in my mind the race problem with the general economic development and that was the speech of Booker T. Washington in Atlanta in 1895. When many colored papers condemned the proposition of compromise with the white South, which Washington proposed, I wrote to the New York Age suggesting that here might be the basis of a real settlement between whites and blacks in the South, if the South opened to the Negroes the doors of economic opportunity and the Negroes co-operated with the white South in political sympathy. But this offer was frustrated by the fact that between 1895 and 1909 the whole South disfranchised its Negro voters by unfair and illegal restrictions and passed a series of "Jim Crow" laws which made the Negro citizen a subordinate caste.

As a possible offset to this came the endowment of the General Education Board and the Sage Foundation; but they did not to my mind plan clearly to attack the Negro problem: the Sage Foundation ignored us, and the General Education Board in its first years gave its main attention

to the education of whites and to black industrial schools.

(7)

I was approached by President Horace Bumstead of Atlanta University in 1896 and asked to come to Atlanta University and take charge of the work in sociology, and of the new conferences which they were inaugurating on the Negro problem. With this program in mind, I eagerly accepted the invitation, although at the last moment there came a curious reminiscence of Wilberforce in a little hitch based on that old matter of extemporaneous public prayer. Dr. Bumstead and I compromised on my promise to use the Episcopal prayer book; later I used to add certain prayers of my own composing. I am not sure that they were ~~[illegible]~~ or reached heaven, but they certainly reached my audience. Dr. Bumstead writes:

"Let me express the keen satisfaction I take in having been the one chiefly responsible, perhaps, for bringing Doctor Du Bois to Atlanta University. He has recently called his thirteen years of service there his 'real life work'; and I am proud to have helped open the way for him to begin it, and to have been closely associated with his labors for more than a decade, till I ceased to be president. I cannot but smile when I think of the objections and misgivings of some of our trustees and other friends when he came. We wanted a professor of sociology with special reference to investigating conditions concerning the Negro; and I said that Dr. Du Bois was the one man, white or black, far and away best fitted for the position. I knew of his long preparation at Fisk, Harvard, and in Germany, and I had read the unstinted praise which the New York Nation had given to his first publication, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade", and I knew of the confidence which Provost Harrison of the University of Pennsylvania had in him when he engaged him to spend a year or more in making a scientific study of the Philadelphia Negro. But, said some, if you are going to give the position to a Negro, why not to a graduate of Atlanta rather than of Fisk? Because, said I, we want the best man, regardless of where he was graduated. But how about his religion -- he's studied in Germany -- perhaps if you scratch him, you'll find an agnostic. Now it is true

that Atlanta University has always had a pronounced religious, though undenominational, life -- a life inherited from the New England people represented by its founders; and it has always looked to its teachers, so far as possible, to help to maintain it -- so I must needs have some assurances on this point. But, as Doctor Du Bois will remember, they were not very easy to get. He seemed to be one of those persons who, when asked about their religion, reply that they 'have none to speak of'. But though reluctant to speak of his religion or to say what he would do at Atlanta, I observed that at the time of my interview with him he was living with his newly wedded bride in the centre of the Negro slums of Philadelphia, doing the beneficent work to which Provost Harrison had called him, and I thought there were some indications of genuine religion in that fact. Nor was I disappointed, later, when some of the deepest and most vital expressions of the religious life came from his lips as he conducted evening devotions at the University.

"So, in spite of objections and misgivings, Doctor Du Bois came to Atlanta University, and we held him there for thirteen years notwithstanding several offers to go elsewhere and get double the salary that we could afford to pay him. His work became a memorable part of the history of the Institution. Let me specify two of its most prominent and valuable features.

"One was the inauguration, for the first time in any American college, of a thoroughly scientific study of the conditions of Negro life, covering all of its most important phases, and resulting in a score of annual "Atlanta University Publications", conceded to be of the highest authority, both in this country and in Europe.

"Even more important than this, was the stimulating personal influence of Doctor Du Bois upon our students. He had acquired his own education where the highest standards prevailed, and he would tolerate no lower ones in his own classrooms. Not only in study but also in conduct, he demanded of his pupils the best that was in them. He taught them the nobility and sacredness of their manhood -- endowed, as

they were, with all the inherent rights and possibilities of development enjoyed by humanity anywhere. To his fellow teachers, too, he brought joy, for though often looked upon in the outside world as a pessimist, he was about the jolliest member of our Faculty. The inspiration of his stimulating personality has gone out through all the South and will be felt for generations to come."

The hundred hills of Atlanta are not all crowned with factories. On one, toward the west, the setting sun throws three buildings in bold relief against the sky. The beauty of the group lies in its simple unity: — a broad lawn of green rising from the red street with mingled roses and peaches; north and south, two plain and stately halls; and in the midst, half hidden in ivy, a larger building, boldly graceful, sparingly decorated, and with one low spire. It is a restful group — one never looks for more; it is all here, all intelligible. There I live, and there I hear from day today the low hum of restful life.

In winter's twilight, when the red sun glows, I can see the dark figures pass between the halls to the music of the nightbell. In the morning, when the sun is golden, the clang of the day-bell brings the hurry and laughter of three hundred young hearts from hall and street, and from the busy city below — children all dark and heavy-haired — to join their clear young voices in the music of the morning sacrifice. In a half-dozen class-rooms they gather then — here to follow the love-song of Dido, here to listen to the tale of Troy divine; there to wander among the stars, there to wander among men and nations — and elsewhere other well-worn ways of knowing this queer world. Nothing new, no time-saving devices, — simply old time-glorified methods of delving for Truth, and searching out the hidden beauties of life, and learning the good of living.

The riddle of existence is the college curriculum that was laid before the Pharaohs, that was taught in the groves by Plato, that formed the <u>trivium</u> and <u>quadrivium</u>, and is today laid before the freedmen's sons by Atlanta University. And this course of study will not change; its methods will grow more and deft and

effectual, its content richer by toil of scholar and sight of seer; but the true college will ever have one goal — not to earn meat, but to know the end and aim of that life which meat nourishes.

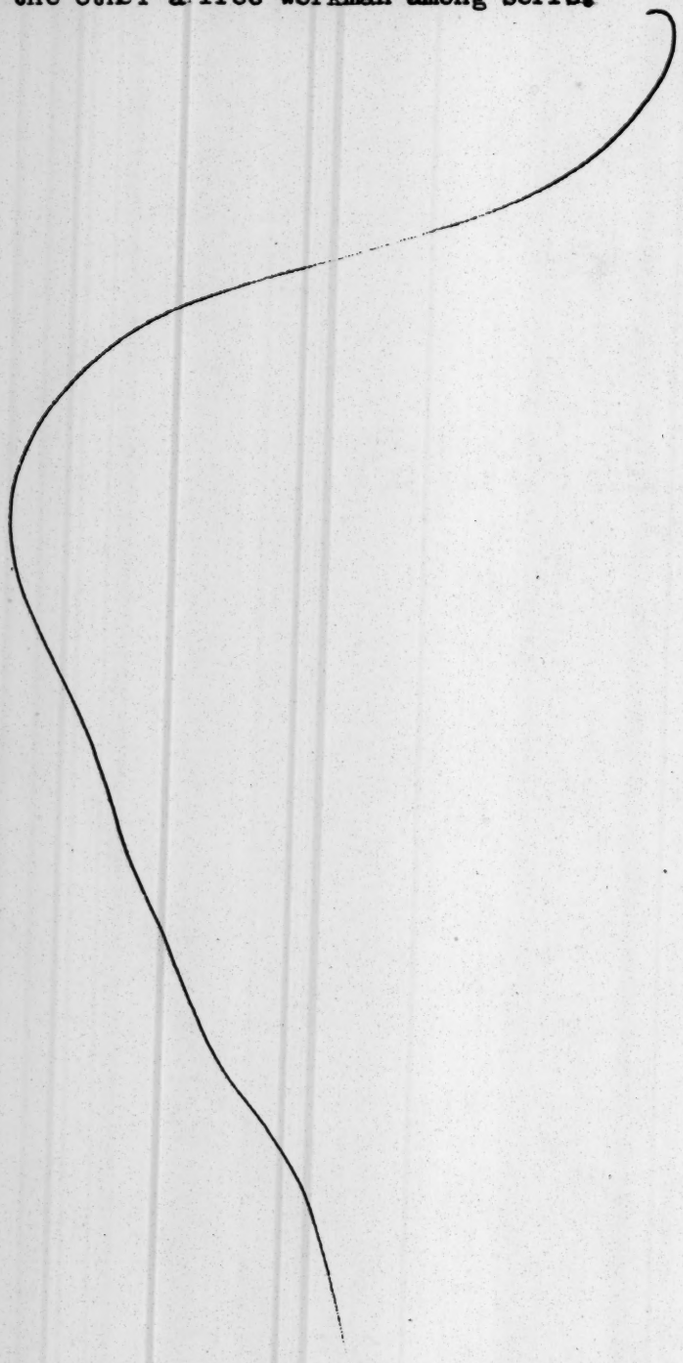
The vision of life that rises before these dark eyes has in it nothing mean or selfish. Not at Berlin nor at Leipsic, not at Harvard nor Yale is there an air of higher resolve or more unfettered striving; the determination to realize for men, both black and white, the broadest possibilities of life, to seek the better and the best, to spread with their own hands the Gospel of Sacrifice — all this is the burden of their talk and dream. Here, amid a wide desert of caste and proscription, amid the heart-hurting slights and jars and vagaries of a deep race-dislike, lies this green oasis, where hot anger cools, and the bitterness of disappointment is sweetened by the springs and breezes of Parnassus; and here men may lie and listen and learn of a future fuller than the past, and hear the voice of Time:

"Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren."

They made their mistakes, those who planted Fisk and Howard and Atlanta before the smoke of battle had lifted; they made their mistakes, but those mistakes were not the things at which we lately laughed somewhat uproariously. They were right when they sought to found a new educational system upon the University: where, forsooth, shall we found knowledge save on the broadest and deepest knowledge? The roots of the tree, rather than the leaves, are the sources of its life; and from the dawn of history, from Academus to Cambridge, the culture of the University has been the broad foundation-stone on which is built the kindergarten's A B C.

But these builders did make a mistake in minimizing the gravity of the problem before them; in thinking it a matter of years and decades; in therefore building quickly and laying their foundation carelessly, and lowering the standard of knowing, until they had scattered haphazard through the South some dozen poorly equipped high schools and miscalled them universities. They forgot, too, just as

their successors are forgetting, the rule of inequality -- that of the million black youth, some were fitted to know and some to dig; that some had the talent and capacity of university men, and some had the talent and capacity of blacksmiths: and that true training meant neither that all should be college men nor all artisans, but that the one should be made a missionary of culture to an untaught people, and the other a free workman among serfs.



(12.) begun

My real life work was done at Atlanta for thirteen years, from my twenty-ninth to my forty-second birthday. They were years of great spiritual upturning, of the making and unmaking of ideals, of hard work and hard play. Here I found myself. I lost most of my mannerisms. I grew more broadly human, made my closest and most holy friendships, and studied human beings. I became widely-acquainted with the real condition of my people. I realized the terrific odds which faced them. I saw the Atlanta riot.

The main significance of my work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910 was the development at an American institution of learning, of a program of study on the problems affecting the American Negroes, covering a progressively widening and deepening effort designed to stretch over the span of a century. This program was grafted on an attempt by George Bradford of

Boston, one of the trustees, to open for Atlanta University a field of usefulness for City Negroes comparable to what Hampton and Tuskegee were doing for rural districts in agriculture and industry. At the Hampton and Tuskegee Conferences, there came together annually and in increasing numbers, workers, experts and observers to encourage by speeches and interchange of experience the Negro farmers and laborers of adjoining areas. Visitors, white and colored, from North and South, joined to advise and learn. Mr. Bradford's idea was to establish at Atlanta a similar conference, devoted especially to problems of city Negroes. The first conference, emphasizing particularly Negro health problems, was held in 1896. Immediately the University looked about for a man to teach history and political science, and take charge of future conferences. I was chosen.

When I took charge of the Atlanta Conference, I did not pause to consider how far my developed plans agreed or disagreed with the ideas of the already launched project. It made little essential difference, since only one conference had been held and a second planned. These followed the Hampton and Tuskegee model of being primarily meetings of inspiration, directed toward specific efforts at social reform and aimed at propaganda for social uplift in certain preconceived lines. This program at Atlanta, I sought to swing as on a pivot to one of scientific investigation into social conditions, primarily for scientific ends: I put no special emphasis on special reform effort, but increasing and widening emphasis on the collection of a basic body of fact concerning the social condition of American Negroes, endeavoring to reduce that condition to exact measurement whenever or wherever occasion permitted. As time passed, it happened that many uplift efforts were in fact based on our studies: the kindergarten system of the city of Atlanta, white

as well as black; the Negro Business League, and various projects to better health and combat crime. We came to be however, as I had intended, increasingly, a source of general information and a basis for further study, rather than an organ of social reform.

The proverbial visitor from Mars would have assumed as elemental a study in America of American Negroes -- as physical specimens; as biological growths; as a field of investigation in economic development from slave to free labor; as a psychological laboratory in human reaction toward caste and discrimination; as an unique case of physiaal and cultural intermingling. These and a dozen other subjects of scientific interest, would have struck the man from Mars as eager lines of investigation for American social scientists. He would have been astonnded to learn that the only institution in America in 1900 with any such program of study was Atlanta University, where on a budget of $5000 a year, including salaries, cost of publication, investigation and annual meetings, we were essaying this pioneer work.

My program for the succession of conference studies was modified by many considerations: cost, availability of suitable data, tested methods of investigation; moreover I could not plunge too soon into such controversial subjects as politics or miscegenation. Within these limitations, I finished a ten-year cycle study as follows:

1896, Mortality among Negroes in Cities

1897, Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities

1898, Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment

1899, The Negro in Business

1900, The College-Bred Negro

1901, The Negro Common School

1902, The Negro Artisan

1903, The Negro Church

1904, Notes on Negro Crime

1905, A Select Bibliography of the American Negro

I then essayed for the second decade a broader program, more logical, more inclusive, and designed to bring the whole subject matter into a better integrated whole. But continued lack of funds, and outside diversions (like the request of the Carnegie Institution of 1907 for a study of co-operation) kept even the second decade from the complete logic of arrangement which I desired; finally, my leaving Atlanta in 1910 and at last the severing of my connection with the conference in 1914, left the full form of my program still unfinished. I did, however, publish the following eight studies:

1906, Health and Physique of the Negro American

1907, Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans

1908, The Negro American Family

1909, Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans

1910, The College-Bred Negro American

1911, The Common School and the Negro American

1912, The Negro American Artisan

1914, Morals and Manners among Negro Americans

With the publication of 1914, my connection with Atlanta ceased for twenty years. Although studies and publications were prepared by others at the University in 1915 and 1918, the war finally stopped the enterprise.

What I was laboriously but steadily approaching in this effort was a recurring cycle of ten studies in succeeding decades; with repetition of each subject or some modification of it in each decade, upon a progressively

broader and more exact basis and with better method; until gradually a foundation of carefully ascertained fact would build a basis of knowledge, broad and sound enough to be called scientific in the best sense of that term.

Just what form this dream would eventually have taken, I do not know. So far as actually forecast, it had assumed in 1914, some such form as this:

1. Population: Distribution and Growth
2. Biology: Health and Physique
3. Socialization: Family, Group and Class
4. Cultural Patterns: Morals and Manners
5. Education
6. Religion and the Church
7. Crime
8. Law and Government
9. Literature and Art
10. Summary and Bibliography

I proposed as I have said, to repeat each of these every ten years, basing the studies on ever broader and more carefully gathered data. Eventually I hoped to keep all the inquiries going simultaneously, only emphasizing and reporting on one particular subject each year. This would have allowed some necessary shifting or combination of subjects as time and developments might suggest; and adjustments to new scientific advance in fields like anthropology and psychology. The plan would have called in time for a large and well-paid staff of experts and a study of method and testing of results such as no group of Americans were engaged in at the time; beginning with a definite, circumscribed group, but ending with the human race. ~~If it could have been~~

The program however was weak on its economic side. It did not stress enough the philosophy of Marx and Engels and was of course far too soon for Lenin. The program ought to have been-- and as I think would have been if I had kept on this work-- the Economic development of the American Negro slave; on this central thread all the other subjects would have been strung. But this I had no chance to ess

Social scientists (at the time 18) were [illegible] thinking in terms of theory and vast and eternal laws, but I had a concrete group of living beings artificially set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down an ambitious program for a hundred years of study. I proposed to take up annually in each decade the main aspects of the group life of Negroes with as thorough study and measurement as possible, and repeat the same program in the succeeding decade with additions, changes and better methods. In this way, I proposed gradually to broaden and intensify the study, sharpen the tools of investigation and perfect our methods of work, so that we would have an increasing body of scientifically ascertained fact, instead of the vague mass of the so-called Negro problems. And through this laboratory experiment I hoped to make the laws of social living clearer, surer, and more definite.

Some of this was accomplished, but of course only an approximation of the idea. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies; limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt of the sort in the nation that they gained attention throughout the world. In all we published a total of 2,172 pages which formed a current encyclopaedia on the American Negro problems.

These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars. It may be said without undue boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations (longer) made at Atlanta University; often they were widely quoted and commended.

I had heartening letters from persons of eminence and character. William James wrote in 1907: "I have just looked through the last installment of your studies on the American Negro. I wish the portraits might have been better printed. But it is splendid scientific work." Frank Taussig of Harvard wrote the same year: "In my judgment no better work is being done in the country, and no better opportunity is afforded for financial support on the part of those who wish to further the understanding of the Negro problem." Booker Washington, who spoke at our conference on the Negro artisan in 1911, said: "The whole country should be grateful to this

institution for the painstaking and systematic manner in which it has developed from year to year a series of facts which are proving most vital and helpful to the interests of our nation." Professor E.R.A. Seligman wrote: "I take great pleasure in testifying to my very high appreciation of the studies on the Negro problem which you have been editing for the past few years. They are essentially scholarly and that means sober and temperate, and they are covering a field which is almost untilled and which is not apt to be cultivated by others." Jane Addams attended our conference in 1908 and commended our work. Charles William Eliot ~~lectured for us on his trip~~ many hundreds mentioned our work

London Spectator ,1900:

This work is being done with much intelligence, discrimination and assiduity at the instance and under the inspiration of the Atlanta University.

Publications of the Southern History Association, ~~1901; 1902~~; 1904

The work done under the direction of the Atlanta Conference is entitled to the respectful and thoughtful consideration of every man interested in any aspect of the life of the American Negro.

School Review, 1902:

The work of this conference is constructive and merits hearty support.

Outlook, 1902

Every year since their organization in 1896 the Atlanta Conferences have published an invaluable report upon present conditions among the Negroes.

Outlook, 1903:

No student of the race problem, no person who would either think or speak upon it intelligently, can afford to be ignorant of the facts brought out in the Atlanta series of sociological studies of the conditions and the progress of the Negro.

South Atlantic Quarterly, 1904:

They constitute, so far as the reviewer can learn, the most important body of direct evidence ever published as to moral and religious conditions of our colored people.

N.Y. Evening Post, 1905:

The only scientific studies of the Negro question being made today are

It must be remembered that the significance of these studies lay not so much in what they were actually able to accomplish, as in the fact that at the time of their publication Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the Negro and his development, and putting the result in a form available for the scholars of the world.

In addition to the publications, we did something toward bringing together annually at Atlanta University persons and authorities interested in the problem of the South. Among these were Booker T. Washington, Frank Sanborn, Franz Boas, ~~Jane Addams~~ Charles William Eliot and Walter Wilcox. We were asked from time to time to co-operate in current studies. ~~I wrote a number of studies for the Bureau of Labor in Washington,~~ I co-operated in the taking of the Twelfth Census and wrote one of the monographs. I ~~not only published the Atlanta Conference reports, and~~ wrote magazine articles in the World's Work and in the Atlantic Monthly where I joined in a symposium and one of my fellow contributors was Woodrow Wilson. ~~At the same time~~ also I joined with the Negro leaders of Georgia in efforts to better local conditions; to stop discrimination in the distribution of school funds; to keep the legislature from making further discriminations in railway travel. ~~I prepared an exhibit showing the condition of the Negro for the Paris Exposition which gained a Grand Prize.~~ I became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1900 and was made a fellow in 1904. I went to Europe ~~steerage to help in this exhibit~~ and while abroad I ~~there~~ sat in

London with the wife of Coleridge-Taylor and heard the first rendition of Hiawatha's Wedding Feast. In 1909 I tried to start an "Encyclopedia Africana" and secured as members of the board of advisers the following distinguished scholars:

Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B., England
Prof. W.M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., England
William Archer, Esq., England
Miss Alice Werner, England
Dr. Francis Hoggan, England
Prof. Giuseppi Sergi, Italy
Dr. Karl Weule, Germany
Dr. J. Deniker, France
Major R.M. Daniel, Bechuanaland, Africa
Prof. A.B. Hart, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. William James, L.L.D., Harvard
Prof. Hugo Munsterberg, L.L. D., Harvard
President G. Stanley Hall, L.L.D, Clark
Prof. A.F. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Clark
Prof. Franz Boaz, Ph.D., Columbia

~~The following~~ Negro scholars were on the Editorial Board, including

Kelley Miller, A.M., (Howard)
H.O. Tanner, France
Richard T. Greener, A.B. (Harvard)
Charles W. Chesnutt
~~Bishop J.A. Johnson, South Africa~~
~~J.W.E. Bowen, L.L.D~~
John R. Lynch, U.S. Army
~~W.H. Crogman, Litt.D. (Atlanta)~~
~~R.R. Wright, Jr. A.M. (U. of Chicago)~~
~~C.H. Turner, A.M. (U. of Chicago)~~
~~J.W. Cromwell~~
~~J.B. Simpson, A.M. (Colby)~~
~~L.F. Hill, A.B. (Harvard)~~
~~G.C. Cook, A.B. (Cornell)~~
W.S. Scarborough, L.L.D. (Oberlin)
~~Charles H. Royer, A.B. (Yale)~~
~~Paul M. Nash, A.B., L.L.B. (Harvard)~~
~~S.C. Fuller, M.D.~~
~~William Pickens, A.B. (Yale)~~
John Hope, A.M. (Brown)
~~B.C. Brawley A.M. (U. of Chicago)~~
~~B.C. Williams, A.B. (Western Reserve)~~
Caseley Hayford, West Africa
~~T.E.S. Scholes, England~~
~~W.N. DeBerry A.B. (Fisk)~~
~~J.L.R. Diggs, A.B.~~
~~Anna H. Jones, A.B. (U. of Michigan)~~
~~H.L. Pinckett, A.B. (Howard)~~
~~Sutton E. Griggs, A.M., B.D.~~
~~George W. Forbes, A.B. (Amherst)~~
~~A.H. Grimke~~

Colby only Underlined

and many others.

21
22

I never was able to raise funds to carry this enterprise further forward.

I testified before Congressional Commissions in Washington and appeared on the lecture platform with Walter Page, afterwards ambassador to England; I did a considerable amount of lecturing throughout the United States. I had wide correspondence with men of prominence in America and Europe: Lyman Abbott of the Outlook; E.D. Morel, the English expert on Africa; Max Weber of Heidelberg; Professor Wilcox of Cornell; Bliss Perry of the Atlantic Monthly; Horace Traubel, the great protagonist of Walt Whitman; Charles Eliot Norton and Talcott Williams. I began to be regarded by many groups and audiences as having definite information on the Negro to which they might listen with profit.

In 1900, came a signigant occurence which not until lately have I set in its proper place in my life. I had been for over nine years studying the American Negro problem. The result had been significant because of its unusual nature and not for its positive accomplishment. I wanted to set down its aim and method in some outstanding way which would bring my work to the notice of the thinking world. The great World Fair at Paris was being planned and I thought I might put my findings into plans, charts and figures, so one might see what we were trying to accomplish. I got a couple of my best students and put a series of facts into charts: the size and growth of the American Negro group; its division by age and sex; its distribution, education and occupations; its boks and periodicals. We made a most interestering set of drawings, limned on pasteboard cards, about a yard square and mounted on a number of movable standards. The details of finishing these fifty or more charts, in colors, with accuracy, was terribly difficult with little money, limited time and not too much encouragement. I was threatened with nervous prostration before I was done and had little money left to buy passage to Paris, nor was there a cabin left for sale, but the exhibit would fail unless I was there. So at the last moment I bought passage in the steerage and went over and installed the work. It was an immediate success. It occupied a small room, perhaps 20 feet square but the room was always full. The American press, white and colored was full of commendation and in the end, the exhibit received a Grand Prize, and I as its author a Gold Medal.

I was pleased and satisfied. I sat back quietly to hear the commendation and they came, that only for this particular exhibit but for the work of the Atlanta conferences in general.

2233

I was sure that the work I had planned was sure of support and growth. But it was not. Within less than ten years it had to be abandoned because five thousand dollars a year could not be found in this rich land for its support. Where had I failed? There were many answers, but one was typically American, as the event proved, I did the deed but I did not advertise it. Either I myself or someone for me should have called public attention to what had been done or otherwise it would quickly be forgotten. Indeed the philosophy then current and afterward triumphant was that the Deed without advertising was worthless and in the long run Advertising without the Deed was the only lasting value. Perhaps Americans do not realize how completely they have adopted this philosophy. But Madison Avenue does.

At the very time when my studies were most successful, there cut across this plan which I had as a scientist, a red ray which could not be ignored. I remember when it first, as it were, startled me to my feet: a poor Negro in central Georgia

Sam Hose, had killed his landlord's wife. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Atlanta Constitution office, carrying in my pocket

24

a letter of introduction to Joel Chandler Harris. I did not get there. On the way news met me: Sam Hose had been lynched, and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store farther down on Mitchell Street, along which I was walking. I turned back to the University. I began to turn aside from my work. I did not meet Joel Chandler Harris nor the editor of the Constitution.

Two considerations thereafter broke in upon my work and eventually disrupted it: first, one could not be a calm, cool, and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered and starved; and secondly, there was no such definite demand for scientific work of the sort that I was doing, as I had confidently assumed would be easily forthcoming. I regarded it as axiomatic that the world wanted to learn the truth and if the truth was sought with even approximate accuracy and painstaking devotion, the world would gladly support the effort. This was, of course, but a young man's idealism, not by any means false, but also never universally true. The work of the conference for thirteen years including my own salary and small office force did not average five thousand dollars a year. Probably with some effort and sacrifice Atlanta University might have continued to raise this amount if it had not been for the controversy with Booker T. Washington that arose in 1903 and increased in virulence until 1908.

There were, of course, other considerations which made Atlanta University vulnerable to attack at this time. The university from the beginning had taken a strong and unbending attitude toward Negro prejudice and discrimination; white teachers and black students ate together in the same dining room and lived in the same dormitories. The charter of the

23

193

institution opened the doors of Atlanta University to any student who applied, of any race or color; and when the state in 1887 objected to the presence of a few white students, who were all children of teachers and professors, the institution gave up the small appropriation from the State rather than repudiate its principles. In fact, this appropriation represented not State funds, but the Negroes' share of the sum received from the Federal government for education. When later there came an attempt on the part of the Southern Education Board and afterwards of the General Education Board to form a working program between educated Negroes and forward-looking whites in the South, it gradually became an understood principle of action that colored teachers should be encouraged in colored schools; that the races in the schools should be separated socially; that colored schools should be chiefly industrial; and that every effort should be made to conciliate Southern white public opinion. Schools which were successfully carrying out this program could look for further help from organized philanthropy. Other schools, and this included Atlanta University, could not.

Even this would not necessarily have excluded Atlanta University from consideration at the hands of the philanthropists. The university had done and was doing excellent and thorough work. Even industrial training in the South was often in the hands of Atlanta graduates. Tuskegee had always been largely manned by graduates of Atlanta and some of the best school systems of the South were directed by persons trained at Atlanta University. The college department was recognized as perhaps the largest and best among negroes in the South at the time. But unfortunately, at this time, there came a controversy between myself and Booker Washington, which became more personal and bitter than I had ever dreamed and which necessarily dragged in the University.

Meantime, the task of raising money for Atlanta University and my work became increasingly difficult. In the fall of 1904 the printing of our conference

report was postponed by the trustees until special funds could be secured. I did not at the time see the handwriting on the wall. I did not realize how strong the forces were back of Tuskegee and how they might interfere with my scientific study of the Negro. My continuing thought was that we must have a vehicle for both opinion and fact which would help me carry on my scientific work and at the same time be a forum less radical than the Guardian , and yet more rational than the rank and file of Negro papers now so largely arrayed with Tuskegee. With this in mind, as early as 1904, I helped one of the Atlanta University graduates, who was a good printer, to set up a job office in Memphis.

In 1905 I wrote to Jacob Schiff, reminding him of having met him in Bar Harbor in 1903:

"I want to lay before you a plan which I have and ask you if it is of sufficient interest to you for you to be willing to hear more of it and possibly to assist in its realization. The Negro race in America is today in a critical condition. Only united concerted effort will save us from being crushed. This union must come as a matter of education and long continued effort. To this end there is needed a high class of journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes, tell them of the deeds of themselves and their neighbors, interpret the news of the world to them, and inspire them toward definite ideals. Now we have many small weekly papers and one or two monthlies, and none of them fill the great need I have outlined. I want to establish, therefore, for the nine million American Negroes and eventually for the whole Negro world, a monthly journal. To this end I have already in Memphis a printing establishment which has been running successfully at job work a year under a competent printer -- self-sacrificing educated young man. Together we shall have

about $2,000 invested in this plant by April 15."

Mr. Schiff wrote back courteously, saying: "Your plans to establish a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes is in itself interesting, and on its face has my sympathy. But before I could decide whether I can become of advantage in carrying your plans into effect, I would wish to advise with men whose opinion in such a matter I consider much of/value." Nothing ever came of this, because, as I might have known, most of Mr. Schiff's friends were strong and sincere advocates of Tuskegee.

It was with difficulty that I came fully to realize the situation that was thus developing: first of all, I could not persuade myself that my program of solving the Negro problem by scientific investigation was wrong, or that it could possibly fail of eventual support when once it was undertaken; that it was understood in widening circles of readers and thinkers, I was convinced, because of the reception accorded the Atlanta University Studies. When, however, in spite of that, the revenue of the University continued to fall off, and no special support came for my particular part of its work, I tried several times by personal effort to see if funds could not be raised.

In 1906 I made two appeals: first and boldly, I outlined the work of the Atlanta Conference to Andrew Carnegie, reminding him that I had been presented to him and Carl Schurz some years before. I hoped that despite his deep friendship for Mr. Washington and the Tuskegee idea, he would see the use and value of my efforts at Atlanta. The response was indirect. At the time a white Mississippi planter, Alfred W. Stone, was popular in the North. He had grave doubts about the future of the Negro race, widely

criticized black labor, and once tried to substitute Italians on his own plantations, until they became too handy with the knife. To his direction, Mr. Carnegie and others entrusted a fund for certain studies among Negroes. Why they selected Slater and neglected an established center like Atlanta University, I cannot imagine; but at any rate, Stone turned to me and offered to give the University a thousand dollars to help finance a special study of the history of economic cooperation among Negroes. I had planned that year, 1907, to study the Negro in politics, but here was needed support, and I turned aside and made the study asked for.

About the same time, I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor. For several years I had been able to do now and then certain small studies for the Bureau of Labor, which had been accepted and paid for. It began with a proposal to Carroll D. Wright in 1897 for a study of the Negro in a Virginia town in 1898, which Mr. Wright authorized me to make on my own responsibility, promising only to print it if he liked it. He did like it. This was followed by a major study of the Negro in the Black Belt in 1899 and among Negroes in Georgia in 1901; and I then approached the Bureau with a new proposal.

I asked United States Commissioner of Labor Neill, in 1906, to authorize a study of a Black Belt community. I wanted to take Lowndes County, Alabama, in a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes, and make a social and economic study from the earliest times where documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a house to house canvas of Negroes. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he author-

This is standard American procedure ; if there is a job to be done and a Negro fit to do it, do not give the job or the responsibility to the Negro; give it to some white man and let the Negro work under him

criticized black labor, and once tried to substitute Italians on his own plantations, until they became too handy with the knife. To his direction, Mr. Carnegie and others entrusted a fund for certain studies among Negroes. Why they selected Hampton and neglected an established center like Atlanta University, I cannot imagine; but at any rate, Stone turned to me and offered to give the University a thousand dollars to help finance a special study of the history of economic cooperation among Negroes. I had planned that year, 1907, to study the Negro in politics, but here was needed support, and I turned aside and made the study asked for.

About the same time, I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor. For several years I had been able to do now and then certain small studies for the Bureau of Labor, which had been accepted and paid for. It began with a proposal to Carroll D. Wright for a study of the Negro in a Virginia town in 1898, which Mr. Wright authorized me to make on my own responsibility, promising only to print it if he liked it. He did like it. This was followed by a major study of the Negro in the Black Belt in 1899 and among Negroes in Georgia in 1901, and I now approached the Bureau with a new proposal.

I asked United States Commissioner of Labor Neill, in 1906, to authorize a study of a Black Belt community. I wanted to take Lowndes County, Alabama, in a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes, and make a social and economic study from the earliest times where documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a house to house canvas. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he author-

This is standard American procedure ; if there is a job to be done and a Negro fit to do it, do not give the job or the responsibility to the Negro; give it to some white man and let the Negro work under him

ized the study. Helped by Monroe Work, of Tuskegee Institute, and R. R. Wright, now a bishop of the A. M. E. Church, and a dozen or more local employees, I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study.

It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties, including financing which was finally arranged by loans from the University, and with the greeting of some of my agents with shotguns in certain parts of the county; but it was eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I made chronological maps of the division of the land; I considered the distribution of labor; the relation of landlord and tenant; the political organization and the family life and distribution of the population. The report was finally finished by Frank Wells no copy, and rewritten

~~work~~ to Washington and I spent some weeks there in person, revising and perfecting it. It was accepted by the government, and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to the University in repayment of funds which they had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I knew the symptoms of this sort of treatment: in 1898, S. S. McClure had sent me to south Georgia to make a study of social situations there. He paid for the report but never published the manuscript, and afterward did the same thing in the case of Sir Harry Johnston.

I finally approached the bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript, since it "touched on political matters." I was astonished and disappointed, but after a year went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript ~~published~~ since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed. While I was down in Lowndes County finishing this study, there came the news of the Atlanta riot. I took the next train for Atlanta and my family. On the way, I wrote the "Litany of Atlanta"

28A

Professor Seligman of Columbia wrote me:

"Like so many other of your well wishers I was amazed and disgusted at the happenings in Atlanta. But perhps I did not realize the horror of it all, until I read your beautiful poem in the Independent. It must indeed be a tragedy for men like you -- a tragedy all the greater because of the seeming impasse. But perhaps you will learn -- as I have learned after going thro' the fire of affliction -- that there are really only two things worth living for in this world -- the one is the love of those most nearly related to you, or thrown into close contact with you -- and the other is work, the chance to express oneself in some form of activity however humble. Those things are open to every human being, and at bottom there is nothing else which is comparable with them -- wealth, reputation, ambition or what not. Let us hold to the things that are eternally true, and let us seek within ourselves the compensation for the things that are withheld by an unthinking and uncivilized world."

29

It was of course crazy for me to dream that America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century with Colonial Imperialism, based on the suppression of colored folk, at its zenith, would encourage, much less adequately finance, such a program at a Negro college under Negro scholars. My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long-term remedy was Truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history.

I was therefore astonished and infinitely disappointed, gradually to realize that our work in the Atlanta conferences was not getting support; that, far from being able to command increased revenue for better methods of investigation and wider fields, it was with increasing difficulty that the aging and overworked President, with his deep earnestness and untiring devotion to principle, could collect enough to maintain even our ~~present~~ normal activities. The conference had not been without a measure of success. Our reports were widely read and commented upon. We could truthfully say that between 1900 and 1925, no work on the Negro and no study of the South was published which was not indebted in some respect to the studies at Atlanta University. The United States Census Bureau and the Federal Labor Bureau asked our help and co-operation; institutions and philanthropies; authors, students and individuals in all walks of life, and in Europe, Asia and Africa, wrote us for information and advice. On the other hand, so far as the American world of science and letters was concerned, we never "belonged"; we remained unrecognized in learned societies and academic groups. We rated merely as Negroes studying Negroes, and after all, what had Negroes to do with America or Science? Gradually and with deep disappointment I began to realize, as early as 1906,

that my program for studying the Negro problems must soon end, unless it received unforeseen support.

With all this came the strengthening and hardening of my own character. The billows of birth, love, and death swept over me. I saw life through all its paradox and contradiction of streaming eyes and mad merriment. I emerged into full manhood, with the ruins of some ideals about me, but with others planted above the stars; scarred and a bit grim, but hugging to my soul the divine gift of laughter and withal determined, even unto stubbornness, to fight the good fight.

At last, forebear and waver as I would, I faced the great Decision. My life's last and greatest door stood ajar. What with all my dreaming, studying, and teaching was I going to do in this fierce fight? Despite all my youthful conceit and bumptiousness, I found developed beneath it all a reticence and new fear of forwardness, which sprang from searching criticisms of motive and high ideals of efficiency; but contrary to my dream of racial solidarity and notwithstanding my deep desire to serve and follow and think, rather than to lead and inspire and decide, I found myself suddenly the leader of a great wing of people fighting against another and greater wing.

Nor could any effort of mine keep this fight from sinking to the personal plane. Heaven knows I tried. I finally wrote in March, 1910:

"I insist on my right to think and speak; but if that freedom is made an excuse for abuse of and denial of aid to Atlanta University, then with regret I shall withdraw from Atlanta University."

For the American Negro, the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th centuries were more critical than the Reconstruction years of 1868 to 1876. Yet they have received but slight attention from historians and social students. They were usually interpreted in terms of personalities, and without regard to the great social forces that were developing. This was the age of triumph for Big Business, for Industry, consolidated and organized on a world-wide scale, and run by white capital with colored labor. The southern United States was one of the most

promising fields for this development, with a fine climate invaluable staple crops, with a mass of cheap and potentially efficient labor, with unlimited natural power and use of unequalled technique, and with a transportation system reaching all the markets of the world.

The profit promised by the exploitation of this quasi-colonial empire was facing labor difficulties, threatening to flare into race war. The relations of the poor-white and Negro working classes were becoming increasingly embittered. In the year when I undertook the study of the Philadelphia Negro, lynching of Negroes by mobs reached a crimson climax in the United States, at the astounding figure of nearly five a week. Government throughout the former slave states was conducted by fraud and intimidation, with open violation of state and federal law. Reason seemed to have reached an impasse; white demagogues,

like Tillman and Vardaman, attacked Negroes with every insulting epithet and accusation that the English language could afford, and got wide hearing. On the other hand Negro colleges and others were graduating colored men and women, few in the aggregate, but of increasing influence, who demanded the full rights of American citizens; and even if their threatening surroundings compelled silence or whispers, they were none the less convinced that this attitude was their only way of salvation. Supporting Negro education were the descendants of those Northerners who founded the first Negro institutions and had since contributed to their upkeep. But these same Northerners were also investors and workers in the new industrial organization of the world. Toward them now turned the leaders of the white South, who were at once apprehensive of race war and desirous of a new, orderly industrial South.

Conferences began between whites of the North and the South, including industrialists as well as teachers, business men rather than preachers. At Capon Springs, on the Robert Ogden trips to Hampton and Tuskegee, in the organization of the Southern Education Board, and finally in the founding of the General Education Board, a new racial philosophy for the South was evolved. This philosophy seemed to say that the attempt to over-educate a "child race" by furnishing chiefly college training to its promising young people, must be discouraged; the Negro must be taught to accept what the whites were willing to offer him; in a world ruled by white people and destined so to be ruled, the place of Negroes must be that of an humble, patient, hard-working group of laborers, whose ultimate destiny would be determined by their white employers. Meantime, the South must have education on a broad and increasing basis, but primarily for whites; for Negroes, education, for the present, should be confined increasingly to elementary instruction,

and more especially to training in farming and industry, calculated to make the mass of Negroes laborers contented with their lot and ~~tractable~~ cheap.

White and Negro labor must, so far as possible, be taken out of active competition, by segregation in work: to the whites the bulk of well-paid skilled labor and management; to the Negro, farm labor, unskilled labor in industry and domestic service. Exceptions to this general pattern would occur especially in some sorts of skills like building and repairs; but in general the "white" and "Negro" job would be kept separate and superimposed.

Finally, Northern philanthropy, especially in education, must be organized and incorporated, and its dole distributed according to this program; thus a number of inefficient and even dishonest attempts to conduct private Negro schools and low-grade colleges would be eliminated; smaller and competing institutions would be combined; above all, less and less total support would be given higher training for Negroes. This program was rigorously carried out until after the first World War.

To the support of this program, came Booker T. Washington in 1895. The white South was jubilant; public opinion was studiously organized to make Booker Washington the one nationally recognized leader of his race, and the South went quickly to work to translate this program into law. Disfranchisement laws were passed between 1890 and 1910, by all the former slave states, and quickly declared constitutional by the courts, before contests could be effectively organized. "Jim-Crow" legislation, for travel on railroads and street-cars, and race separation in many other walks of life, were rapidly put on the statute books.

By the second decade of the Twentieth Century, a legal caste system based on race and color, had been openly grafted on the democratic constitution of the

United States. This explains why, in 1910, I gave up my position at Atlanta University and became Director of Publications and Research for the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I was one of the incorporators in 1911.

Very early in my work in Atlanta, I began to feel, on the one hand, pressure being put upon me to modify my work; and on the other hand an inner emotional reaction at the things taking place about me. To note the latter first: as a scientist, I sought the traditional detachment and calm of the seeker for truth. I had deliberately chosen to work in the South, although I knew that there I must face discrimination and insult. But on the other hand I was a normal human being with strong feelings and pronounced likes and dislikes, and a flair for expression; these I could not wholly suppress, nor did I try. I was on the other hand willing to endure and as my dear friend, Henry Hunt, said to me in after years, "I could keep still in seven different languages." But, if I did speak I did not intend to lie.

In one aspect of the Negro problem in America, my program had limited sucess; that was its relation to the white working class. The Negroes were working folk -- farmers, laborers, porters and servants. They belonged in the main to the "Have-nots" as over against the "Haves" Yet they were not regarded as an integral part of the American workers and I as student of their plight and their efforts was continually treating them as a separate class instead of grouping them with the mass of workers. This was not because of any failure on my part to conceive of the Negroes as primarily workers whose chief interest lay in the working class. The fault lay at the door of the powerful forces in the state which had separated the working class into antagonistic groups hating and fearing each other more than they feared their exploiters. In slavery days the poor whites hated and feared the black slaves. These slaves deprived the free white workers of land and livelihood; drove them to the hills and barrens or to the slums of cities; they were largely disfranchised and managed to make a ~~living often as managers of slave labor under white slave owners~~. They protested bitterly against this condition. To these poor whites emancipation seemed not an opportuniy for Negroes to rise to the status of free white workers, but rather the chance of white labor to climb on the backs of Negroes. The freedmen therefore was not only exploited by former slaveowners but even more by the up-struggling whites; and ~~soon~~ a caste legislation put the Negro legally under the feet of the white workers, limiting his work, his wages, his dwelling place ~~his political rights and~~ his personal freedom. In the eyes of the Negro the white worker became his chief enemy; he led the lynching mobs, insulted him on the streets and took the food out of his mouth

The mass of the Northern working class ~~theory~~ opposed slavery and wanted slaves emancipated. But they were largely foreign emigrants and many like the Irish met the competition of free Negro workers on arrival and fought for work in pitched battles. The newer emigrants were warned against did not fear Negro cheap competing labor and did not regard these dark strangers as fellow workmen. Employers threw white and black into competing groups. So that the National Labor Union representing the best of American labor, despite its brave repudiation of color discrimination was unable in 1869 to secure admission of Negro workers into unions. Negroes rebuffed, tried to form their own unions but had to start could only resort to political power, with demand for ~~xxixex~~ Yet they depended on through Whig, the Republican party reduced them to but that party in turn serfdom in 1876. The Northern Unions in tight craft organizations so segregated the Negro worker that in 1902, the older trades like miners, longshoremen and cigar makers admitted Negroes; but the newer and better paid trades, like ~~bakers~~, blacksmiths, shelters, ~~seamers~~, engineers, metal workers, boilermakers ~~bookbinders, weavers~~, electric workers, glassmakers, oil workers, textile workers

When white workers got the vote & Blacks were disfranchised

and a host of similar x unions admited in ~~1900~~ few or no Negroes. When therefore I essayed to study the Negro worker, I had no meeting ground with the white laboring class. I invited the secretary of the Georgia Federation of labor to our conference and he spoke. But his hearers knew that his federation ~~did not admit~~ discriminated against Negroes. We studied Negro employees in Southern factories. We corresponded with all the unions in the nations but with small result. The American working class remains split by the color line. My study therefore became a study not of a working class but of a small part of one and relations of these groups became more important than relations between worker and employer

a living by bearing on slaveowners,
bearing slave-overseers or ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ bearing arms to keep black
slaves from revolt

(over)

Of the general life in Atlanta, a word must be said. I stayed upon the campus as much as possible. My contact with the surrounding white city was limited to some necessary shopping. I did not vote; I did not enter parks nor museums. I assumed that when the public was invited to any place or function, either the white people were meant, or if not, attendance of Negroes meant segregated parts or times. Once I remonstrated with a colored teacher of literature for attending the "jim-crow" section of a theater in the top balcony. She answered: "Where else can I see Shakespeare? I cannot afford to go to New York."

One of the most annoying sorts of race discrimination was on the railroads. Did you ever see a "jim-crow" waiting room? There are some exceptions but usually no heat in winter and no air in summer; undisturbed loafers and train hands, and broken, disreputable settees; to buy a ticket is torture: you stand and stand and wait and wait until every white person at the "Other Window" is waited on. Then the tired agent yells across, (because all the tickets and change are over there;) "What d'y' want? WHAT! WHERE?" He brow-beats ahd contradicts you, hurries and confuses the ignorant; gives many the wrong change; for lack of time compells a number to purchase tickets on the train at a higher price and sends all out on the platform burning with indignation and hatred.

The "jim-crow" car is up next the baggage car and engine. The train stops out beyond the covering in the rain or sun or dust. Usually there is nox step to help one climb on, and often the car is a smoker cut in two and you must pass through the white smokers and then they pass through your part with swagger and noise and stares. Your apartment is a half or a quarter or an eighth of the oldest car in service on the road. Unless it happens to be a through express, the old plush is caked with dirt, the floor is gummy and the windows dirty.

An impertinent white newsboy occupies two seats at the end and importunes you to buy cheap candy, "Coca-Cola" and worthless if not vulgar books. He yells

and swaggers and a continued stream of white men saunters back and forth from the smoker to buy and listen. The white train crew from the baggage car uses the "jim crow" to lounge in and perform their toilet. The conductor appropriates two seats for himself and his papers and yells gruffly for your tickets before the train has scarcely started. It is best not to ask him for information even in the gentlest tones. His information is for whites chiefly. It is difficult to get lunch or drinking water. Lunch rooms either "don't serve niggers" or serve them at some dirty and ill-attended hole in the wall. Toilet rooms are often filthy. If you have to change cars be wary of junctions which are usually without accomodation and filled with quarrelsome whites who hate a "darky" "dressed up"/ you are apt to have the company of a sheriff and a couple of meek or sullen black prisoners on part of your way and the dirty colored section hands will pour in toward night and drive you to the smallest corner. "No" -- said the little lady in the corner (she looked like an ivory cameo and her dress flowed on her like a caress) -- "We don't travel much."

Pessimism is cowardice. The man who cannot frankly acknowledge the "Jim-Crow" car as a fact and yet live and hope is simply afraid either of himself or the world. There is not in the world a more disgraceful denial of human brotherhood than the "Jim Crow" car of the Southern United States, but too there is nothing more beautiful in the universe than sunset and moonlight over the hills of Atlanta. And both things are true, both are facts, both belong to this our world and neither can be denied.

CHAPTER XIV (1)

THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

In 1905 I was a teacher at Atlanta University and was in my imagination a scientist, and neither a leader nor an agitator; I had nothing but the greatest admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee, and I had in 1894 applied at both Tuskegee and Hampton for work. If Mr. Washington's telegram had reached me before the Wilberforce bid, I should have doubtless gone to Tuskegee. Certainly I knew no less about mathematics than I did about Latin and Greek.

Since however the controversy has become historic, it deserves more careful statement than it has had hitherto, both as to the matters and the motives involved. There was first of all the ideological controversy. I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. I knew that without this the Negro would have to accept white leadership, and that such leadership could not always be trusted to guide this group into self-realization and to its highest cultural possibilities. Mr. Washington, on the other hand, believed that the Negro as an efficient worker could gain wealth and that eventually through his ownership of capital he would be able to achieve a recognized place in American culture and could then educate his children as he might wish and develop their possibilities. For this reason he proposed to put the emphasis at present upon training in the skilled trades and encouragement in industry and common labor.

These two theories of Negro progress were not absolutely contradictory. Neither I nor Booker Washington, understood the nature of capitalistic exploitation of labor, and the necessity of a direct attack on the principle of exploitation as the beginning of labor uplift

2

but did not attack the fundamental wrong of giving the laborer less than the earned

I recognized the importance of the Negro gaining a foothold in trades and his encouragement in industry and common labor. Mr. Washington was not absolutely opposed to college training, and sent his own children to college. But he did minimize its importance, and discouraged the philanthropic support of higher education; ~~while~~ I openly and repeatedly criticized what seemed to me the poor work and small accomplishment of the Negro industrial school. ~~Moreover,~~ it was characteristic of the Washington statesmanship that whatever he or anybody believed or wanted must be subordinated to dominant public opinion and that opinion deferred to and cajoled until it allowed a deviation toward better ways. ~~This is no new thing in the world, but it is always dangerous.~~

It was my chief opposition and fear

~~But beyond~~ On this difference of ideal lay ~~another and~~ other more bitter and ~~insistent controversy.~~ This started with the rise at Tuskegee Institute, and centering around ~~Booker T. Washington,~~ of what I may call the Tuskegee Machine. ~~Of its existence and work, little has ever been said and almost nothing written.~~ The years from 1899 to 1905 marked the culmination of the career of Booker T. Washington. In 1899 Mr. Washington, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and myself spoke on the same platform at the Hollis Street Theater, Boston, before a distinguished audience. Mr. Washington was not at his best and friends immediately raised a fund which sent him to Europe for a three months' rest. He was received with extraordinary honors: he had tea with the aged Queen Victoria, but two years before her death; he was entertained by two dukes and ~~other~~ members of the aristocracy; he met James Bryce and Henry M. Stanley; he was received at the Peace Conference at The Hague and was greeted by many distinguished Americans, like ex-President Harrison, Archbishop Ireland and two justices

He thought emphasis "gave" laborers work, thus shown the door to acquiring wealth

While my leadership was a matter of work and teaching, the Washington leadership became a making organization and money

of the Supreme Court. Only a few years before he had received an honorary ~~degree~~ AM from Harvard; in 1901, he received a LL.D. from Dartmouth, and that same year he dined with President Roosevelt to the consternation of the white South.

Returning to America he became during the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft, from 1901 to 1912, the political referee in all Federal appointments or action taken with reference to the Negro and in many regarding the white South. In 1903 Andrew Carnegie made the future of Tuskegee certain by a gift of $600,000. There was no question of Booker T. Washington's undisputed leadership of the ten million Negroes in America, a leadership recognized gladly by the whites and conceded by most of the Negroes.

But there were discrepancies and paradoxes in this leadership. It did not seem fair, for instance, that on the one hand Mr. Washington should decry political activities among Negroes, and on the other hand dictate Negro political objectives from Tuskegee. At a time when Negro civil rights called for organized and aggressive defense, he broke down that defense by advising acquiescence or at least no open agitation. During the period when laws disfranchising the Negro were being passed in all the Southern states, between 1890 and 1909, and when these were being supplemented by "Jim Crow" travel laws and other enactments making color caste legal, his public speeches, while they did not entirely ignore this development, tended continually to excuse it, to emphasize the shortcomings of the Negro, and were interpreted widely as putting the chief onus for his condition upon the Negro himself.

All this naturally aroused increasing opposition among Negroes and

especially among the younger class of educated Negroes, who were beginning to emerge here and there, especially from Northern institutions. This opposition began to become vocal in 1901 when two men, Monroe Trotter, Harvard 1895, and George Forbes, Amherst 1895, began the publication of the Boston Guardian, a weekly periodical. The Guardian was bitter, satirical, and personal; but it was well-edited, it was earnest, and it published facts. It attracted wide attention among colored people; it circulated among them all over the country; it was quoted and discussed. I did not wholly agree with the Guardian, and indeed only a few Negroes did, but nearly all read it and were influenced by it.

This beginning of organized opposition, together with other events, led to the growth at Tuskegee of what I have called the Tuskegee Machine. It arose first quite naturally. Not only did presidents of the United States consult Booker T. Washington, but governors and congressmen; philanthropists conferred with him, scholars wrote to him. Tuskegee became a vast information bureau and center of advice. It was not merely passive in these matters but, guided by a young Emmett Scott who was secretary, intelligent, suave and far-seeing, active efforts were made to concentrate influence at Tuskegee. After a time almost no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation or acquiescence of Mr. Washington. Few political appointments of Negroes were made anywhere in the United States without his consent. Even the careers of rising young colored men were very often determined by his advice and certainly his opposition was fatal. How much Mr. Washington knew of this work of the Tuskegee Machine and was directly responsible, one cannot say, but of its general activity and scope he must have been aware.

5

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that this Tuskegee Machine was not solely the idea and activity of black folk at Tuskegee. It was largely encouraged and given financial aid through certain white groups and individuals in the North. This Northern group had clear objectives. They were capitalists and employers of labor and yet in ~~most~~ cases sons, relatives, or friends of the abolitionists who had sent teachers into the new Negro South after the war. These younger men believed that the Negro problem could not remain a matter of philanthropy. It must be a matter of business. These Negroes were not to be encouraged as voters in the new democracy, nor were they to be left at the mercy of the reactionary South. They were good laborers and they ~~might be better~~. They could become a strong labor force and properly guided they would restrain the unbridled demands of white labor, born of the Northern labor unions and now spreading to the South: and encouraged by European Socialism.

Could be made a tremendous force in the world's economy [illegible]

One danger must be avoided and that was to allow the silly idealism of Negroes, half-trained in ~~Southern~~ missionary "colleges," to mislead the mass of laborers and keep them stirred-up by ambitions incapable of realization. To this school of thought, the philosophy of Booker T. Washington came as a godsend and it proposed by building up his prestige and power, to control the Negro group. The control was to be drastic. The Negro intelligentsia was to be suppressed and hammered into conformity. The process involved some cruelty and disappointment, but that was inevitable. This was the real force back of the Tuskegee Machine. It had money and it had opportunity, and it found in Tuskegee tools to do its bidding.

There were some rather pitiful results in thwarted ambition and

curtailed opportunity. I remember one case which always stands in my memory as typical. There was a young colored man, one of the most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, with smooth brown skin, velvet eyes of intelligence, and raven hair. He was educated and well-to-do. He proposed to use his father's Alabama farm and fortune to build a Negro town and independent economic unit in the South. He furnished a part of the capital but soon needed more and he came North to get it. He struggled for more than a decade; philanthropists and capitalists were fascinated by his personality and story; and when, according to current custom, they appealed to Tuskegee for confirmation, there was silence. Mr. Washington would not say a word in favor of the project. He simply kept still. Will Benson struggled on with ups and downs, but always balked by a whispering galley of suspicion, because his plan was never endorsed by Tuskegee. In the midst of what seemed to us who looked on the beginnings of certain success, Benson died of overwork, worry, and a broken heart.

From facts like this, one may gauge the bitterness of the fight of young Negroes against Mr. Washington and Tuskegee. ~~Contrary to most opinion,~~ The controversy as it developed was not entirely against Mr. Washington's ideas, but became the insistence upon the right of other Negroes to have and express their ideas. Things came to such a pass that when any Negro complained or advocated a course of action, he was silenced with the remark that Mr.Washington did not agree with this. Naturally the bumptious, irritated, young black intelligentsia of the day declared, "I don't care a damn what Booker Washington thinks! This is what I think, and I have a right to think."

It was at this point, and not merely disagreement with Mr. Washington's

plans, that brought eventually violent outbreak. It was more than opposition to a program of education. It was opposition to a system and that system was part of the economic development of the United States at that time. The fight cut deep: it went into social relations; it divided friends; it made bitter enemies. I can remember that years later, when I went to live in New York and was once invited to a social gathering among Brooklyn colored people, one of the most prominent Negroes of the city refused to be present because of my attitude toward Mr. Washington.

When the Guardian began to increase in influence, determined effort was made to build up a Negro press for Tuskegee. Already Tuskegee filled the horizon so far as national magazines and the great newspapers were concerned. In 1901 the Outlook, then the leading weekly, chose two distinguished Americans for autobiographies. Mr. Washington's "Up From Slavery" was so popular that it was soon published and circulated all over the earth. Thereafter, every magazine editor sought articles with Washington's signature and publishing houses continued to ask for books. A number of talented "ghost writers," black and white, took service under Tuskegee, and books and articles poured out of the institution. An annual letter "To My People" went out from Tuskegee to the press. Tuskegee became the capital of the Negro nation. Negro newspapers were influenced and finally the oldest and largest was bought by white friends of Tuskegee. Most of the other papers found it to their advantage certainly not to oppose Mr. Washington, even if they did not wholly agree with him.

I was greatly disturbed at this time, not because I was in absolute opposition to the things that Mr. Washington was advocating, but because I was strongly in favor of more open agitation against wrongs and above all I resented the practical buying up of the Negro press and choking off of even mild and reasonable opposition to Mr. Washington in both the Negro press and the white.

Then, too, during these years there came a series of influences that were brought to bear upon me personally, which increased my discomfort and resentment. I had tried to keep in touch with Hampton and Tuskegee, for I regarded them as great institutions. I attended the conferences which for a long time were held at Hampton, and at one of them I was approached by a committee. It consisted of Walter Hines Page, editor of the Atlantic Monthly; William McVickar, Episcopal bishop of Rhode Island; and Dr. Frissel, principal of Hampton. They asked me about the possibilities of my editing a periodical to be published at Hampton. I told them of my dreams and plans, and afterwards wrote them in detail. But one query came by mail: that was concerning the editorial direction. I replied firmly that editorial decisions were to be in my hands, if I edited the magazine. This was undiplomatic and too dogmatic; and yet, it brought to head the one real matter in controversy: would such a magazine be dominated by and subservient to the Tuskegee philosophy, or would it have freedom of thought and discussion? Perhaps if I had been more experienced, the question could have been discussed and some reasonable outcome obtained; but I doubt it. I think any such magazine launched at the time would have been seriously curtailed in its freedom of speech. At any rate, the project was dropped.

9

Beginning in 1902 ~~considerable~~ pressure was put upon me to give up my work at Atlanta University and go to Tuskegee. There again I was not at first adverse in principle to Tuskegee, except that I wanted to continue ~~what~~ I had begun and if my work was worth support, it was ~~work~~ worth support at Atlanta University. ~~Moreover~~, I was unable to ~~be assured~~ obtain assurance that my studies would be continued at Tuskegee, and that I would not sink to the level of a "ghost writer." I remember ~~the~~ a letter came from Wallace Buttrick late in 1902, asking that I attend a private conference in New York with Felix Adler, William H. Baldwin, Jr., George Foster Peabody, and Robert Ogden. The object of the conference was ostensibly the condition of the Negro in New York City. I went to the conference and did not like it. Most of the more distinguished persons named were not present. The conference itself amounted to little, but (after adjournment) I was whisked over to William H. Baldwin's beautiful Long Island home and there what seemed to me to be the real object of my coming was disclosed. Mr. Baldwin was at that time president of the Long Island Railroad and slated to be president of the Pennsylvania. He was the rising industrial leader of America; also he was a prime mover ~~of~~ on the Tuskegee board of trustees. Both he and his wife insisted that my place was at Tuskegee; that Tuskegee was not yet a good school, and needed the kind of development that I had been trained to ~~provide~~ promote.

This was followed by two interviews with Mr. Washington himself. I was elated at the opportunity and we met twice in New York City. The results to me were disappointing. Booker T. Washington was not an easy person to know. He was wary and silent. He never expressed himself frankly or clearly until he knew exactly to whom he was talking and just

what their wishes and desires were. He did not know me, and I think he was suspicious. On the other hand, I was quick, fast-speaking and voluble. I found at the end of the first interview that I had done practically all the talking and that no clear and definite offer or explanation of my proposed work at Tuskegee had been made. In fact, Mr. Washington had said about as near nothing as was possible.

The next interview did not go so well because I myself said little. Finally, we resorted to correspondence. Even then I could get no clear understanding of just what I was going to do at Tuskegee if I went. I was given to understand that the salary and accomodations would be satisfactory. In fact, I was invited to name my price. Later in the year I went to Bar Harbor for a series of speeches in behalf of Atlanta University, and while there met Jacob Schiff, the Schieffelins and Merriam of Webster's dictionary. I had dinner with Schieffelins and again was urged to go to Tuskegee.

Early in the next year I received an invitation to join Mr. Washington and certain prominent white and colored friends in a conference to be held in New York. The conference was designed to talk over a common program for the American Negro and evidently it was hoped that the growing division of opinion and opposition to Mr. Washington within the ranks of Negroes would thus be overcome. I was enthusiastic over the idea. It seemed to me just what was needed to clear the air.

There was difficulty, however, in deciding what persons ought to be invited to the conference, how far it should include Mr. Washington's extreme opponents, or how far it should be composed principally of his

friends. There ensued a long delay and during this time it seemed to me that I ought to make my own position clearer than I had hitherto. I was increasingly uncomfortable under the statements of Mr. Washington's position: his depreciation of the value of the vote; his evident dislike of Negro colleges; and his general attitude which seemed to place the onus of blame for the status of Negroes upon the Negroes themselves rather than upon the whites. And above all, I resented the Tuskegee Machine.

I had been asked sometime before by A.C. McClurg and Company of Chicago if I did not have some material for a book; I planned a social study which should be perhaps a summing up of the work of the Atlanta Conferences, or at any rate, a scientific investigation. They asked, however, if I did not have some essays that they might put together and issue immediately, mentioning my articles in the Atlantic Monthly and other places. I demurred because books of essays almost always fell so flat. Nevertheless, I got together a number of my fugitive pieces. I then added a chapter, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," in which I sought to make a frank evaluation of Booker T. Washington. I left out the more controversial matter: the bitter resentment which young Negroes felt at the continued and increasing activity of the Tuskegee Machine. I concentrated my thought and argument on Mr. Washington's general philosophy. As I read that statement now, a generation later, I am satisfied with it. I see no word that I would change. I said:

"The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate — a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the

emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds — so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this — we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Pressure came from white Northern friends, who I believed appreciated my work and on the whole wished me and my race well. But they were apprehensive; fearful because as perhaps the most conspicuously trained young Negro of my day, and, quite apart from any question of ability, my reaction toward the new understanding between North and South, and especially my attitude toward Mr. Washington, were bound to influence Negroes. As a matter of fact, at that time I was not over-critical of Booker Washington. I regarded his Atlanta speech as a statesman-like effort to reach understanding with the white South; I hoped the South would respond with equal generosity and thus the nation could come to understanding for both races. When, however, the South responded with "Jim-Crow" legislation, I became uneasy. Still I believed that my program of investigation and study was just what was needed to bring understanding in the long run, based on truth. I tried to make this clear. I attended the conferences at Hampton for several years, to attest my interest in industrial training. There I was approached with tentative offers to come to Hampton and edit a magazine. But I could not be certain that I was to be allowed to express my own opinions or only the opinions of the school. Of those Hampton opinions, I became increasingly critical. In all the deliberations to which I listened, and resolutions, which were passed at Hampton, never once was the work of Atlanta University nor college work anywhere

for Negroes, commended or approved. I ceased regular attendance at the conferences; but when later I was invited back I delivered a defense of higher training for Negroes and a scathing criticism of the "Hampton Idea." I was not asked to return to Hampton for twenty-five years.

My book settled pretty definitely any further question of my going to Tuskegee as an employee. But it also drew pretty hard and fast lines about my future career. Meantime, the matter of the conference in New York dragged on until finally in October, 1903, a circular letter was sent out setting January, 1904, as the date of meeting. The conference took place accordingly in Carnegie Hall, New York. About fifty persons were present, most of them colored and including many well-known persons. There was considerable plain speaking but the whole purpose of the conference seemed revealed by the invited white guests and the tone of their message. Several ~~white~~ persons of high distinction came to speak to us, including Andrew Carnegie and Lyman Abbott. Their words were lyric, almost fulsome in praise of Mr. Washington and his work, and in support of his ideas. Even if all they said had been true, it was a wrong note to strike in a conference of conciliation. The conferences ended with two speeches by Mr. Washington and myself, and the appointment of a Committee of Twelve in which we were also included.

The Committee of Twelve which was thus instituted was unable to do any effective work as a steering committee for the Negro race in America. First of all, it was financed, through Mr. Washington, probably by Mr. Carnegie. This put effective control of the committee in Mr. Washington's hands. It was organized during my absence and laid down a plan of work which seemed to me of some value but of no lasting importance and having little to do with the larger questions and issues. I therefore soon resigned so as not to be responsible for work and pronouncements over which I would have little influence. My friends and others accused me of refusing to play the game after I had assented to a program of co-operation. I still think, however, that my action was wise.

15

By this time I was pretty thoroughly disillusioned. It did not seem possible for me to occupy middle ground and try to appease the Guardian on the one hand and the Hampton-Tuskegee idea on the other. I began to feel the strength and implacability of the Tuskegee Machine; the Negro newspapers were definitely showing their reaction and publishing jibes and innuendoes at my expense. Filled with increasing indignation, I published in the Guardian a statement concerning the venality of certain Negro papers which I charged had sold out to Mr. Washington. It was a charge difficult of factual proof without an expenditure of time and funds not at my disposal. I was really at last openly tilting against the Tuskegee Machine and its methods. These methods have become common enough in our day for all sorts of purposes: the distribution of advertising and favors, the sending out of special correspondence, veiled and open attacks upon recalcitrants, the harrowing of opportunities for employment and promotion. All this is a common method of procedure today, but in 1904 it seemed to me monstrous and dishonest, and I resented it. On the other hand, the public expression of this resentment greatly exercised and annoyed Mr. Washington's friends. Some knew little about these activities at Tuskegee; others knew and approved. The New York Evening Post challenged me to present proof of my ~~extraordinary~~ statements and refused to regard my answer as sufficient, which was of course true.

Then came a new and surprising turn to the whole situation which in the end quite changed my life. In the early summer of 1905, Mr. Washington went to Boston and arranged to speak in a colored church to colored people -- a thing which he did not often do in the North. Trotter and Forbes, editors of the Guardian, determined to heckle him and make him answer publicly certain

questions with regard to his attitude toward voting and education. William H. Lewis, a colored lawyer whom I myself had introduced to Mr. Washington, had charge of the meeting, and the result was a disturbance magnified by the newspapers into a "riot," which resulted in the arrest of Mr. Trotter. Finally he served a term in jail.

With this incident I had no direct connection whatsoever. I did not know beforehand of the meeting in Boston, nor of the projected plan to heckle Mr. Washington. But when Trotter went to jail, my indignation overflowed. I did not always agree with Trotter then or later. But he was an honest, brilliant, unselfish man, and to treat as a crime that which was at worst mistaken judgment was an outrage. I sent out from Atlanta in June, 1905, a call to a few selected persons "for organized determination and aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth." I proposed a conference during the summer "to oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticism; to organize intelligent and honest Negroes; and to support organs of news and public opinion."

Fifty-nine colored men from seventeen different states eventually signed a call for a meeting near Buffalo, New York, during the week of July 9, 1905. I went to Buffalo and hired a little hotel on the Canada side of the river at Fort Erie, and waited for the men to attend the meeting. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the hotel, I should certainly have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail; but as a matter of fact, twenty-nine men, representing fourteen states, came. The "Niagara Movement" was ~~organized~~ incorporated/January 31, 1906, in the District of Columbia.

Its particular business and objects ~~are~~ were to advocate and promote the following principles:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.

2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press.

3. Manhood suffrage.

4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.

5. The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.

6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.

7. A belief in the dignity of labor.

8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

The Niagara Movement raised a furor of the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader and being ashamed of the fact that I was a member of the Negro race. The leading weekly of the land, the New York Outlook, pilloried me with scathing articles. But the movement went on. The next year, 1906, instead of meeting in secret, we met openly at Harper's Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid, and had in significance if not in numbers one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes ever held. We made pilgrimage at dawn bare-footed to the scene of Brown's martyrdom and we talked some of the plainest English that had been given voice to by black men in America. The resolutions which I wrote expressed with tumult of emotion my creed of 1905:

"The men of the Niagara Movement, coming from the toil of the year's hard work, and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished

in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and ~~the~~ fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accomodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.

"Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the Thief and the home of the Slave -- a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment.

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens, born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness, the new American creed says: fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the white. And this in the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

"In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to

rise, and let no man listen to those who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accomodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

"Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk and be with them who ~~that~~ wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

"Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as Black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of the Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no State allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

"The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions at the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

"Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to

Here at last I approached in my thinking the fundamental matter of the exploitation of the worker, regardless of race and color. The thought was not yet clear and the philosophy was not yet applied. But the philosophy hovered in the background.

of Socialism

20

step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance, or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education, we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

"These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote; by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob; but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

of the
s not yet
red in the

Meantime, I refused to give up the idea that a critical periodical for the American Negro might be founded. I had started in Memphis with the help of two graduates of Atlanta University the little printing shop that I have already mentioned, and from this was published weekly a paper called The Moon beginning in 1906. The Moon was in some sort precursor of The Crisis. It was published for a year in Memphis and then the printing office given up and in 1907 in conjunction with two friends in Washington there was issued a

Here at last I approached in my thinking the fundamental matter of the exploitation of the worker, regardless of race and color. The thought was not yet clear and the philosophy was not yet applied. But the philosophy hovered in the background.

of Socialism

step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance, or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education, we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

"These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote; by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob; but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

Meantime, I refused to give up the idea that a critical periodical for the American Negro might be founded. I had started in Memphis with the help of two graduates of Atlanta University the little printing shop that I have already mentioned, and from this was published weekly a paper called The Moon beginning in 1906. The Moon was in some sort precursor of The Crisis. It was published for a year in Memphis and then the printing office given up and in 1907 in conjunction with two friends in Washington there was issued a

minature monthly called the Horizon. The Horizon was published from 1907 to 1910, and in the fall of 1910 The Crisis was born.

Gradually I began to realize that the difficulty about support for my work in Atlanta University was largely personal; that on account of my attitude toward Mr. Washington I had become persona non grata to powerful interests, and that Atlanta University would not be able to get support for its general work or for its study of the Negro problem so long as I remained at the institution. No one ever said this to me openly, but I sensed it in the worries which encompassed the new young President Ware who had succeeded Dr. Bumstead. I began to realize that I would better look out for work elsewhere.

About this time an offer came from the city of Washington. The merging of the white and colored school systems into one, had thrown colored folk into uproar lest their control of their own schools be eliminated. The new and rather eccentric W. C. Chancellor, superintendent of schools, wanted an assistant superintendent to put in charge of the Negro schools. To my great surprise he offered the position to me, while I was on a chance visit to the city. I asked for time to consider it. My reaction was to refuse even though the salary was twice what I was getting; for I doubted my fitness for such a job; but when I thought the matter over further and my position at Atlanta University, I began to wonder if I should not accept.

I was not called upon to decide, for forces started moving in Washington. The Tuskegee Machine was definitely against me and local interests of the Negro group were opposed. A prominent colored official took the matter straight to President Theodore Roosevelt and emphasized the "danger" of my appointment. He never forgot the "danger" of my personality as later events proved.

The offer was never actually withdrawn, but it was not pressed, and I finally realized that it probably would not have gone through even if I had indicated my acceptance.

Still my eventual withdrawal from Atlanta University seemed wise. Young President Ware had received almost categorial promises that under certain circumstances increased contributions from the General Education Board and other sources might be expected, which would make the University secure, and perhaps even permit the continuance of the Conference studies. I was sure that I was at least one of these "circumstances," and so my work in Atlanta and my dream of the settlement of the Negro problem by science faded. I began to be acutely conscious of the difficulty which my attitudes and beliefs were making for Atlanta University.

My career as a scientist was to be swallowed up in my role as master of propaganda. This was not wholly to my liking. I was no natural leader of men. I could not slap people on the back and make friends of strangers. I could not easily break down an inherited reserve; or at all times curb a biting, critical tongue. Nevertheless, having put my hand to the plow, I had to go on. The Niagara Movement with less momentum met in Boston in 1907 and in Oberlin in 1908. It began to suffer internal strain from the dynamic personality of Trotter and my own inexperience with organizations. Finally it practically became merged with a new and enveloping organization.

of which I became a leading officer — the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

CHAPTER ~~I~~ XV

THE NAACP

The NAACP started with a lynching 100 years after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, and in the city, Springfield, Ohio, which was his long-time residence. William English Walling dramatized the gruesome happening and a group of liberals formed a committee in New York, which I was invited to join. A conference was held in 1909.

This conference contained four groups: scientists who knew the race problem; philanthropists willing to help worthy causes; social workers ready to take up a new task of Abolition; and Negroes ready to join a new crusade for their emancipation. An impressive number of scientists and social workers attended; the friend of wealthy philanthropists were scared and many but few followers of Booker Washington Negroes, were divided. In the end Trotter the most radical Negro leader and Ida Wells Barnet who was leading an anti-lynching crusade refused to join the new organization, being distrustful of white leadership. I myself and most of the Niagara Movement group were willing to join and encourage. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was formed, which without formal merger absorbed practically the whole membership of the Niagara Movement, Trotter, who distrusted our white allies and their objects. With some hesitation I was asked to join the organization and Du Bois, as Director of Publications and Research, with the idea that my research work was to go on but with the further idea that my activities would be so held in check that the Association would not develop as a center of attack upon Tuskegee, — a difficult order; because how, in 1910, could one discuss the Negro problem and not touch upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee? But after all, as I interpreted the matter, it was a question of temperament and manner rather than of subject.

Here was an opportunity to enter the lists in a desperate fight aimed straight at the real difficulty: the question as to how far educated Negro opinion in the United States was going to have the right and opportunity to guide the Negro group.

Back of this lay an unasked question as to the relation of the American Negro group to the whole Labor Movement. This was not yet raised but several of the group were socialists, including myself.

CHAPTER ~~I~~ XV

THE NAACP

The NAACP started with a lynching 100 years after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, and in the city, Springfield, Ohio, which was his long-time residence. William English Walling dramatized the gruesome happening and a group of liberals formed a committee in New York, which I was invited to join. A conference was held in 1909.

This conference was continued four groups: scientists who knew the race problem;; philanthropists willing to help worthy causes; social workers ready to take up a new task of Abolition; and Negroes ready to join a new crusade for their emancipation. An impressive number of scientists and social workers attended; ~~the~~ friends of wealthy philanthropists were ~~not moved~~ and ~~the~~ Negroes, ~~were divided~~. In the end Trotter the radical leader and Ida Wells Barnet who was leading ~~the~~ anti-lynching crusade refused to join the new organization, being distrustful of white leadership. I myself and most of the Niagara Movement group were willing to join ~~the whites~~. The National ~~Association~~ for the Advancement of Colored People, was formed, which without formal merger absorbed practically the whole membership of the Niagara Movement, ~~save Trotter, who distrusted our white allies and their objects~~. With some hesitation I was asked ~~to come~~ as Director of Publications and Research, ~~with the idea that~~ my research work was to go on ~~and with the further idea that~~ my activities would be so held in check that the Association would not develop as ~~a~~ center of attack upon Tuskegee — a difficult order; because how, in 1910, could one discuss the Negro problem and not touch upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee? But after all, as I interpreted the matter, it was a question of temperament and manner rather than of subject.

Here was an opportunity to enter the lists in a desperate fight aimed straight at the real difficulty: the question as to how far educated Negro opinion in the United States was going to have the right and opportunity to guide the Negro group.

I did not hesitate because I could not. It was the voice without reply, and I went to New York.

One may consider these personal equations and this clash of ideologies as biographical or sociological as a matter of the actions and thoughts of certain men, or as a development of larger social forces beyond personal control. I suppose the latter aspect is the truer. My thoughts, the thoughts of Washington, Trotter and others, were the expression of social forces more than of our own minds. These forces or ideologies embraced more than reasoned acts. They included physical, biological and psychological forces habits, conventions and enactments. Opposed to these came natural reaction: the physical recoil of the victim, the unconscious and irrational urges, as well as reasoned complaints and acts. The total result was the history of our day. That history may be epitomized in one word — Empire; the domination of white Europe over black Africa and yellow Asia, through political power built on the economic control of labor, income and ideas. The echo of this industrial imperialism in America was the expulsion of black men from American democracy, their subjection to caste control and wage slavery. This ideology was triumphant in 1910.

The presidents of Negro colleges, mostly white men, who began service with Reconstruction, were now beginning to retire or die of old age. Dr. Bumstead died in 1919. He was particularly disliked in the South because his white teachers and colored students ate together and because he gave up state aid rather than bar white students from his institution. He had been succeeded by a young man, son of Edmund Asa Ware, our first president. Young Ware was a good friend of mine and started his work with enthusiasm. But in raising funds he found himself against a stone wall; I do not know that he was actually advised to get rid of me, but I sensed his burden. I accepted the offer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910 to join their new organization in New York as Director of Publications and Research.

My new title showed that I had modified my program of research, but by no means abandoned it. First, I directed and edited my Atlanta study of 1912, in absentia, with the help of my colleague, Augustus Dill, my student and successor as teacher in Atlanta. Then in our study of 1913, I secured the promise of Dr. Dillard, of the Slater Board, to join Atlanta University in keeping up the work of the conferences. The work of research was to be carried on in New York, with a conference and annual publication at Atlanta. I was jubilant at the projected survival of my work. But on advice of President Ware, this arrangement was not accepted by the trustees. Ware was probably warned that this tie with a radical movement would hamper the University. In August, 1910, I reported at my new office and new work at 20 Vesey Street, New York.

As I have said elsewhere, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "proved between 1910 and the first World War, one of the most effective organizations of the liberal spirit and the fight for social progress which America has known." It fought frankly to make Negroes "politically free from disfranchisement; legally free from caste and socially free from insult." It established the validity of the Fifteenth Amendment, the unconstitutionality of the "Grandfather Clause," and the illegality of residential segregation. It reduced lynching from two hundred and thirty-five victims a year to a half dozen. But it did not and could not settle the "Negro Problem."

This new field of endeavor represented a distinct break from my previous purely scientific program. While "research" was still among my duties, there were in fact no funds for such work. My chief efforts were devoted to editing and publishing the Crisis, which I founded on my own responsibility, and over the protest of many of my associates. With the Crisis, I essayed a new role of interpreting to the world the hindrances and aspirations of American Negroes. My older program appeared only as I supported my contentions with facts from current reports and observation or historic reference. My writing was reinforced by lecturing, and my knowledge increased by travel; my thought was broadened by study of Socialism and of Karl Marx.

3) We had on our board of directors many incongruous elements as was to be expected: philanthropists like Oswald Villard; social workers like Florence Kelly liberal Christians like John Haynes Holmes and liberal Jews like the Spingarns, spiritual descendants of the Abolitionists like Mary Ovington and radical Negroes. Clashes now and then were inevitable.

To a white philanthopist like Villard, a Negro was quite naturally expected to be humble and thankful and certainly not assertive and aggressive, and this naturally Villard resented. I knew Villard's mother, who was Garrison's favorite child, and I liked her very much. His uncles were cordial and sympathetic. There was much that I liked in Villard himself, but one thing despite all my effort kept us far apart. He had married a wife from Georgia, and consequently I could never

step foot in his house as a guest, nor could any other of his colored associates. Indeed I doubt if any of his Jewish co-workers could ever be guests. I saw and respected the reasons for this discrimination, but I could hardly be expected to be happy over it, or to be his close friend.

My first, rather bitter falling out with Villard, was at a meeting of the Board of Directors.

Villard presumed to tell me how to edit the Crisis, and suggested that with my monthly record of lynchings, I also publish a list of Negro crimes. I resented it, not only because it was logically silly, but because he was interfering with my business. It was for this reason and from similar clashes, that he finally resigned the chairmanship of the board, and was replaced by Joel Spingarn. Villard, however kept his membership on the board, and his interest in our work.

My status: I held the rather anamalous position of being both a member of the board and as executive officer, the boards employee. This was not from any demands which I made, but due to the inescapable fact that I knew the Negro problem better than any of the white members of the board, and at the same time I was the one man whom they could put their hands on to carry out the objects of the organization. My double capacity was repeatedly a matter of discussion, and sometimes dispute; but no answer was however forthcoming, for 24 years.

4) Few of us ~~A few Americans~~ realized what an organization ~~is in this country~~ of this sort had and what changes of form it had to go ~~has gone~~ through. In early years it was a conference of men seeking agreement for common action, and finally carrying out the work decided upon by means of a committee of one or more. It was this form that the National Assoication of the Advancement of Colored People had in mind when it was organized in 1909. It ~~first~~ needed money, and that Villard and some of the other members of the committee proposed to raise from their wealthy friends, or from well-known philanthropists. It became increasingly necessary for the organization to have a paid executive whose chief business was to raise money. When I was called to join the group it was expected that I would become that executive, but that was just what I refused to do, because I knew that raising money was not a job for which I was fitted . It called for a friendliness of approach and knowledge of human nature, and an adaptability which I did not have. What I had was knowledge of the

Negro problem, and an ability to express my thoughts clearly, and a logical method of thought. I wanted then to write and lecture; and this became my job. We needed ~~then~~ however an executive secretary, and after relying a few years on ~~voluntary but unpaid~~ untrained services, we hired a white trained social worker at five thousand dollars a year. It seemed to many of us ~~an impossible effort~~ a huge sum and, but it worked out under three secretaries; the first white, the other two colored. It was carried on with accordance with growing experiences among philanthropic organizations. The secretaries trained to raise money ~~using~~ used approved and tried methods and ~~expecting~~ expected and ~~receiving~~ received cooperation from a Board of ~~Trustees~~ Directors, whom they helped to select because of their money and their advertising ~~following~~ value. This meant that the secretary had to have power put in its hands and the more money he raised for the objects of the organization, the more power he got. If he knew his job and had a broad conception of the purposes of his organization, things would go well. If he became more interested in money and power, and less clear as to ideal, the organization might not go as well. Changes due to these facts have occurred in the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People during its long and successful career.

The span of my life from 1910 to 1934 is chiefly the story of Crisis magazine under my editorship but it had also an astonishing variety of subsidiary interests and activities.

Beginning a little before this period I continued my visits to Europe. I went in 1900 (to the Paris Exposition) and again by the grace of an English friend in 1907 (to France) I (held organize and) took part in the great Races Congress in 1911 and went again in December, 1918, just after the Armistice. This close touch with Europe and European developments had much to do with my understanding of social problems and trends of the world. I followed the development of English imperialism and the forces in England, France, Italy and Germany which resulted in the Balkan War, the World War and eventually the Russian Revolution. In the United States I studied the political development from the free silver controversy led by Bryan, through the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Taft and especially the "Bull Moose" campaign and the election of Wilson.

I kept on writing and publishing not with as much concentration of effort as I ought to have, but with some effectiveness. In 1907 appeared "The Negro in the South" — from lectures, two by myself and two by Mr. Washington. In 1909 I published "John Brown," one of the best written of my books, but one which aroused the unfortunate jealousy. In 1915 I published my volume on "The Negro". To this must be added part of a bulletin in the Twelfth Census (of the United States) and several magazine articles and, of course, eight years of the Crisis.

I was active in the organization of the new National Association for the Advancement of colored People but carefully avoided the temptation of becoming its executive head. I still clung to my idea of investigation in lines which would temper and guide my exposition of a racial philosophy; and for that reason I determined from the beginning to make my work with the Association not that of executive secretary but editor of an official organ. There was opposition to this (Organ) from the first. First of all, organs of this sort were known to be usually

(I published a volume also written on Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois)

6,

-520

costly and this organization had no money. Secondly, organs were of doubtful efficiency. My good friend, Albert E. Pillsbury, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, wrote ~~and said~~ feelingly: "If you have not decided upon a periodical, for heaven's sake don't. They are as numerous as flies" — and he meant to conclude about as useful. I came to New York to occupy a bare office; associated with a treasurer, Villard, who said frankly, "I don't know who is going to pay your salary. I have no money;" and with a generally critical if not hostile public which expected the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to launch upon a bitter attack upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee.

My first job was to get the Crisis going; and arriving in August I ~~finally~~ got the first copy off the press in November, 1910. It came at the psychological moment and its success was phenomenal. From the one thousand which I ventured to publish first, it went up a thousand a month until by 1918 (due, of course, to special circumstances) we published and sold over a hundred thousand copies.

With this organ of propaganda and defense we were able to organize one of the most effective assaults of liberalism upon reaction that the modern world has seen. We secured extraordinary helpers; great lawyers like Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall; earnest liberals like Villard, Milholland, John Haynes Holmes, ~~Mary~~ Ovington, Jane Addams, and the Spingarns; socialists like Mary White Ovington, Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling. We gained a series of court victories before the highest courts of the land which perhaps never have been equalled, beginning with the overthrow of the vicious Grandfather Clauses in 1915, and the recognition of the validity of the 14th amendment and the breaking of the backbone of housing segregation in 1917. Above all, we could, through the Crisis and our officers, our secretaries and friends, place consistently and continuously before the country a clear-cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. We tried to organize his political power and make it felt and we started a campaign against lynching and mob law which was the most effective ever organized and at long last seemed to bring the end of the evil in sight.

With these efforts came other activities. I lectured widely in nearly every state in the Union. I furnished information to people everywhere on all sorts of subjects closely and remotely connected with race problems, and carried on from time to time studies and investigations. I was held more responsible for the success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than I cared to confess to myself; than most other people wanted to admit. I had to spread myself over a whole field of activities when I would have done great deal better work if I could have confined myself to writing and study.

The development of the Crisis where most of my writing was done was interesting and difficult. It was impaired first and last by lack of trained business management. For the most part I was my own business manager which meant the loss of much time in learning the details. Then there was the delicate matter of policy; of how far I should express my own ideas and reactions in the Crisis or the studied judgment of the organization. From first to last I thought strongly, and as I still think rightly, to make the opinion expressed in the Crisis a personal opinion; because as I argued, no organization can express definite and clear-cut opinions; so far as this organization comes to conclusions it states them in its annual resolutions but the Crisis states openly the opinion of its editor so long as that opinion is in general agreement with that of the organization.

This of course was a dangerous and delicate matter bound eventually to break down in case there was any considerable divergence of opinion between the organization and the editor. It was perhaps rather unusual that for two decades the two lines of thinking ran so largely together. If on the other hand the Crisis had not been in a sense a personal organ and the expression of myself, it could not possibly have attained its popularity and effectiveness. It would have been the dry kind of organ that so many societies support for purposes of reference and not for reading. It took on the part of the organization, a great deal of patience and faith to allow me the latitude

that they did for so many years; and on the other hand I was enabled to lay down for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a clear, strong and distinct body of doctrine that could not have been started by majority vote. It was probably inevitable that in the end a distinct and clear-cut difference of opinion on majority policies should lead to the dissolution of this interesting partnership.

One of the first difficulties that the National Association met was the case of its attitude toward Mr. Washington. I carefully tried to avoid any exaggeration of our differences of thought; but to discuss the Negro question in 1910 was to discuss Booker T. Washington and almost before we were conscious of the inevitable trends we were challenged from Europe. Mr. Washington was in Europe in 1910 and made some speeches in England in his usual conciliatory lines. John Milholland who had been so influential with paid employees and an office, in the organization of the National Association wrote me and said that American Negroes must combat the idea that they were satisfied with conditions. I therefore wrote an appeal to England and Europe.

"If Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true. We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilites have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. In flat contradiction, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the concensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems. We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony."

In furtherance of this statement and in anticipation of the meeting of the Races Congress in 1911 Mr. Milholland arranged that I should go early to the conference and make some addresses. The plan simmered down to a proposed address before the Lyceum Club, the leading woman's group of London, and there it ran against the opposition of an American woman who wrote: "I think there is serious objection to entertaining Dr. Du Bois at the Lyceum." The result was a rather acrimonious controversy, from which I tried gently to withdraw but was unable to; and finally led by Her Highness the Ranée of Sarawak and Dr. Etta Sayre, a luncheon was held at the Lyceum Club with a bishop and two countesses and several knights and ladies and with Maurice Hewlett and Sir Harry Johnston.

The Races Congress in 1911 would have marked an epoch in the racial history of the world if it had not been for the World War. It was a great and inspiring occasion bringing together representatives of numerous ethnic and cultural groups and bringing new and frank conceptions of scientific bases of racial and social relations of people. I had a chance twice to address the Congress (in the great hall of the University of London) and to write one of the two poems which greeted the assembly.

Returning to the United States I was plunged into the "Bull Moose" campaign. I thought I saw a splendid chance for a third party movement on a broad platform of votes for Negroes and industrial democracy. Sitting in the office of the Crisis I wrote out a proposed plank for the Progressives to adopt at their Chicago meeting: "The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1.000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 per cent, deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent the repeal of unfair

Secretaries of the American section of the World Races Congress in London, where I spoke twice in the Great Hall of the University of London. Felix Adler and I were made

discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

This was taken to Chicago by Joel E. Spingarn and advocated by two other directors of the Association, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams. They worked in vain for its adoption. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He told Mr. Spingarn frankly that he should be "careful of that man Du Bois" who was in Roosevelt's opinion a "dangerous" person. The "Bull Moose" convention not only refused to seat most of the colored delegates; elected a Southern "lily white" to run on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt and finally succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson president of the United States.

~~Immediately~~ Bishop Walters and myself conceived the idea that Mr. Wilson might be approachable. I proposed to throw the weight of the Crisis against Roosevelt and Taft and for Wilson, and Bishop Walters went to see him. He secured from Woodrow Wilson a categorical expression over his signature "of his earnest wish to see justice done the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. I want to assure them that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." In this effort to divide the Negro vote which was successful to an unusual degree, we were cruelly disappointed when the Democratic (Harding were and the north) Congress met. There was the greatest flood of discriminatory bills both in Congress and among the states that has probably ever been introduced since the Civil War. Only united and determined effort defeated bills against intermarriage and for other discriminations in eight states; and while most of the proposed legislation in Congress was kept from the statute books, the administration carried out a segregation by color in the various departments which we had to fight for years and vestiges of which even remain today.

In other respects our lines were cast in difficult places. The Socialists began to consider the color ~~question~~ line and to discriminate against the membership of colored

Felix Adler and I were made

people in the South, lest whites should not be attracted. Mr. Villard tried to get the President to appoint a National Race Commission to be privately financed to the extent of $50,000, but nothing was done, and suddenly war and revolution struck the world: the Chinese Revolution in 1912; the Balkan War in 1912-13, and finally in 1914 the World War. In that very year the National Council of Social Agencies met in Memphis without daring to discuss the color question but Spingarn and I went down and held open meetings advertising "for all who dared hear the truth." We had an interesting time. This success and the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 led to the first Amenia conference and tried to unite the American Negro in one program of advance.

Finally the World War touched America; with it and in anticipation of it, came a sudden increasing of lynching including the horrible burning alive of a Negro at Dyersburg; there came renewed efforts at segregation; the whole extraordinary difficulties of the draft and the question of Negro officers.

The cry for service as high as heaven, as wide as human feeling seemed filling the earth. What were petty slights, silly insults, failing problems beside this call to do and dare and die. We offered our service to fight. What happened? Most Americans have forgotten the extraordinary series of events which worked the feelings of black America to fever heat.

First was the refusal to accept Negro volunteers for the army except in the four black regiments already established. While the nation was combing the country for volunteers for the regular army it would not let the American Negro furnish even his proportionate quota of regular soldiers. This led to some grim bantering among Negroes:

"Why do you want to volunteer?" asked many. "Why should you fight for this country?

Before we had chance to reply to this there came the army draft bill and the proposal by Vardaman and his ilk to exempt Negroes. We protested to Washington in various ways and while we were insisting that colored men should be drafted just as other citizens, the bill went through with two little "jokers."

237.

First, it provided that Negroes should be drafted but trained in "spparate" units and, secondly, it somewhat ambiguously permitted men to be drafted for "labor."

A wave of fear and unrest spread among Negroes; and while we were looking at both these provisions askance suddenly we received the draft regulation istration blank. It directed persons "of African descent" to "tear off the corner!" Probably never before in the history of the United States has a portion of the citizens been so openly and crassly discriminated against by action of the general government. It was disheartening and on top of it came the celebrated "German plots". It was alleged in various parts of the country with singular unanimity that Germans were working among the Negroes and it was further intimated that this would make the Negroes too dangerous an element to trust with guns. To us, of course, it looked as though the discovery and the proposition came from the same thinly-veiled sources.

Considering carefully these series of happenings the American Negro sensed an approaching crisis and faced a puzzling dilemma. Here was evidently preparing fertile ground for the spread of disloyalty and resentment among the black masses as they were forced to choose apparently between forced labor or a "Jim Crow" draft. Manifestly when a minority group is thus segregated and forced out of the nation they can in reason do but one thing — take advantage of the disadvantage. In this case we asked for colored officers for the colored troops.

General Wood was early approached and asked to admit suitable candidates to the Officers' Camp Plattsburg. He refused. We thereupon pressed the government for a "separate" camp for the training of Negro officers. Not only did the War Department hesitate at this request but strong opposition arose among the colored people themselves. They said this really was going too far. "We will obey the law but to ask for voluntary segregation is to insult ourselves." But strong, sober second thought came to rescue. We said to our protesting brothers: "We face a condition, not a theory. There is not the slightest chance of our being admitted to white camps, therefore,

it is either a case of a "Jim Crow" officers training camp or no colored officers. Of the two things no colored officers would be the greatest calamity.

Thus we gradually made up our minds. But the War Department still hesitated. It was besieged and when it presented its final argument, "We have no place for such a camp," the trustees of Howard University said: "Take our campus." Eventually twelve hundred colored cadets were assembled at Fort Des Moines for training.

The city Des Moines promptly protested but it finally changed its mind. The city never before had seen such a class of colored men. They rapidly became popular with many classes and encomiums were passed upon their conduct. Their commanding colonel pronounced their work first class and declared that they presented excellent material for officers.

Meantime, with one accord, the thought of the colored people turned toward Colonel Young, their highest officer in the regular army. Charles Young was an heroic figure. He was the typical soldier -- silent, uncomplaining, brave and efficient. From his days at West Point throughout his twenty-eight years of service he has taken whatever task was assigned him and performed it efficiently and there is no doubt but that the army has been almost merciless in the requirements which it has put upon this splendid officer. He came through everything with flying colors. In Haiti, in Liberia, in Western camps, in the Sequoia Forests of California, and finally with Pershing in Mexico -- in every case he triumphed. Just at the time we were looking to the Government to call him to head the colored officers training at Des Moines, he was retired from the Army because of "high blood pressure!" There is no disputing army surgeons and their judgment in this case may have been justified, but coming at the time it did, every Negro in the United States believed that the "high blood pressure" that retired Colonel Young was in the prejudiced heads of the southern army oligarchy who were determined that no Negro should ever wear the star of a General.

Especially was the money they spent for public work much needed

He had been segregated, discriminated against and insulted

To say that Negroes of the United States were disheartened at the retirement of Colonel Young is to put it mildly; but there was more trouble. The provision that Negro troops must be trained separately looked simple and was simple in places where there were large Negro contingents; but in the North with solitary Negroes drafted here and there we had some extraordinary developments. Regiments appeared with one Negro and he had to be separated like a pest and put in a house or even a village by himself, while the Commander frantically telegraphed to Washington. Small wonder that one poor black fellow in Ohio solved the problem by cutting his throat. The whole process of drafting Negroes had to be held up until the Government could find methods and and places for assembling them.

On the top of this came Houston. In a moment the nation forgot the whole record of one of the most celebrated regiments in the U.S. Army and their splendid service in the Indian Wars and in the Philippines. It was the first regiment mobilized in the Spanish American War and it was the regiment that volunteered to a man to clean up the yellow fever camps when others hesitated. It was one of the regiments to which Pershing said [illegible]:

"Men, I am authorized by Congress to tell you all that our people back in the States are mighty glad and proud at the way the soldiers have conducted themselves while in Mexico, and I, General Pershing, can say with pride that a finer body of men never stood under the flag of our nation than we find here tonight."

The nation also forgot the deep resentment mixed with the pale ghost of fear which Negro soldiers call up in the breasts of the white South. It is not so much that they fear that the Negro will strike if he gets a chance, but rather that they assume with curious unanimity that he has REASON to strike; that any other persons in his circumstances or treated as he is would rebel. Instead of seeking to relieve the cause of such a possible feeling, most of them strain every effort to bottle up the black man's resentment. Is it inconceivable that now and then it bursts all bounds, as at Brownsville and Houston?

So, in the midst of this mental turmoil came Houston and East St. Louis, in 1917. At Houston, black soldiers goaded and insulted suddenly went wild and "shot up"

240.

the town. At East St. Louis, white strikers on war work killed and mobbed Negro workingmen. And this is the result:

HOUSTON	EAST ST. LOUIS
Offense	Offense
17 white persons killed	125 Negroes killed
Punishment	Punishment
19 colored soldiers hanged	9 white men imprisoned 5 - 15 years
51 colored soldiers imprisoned for life	11 white men imprisoned 1 year
40 colored soldiers imprisoned	18 white men fined
	10 colored men imprisoned 14 years

My career had at this time a certain sense of drama. I had never before seen Theodore Roosevelt but in November, 1918, I presided at a meeting in Carnegie Hall where he made his last public speech, appearing together with Irwin Cobb and a representative of the French High Commission. I remember my introduction: "I have the honor to present Theodore Roosevelt." Then on my fiftieth birthday there was a public celebration and many kindly messages. The Crisis had reached a monthly circulation of 68,000 and during the year I had a little dinner with Glendowen Evans, Margaret DeLand and William James. John Hope wrote: "How glad I am that your fiftieth birthday is going to be such a happy one because you can look back on so much good work done. But not the good work alone. What you may look back upon with greatest comfort is good intention."

And Albert Bushnell Hart wrote a word ~~which one quotes with a certain diffidence~~: "Out of his fifty years of life I have followed a good thirty -- and have counted him always among the ablest and keenest of our teacher-scholars, an American who viewed his country broadly."

The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three trips to Europe: but now between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the close of the War and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the

earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia, and Constantinople in 1926. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in those stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breadth of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

But this was only part of my work: In the United States I was still fighting the battle of liberalism against race prejudice; trying to adjust war and post-war problems to the questions of racial justice; trying to show from the injustices of war time what the new vision must encompass; fighting mobs and lynchings; encouraging Negro migration; helping woman suffrage; encouraging the new rush of young Blacks to college; watching and explaining the political situation and travelling and lecturing over thousands of miles and in hundreds of centers. In addition to this I was encouraging the writing of others and trying to help develop Negro art and literature. Besides editing the Crisis continuously, I published "Darkwater" in 1920; "The Gift of Black Folk" in 1924; the article on Georgia "In These United States" in 1924; and the concluding chapter in "The New Negro" in 1925, besides a number of magazine articles. I also wrote Most of the young writers who began what was called the renaissance of Negro literature in the twenties saw their first publication in the Crisis magazine.

Above all in these days I made two efforts toward which I look back with infinite satisfaction: the two-year attempt in the Brownie's book to furnish a little magazine for Negro children in which my efforts were ably seconded by Augustus Dill and Jessie Fauset; and most especially my single-handed production of the pageant "The Star of Ethiopia". The pageant was an attempt to put into dramatic form for the benefit of large masses of people, a history of the Negro race. It was first attempted in the New York celebration of Emancipation in 1913; it was repeated with magnificent

This Georgia fought bitterly to keep from appearing. Ernest Gruening, now sena tor from Alaska, who edited the series, accepted it

[redacted], When President Wilson was planning to attend the Congress of Versailles, I wrote him a letter saying:

"The International Peace Congress that is to decide whether or not peoples shall have the right to dispose of themselves will find in its midst delegates from a nation which champions the principle of the 'consent of the governed' and 'government by representation'. That nation is our own, and includes in itself more than twelve million souls whose consent to be governed is never asked. They have no members in the legislatures of states where they are in the majority, and not a single representative in the national Congress."

and breath-taking success in Washington with 1200 participants; it was given again in Philadelphia in 1916; and in Los Angeles in 1924.

Finally in New York I attempted a little theatre movement which went far enough to secure for our little group second prize in an international competition in New York. In 1918 I was asked rather suddenly by the N.A.A.C.P. to go to Europe right after the Armistice, to investigate the treatment of Negro soldiers and keep the record straight; and then at the behest of a group of American Negroes I considered that the interest of Africa ought to be represented during the peace efforts following the War. With infinite difficulty and through the cooperation of Blaise Diagne, the French Deputy from Senegal, I succeed in gathering in February, 1919, at the Grand Hotel in Paris a Pan-African congress of fifty-seven delegates including sixteen American Negroes, twenty West Indians and twelve Africans. France, Belgium, and Portugal were represented by officials. This was to my mind but a beginning and in 1921 I returned and held a Second Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris from August 28 to September 6. There were 113 accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups including thirty-five from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe. Among the speakers were Sir Sidney afterward Lord Olivier, Florence Kelly, Bishop Hurst, Paul Otlet, often called the father of the League of Nations, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, Dr. Vitellian, former physician to Menelik of Abyssinia, General Sorelas, Blaise Diagne, Norman Leys, and others. The attention which the congress evoked all over Europe was astonishing. It was discussed in the London Times, Observer and Daily Graphic; in the Paris Petit Parisian, Matin and Temps; in the Manchester Guardian and in practically all the daily papers of Belgium. It led to heated debate in Brussels touching the rights of these delegates to discuss the relation of colonies and it emphasized in the minds of all of us the consequent importance of such discussions.

I knew little of Africa. I had met few if any native-born Africans. I had learned little of Africa in school. But it early became an obcession with me that Africans must prove their equality with men and that I must help. Here was a chance

.....

243.

Two of us visited the League of Nations and the International Labor Office with petitions and suggestions. In 1923 a third Pan-African Congress, less broadly representative than the second, but nevertheless of some importance was held in London, Paris and Lisbon; and thence I went to Africa and for the first time saw the homeland of the black race.

It was the time when the U.S. had disappointed Liberia by not granting her a promised loan and a gesture of good will was in order. At the suggestion of Assistant Attorney-General Weaver, William H. Lewis I was therefore designated by cable as special minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to represent President Coolidge at the inauguration of President King. In the presence of the diplomatic and consular representatives of England, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Panama I had the honor to tell the President of Liberia: "Your Excellency: ..... I am sure that in this special mark of the President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the edge of this mighty continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in America; the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

of whom I was Dean

At the London meeting of the third Pan-African Congress, Harold Laski, H.G. Wells, and Sir Sidney Olivier spoke, and Ramsey McDonald promised to speak to us but was hindered by the sudden opening of the campaign which eventually made him prime minister of England. Among other efforts, at this time we held conferences with members of the Labor Party of England at which Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mr. Clynes and others were present. We emphasized the importance of labor solidarity between white and black labor in England, America and elsewhere. In Portugal our meeting was attended by cabinet ministers and deputies and though small was of great interest. To return again to the fight in the United States, there arose early in this decade

They were most particularly impressed.

the case of Marcus Garvey. I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica in 1915 when he sent a letter "presenting his compliments" and giving me "a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association." Later he came to the United States. In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealousy, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience. In 1920 when his movement was beginning to grow in America I said in the Crisis that he was "an extraordinary leader of men" and declared that he had "with singular success capitalized and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." On the other hand, I noted his difficulties of temperament and training, inability to get on with his fellow workers, and denied categorically that I had ever interfered in any way with his work. Later when he began to collect money for his steamship I characterized him as a sincere and hard working idealist but called his methods bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal and begged his friends not to allow him foolishly to overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern world. But he went ahead, wasted his money, got into trouble with the authorities and was deported. As I said at the time: "When Garvey was sent to Atlanta, no word or action of ours accomplished the result. His release and deportation was a matter of law which no deed or wish of ours influenced in the slightest degree. We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideas. Let him do it. We will be the first to applaud any success that he may have."

I felt for a moment ~~during~~ as the war progressed that I could be without reservation a patriotic American. The government was making sincere efforts to meet our demands. It had commissioned over seven hundred Negro officers; I had had a personal interview with Newton Baker, Secretary of War, and he had made categorical promises; Wilson

had spoken out against lynching; and I myself had been offered a captaincy in the Intelligence Service, afterwards to be sure rather incontinently withdrawn as the higher command realized just who I was. Nevertheless, I tried to stand by the country and wrote the widely discussed editorial "Close Ranks" in which I said to the Negroes: Forget your grievances for the moment and stand by your country.

I am not sure that I was right but certainly my intentions were. I did not believe in war, but I thought that in a fight with America against militarism and for democracy we would be fighting for the emancipation of the Negro race. With the Armistice came disillusion. I saw the mud and dirt of the trenches; I heard from the mouths of soldiers the kind of treatment that black men got in the American army; I was convinced and said that American white officers fought more valiantly against Negroes within our ranks than they did against the Germans. I still believe this was largely true. I collected some astonishing documents of systematic slander and attack upon Negroes and demands upon the French for insulting attitudes toward them, and when I published these documents in America the government started to interfere by refusing the Crisis mailing facilities; then realizing that this was an admission of guilt, they quickly withdrew their prohibition.

I was especially upset by the mobs and lynchings during this time: by that extraordinary upheaval wherein for several hours black men fighting against a mob practically held the city of Washington in their hands; then the riot and murder in Chicago. We fought back through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the columns of the Crisis, through lectures and articles, with every force at hand. Mary Talbert started the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and with her help and that of our secretary, James Weldon Johnson, we raised a defense fund of $70,000 and put the Dyer Lynch Bill through the House of Representatives and on to the floor of the Senate. It was not until years after, that I knew what killed that anti-lynching bill. It was a bargain between the South and the West by which lynching was permitted on condition that the Japanese were excluded.

Court cases kept pressing upon us: there were the Elaine riots and the Arkansas cases; there was the Sweet case in Detroit; and equally significant to my mind but to few other Negroes the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts. We continued winning court victories and yet somehow, despite them, we did not seem to be getting very far. We added to the Grandfather Case of 1915 and the Segregation Case of 1917, the victories in the Arkansas cases, the white [illegible] primary case and another segregation case in the high courts, in addition to the eventual freeing of Dr. Sweet and his family. Still injustice prevailed. In the case of the Mississippi flood, the Red Cross allowed the Negroes to be treated as slaves and peons, and in Okolona, the Episcopal church refused to prosecute a white murderer on its own school grounds. Above all there came disquieting situations among Negro students: A strike at Hampton, disturbed conditions at Wilberforce, turmoil at Howard, and an uprising at Fisk.

It was thus a decade of infinite effort and discouraging turmoil. I suppose it had to be. I suppose that with the best will, it would have been impossible for me to concentrate on a few great lines of creative effort. I had to be a part of the revolution through which the world was going and to feel in my own soul the scars of its battle. Two things made a sort of finale to the decade: the fourth Pan-African Congress held in New York in 1927 with Dantes Bellegarde, George Sylvain and other speakers; and news of the Congress of British West Africa which began its meetings in 1920 and forced the British government to the greatest step toward democratic method ever taken in black colonies. And finally, to my surprise and quite against my best judgment, there was given for me upon my return from Africa at the Cafe Savarin in New York, a dinner. Among the speakers were Heywood Broun, Walter Hampden and Mrs. Bethune, and tributes were sent by Witter Bynner, Zona Gale and Eugene O'Neil. It was a very beautiful and touching tribute.

(1)

CHAPTER ~~XI~~ XVI

MY CHARACTER

When I was a young man, we talked much of Character. At Fisk (University) character ~~among students~~ was discussed and emphasized more than scholarship. I knew what was meant and agreed that the sort of person a man was would in the long run prove more important for the world than what ~~a person~~ he knew or how logically he could think. It is typical of our time that insistance on character (today in this country) has almost ceased. Freud and others have stressed the unknown factors of our personality so that today we do not advise youth about their development of character; we watch and count their actions with almost helpless disassociation from thought of advice.

Nevertheless from that older generation which formed my youth I still retain an interest in what men are rather than what they do; and at the age of fifty, I began to take stock of myself and ask what I really was as a person. Of course I knew that self-examination is not a true unbiassed picture; but (on the other hand) without it no picture is quite complete.

From childhood I tried to be honest; I did not mean to take anything which did not belong to me. I told the truth even when there was no call for the telling and when silence would have been golden. I did not (usually) ~~always~~ speak in malice but often blurted out the truth (because) when the story was incomplete and was therefore as seemed to me ~~scandalously~~ wrong. I had strict ideas about money and its earning. I worked and worked hard for (the) ~~my~~ first 25 cents a week which I earned. I could never induce myself to gamble or take (unnecessary) silly chances because I figured the loss vividly in fatigue and pain. Once on a French train I played the pea in a shell (E) game and (forty years later in Mexico I won two dollars on a horse-race. These were) lost two dollars. ~~That was~~ my first and last game of chance.

I was careful about debt. My folk were poor but seldom in debt. I have before me a statement of my indebtedness, September 1, 1894 when I started on my first life job; ~~I owed the Slater Fund two notes for $375, with interest.~~ My salary was $800 a year and my living expense I calculated at:

(2)

2

Board $100; Room $35; Clothes $65; Books $100; Debts $350; Sundries $25 — Total $650; Savings $125. This proved too optimistic but still I kept out of debt. When I taught at Atlanta at a salary of $1200 a year for twelve years, I owed nobody. I had a wife and child and each year I took them somewhere north so as to give them fresh air and civilization. It took almost every cent of my salary, together with small fees from lectures and writing to pay our way and yet we kept out of debt and only once was I compelled to overdraw my salary for a month ahead.

Saving I neglected. I had had no experience in saving. My mother's family with whom I lived as a child never had a bank account nor insurance; and seldom a spare dollar. I took out a small life insurance of $1,000 when I was 27. I was cheated unmercifully by the white Pennsylvania company in the fee charged because I was colored. Later after marriage I took out $10,000 of insurance in a Negro Company, the Standard Life. Eventually the company went bankrupt and I lost every cent. I was then too old to obtain more insurance on terms which I could afford.

My income has always been low. During my 23 years with the NAACP, I received for the first 5 years $2500 a year. For the next 18 years, $5,000. With savings from this I bought a home and then sold it later for an apartment building in Harlem. There were five apartments, one of which my family was to occupy and the others would pay me a permanent calculable income. But the house was overpriced; neglected orders for expensive sewer repairs were due. The down payment which I could afford was low and the property was overloaded with three mortgages on which I had to pay bonuses for renewal. Downtown banks began to squeeze black Harlem property holders and taxes increased. With the depression, tenants could not pay or moved. There was one recourse: to turn the property into a rooming house for prostitution and gambling. I gave it to the mortgagors and shouldered the loss of all my savings at 60 years of age. In all this I had followed the advice of a friend skilled in the handling of real estate but who assumed that I was trying to make money and not dreaming of model housing conditions. As many of my friends have since informed me, I was a fool; but I was not a thief which I count to my credit.

3

149

I returned to Atlanta University in 1933 at a salary of $4,500 a year but still out of debt. When ten years later, I retired without notice, I had no insurance and but small savings. A classmate, grandson of a railway magnate, berated me for not wishing to give up work. He could not conceive of a man working for fifty years without saving enough to live on the rest of his days. In money matters I was surely negligent and ignorant; but that was not because I was gambling, drinking or carousing; it was because I spent my income in making myself and my family comfortable instead of "saving for a rainy day". I may have been wrong, but I am not sure of that.

On one aspect of my life, I look back upon with mixed feelings; and that is on matters of friendship and sex. I couple them designedly because I think they belong together. I have always had more friends among women than among men. This began with the close companionship I had with my mother. Friends used to praise me for my attention to my mother; we always went out together arm in arm and had our few indoor amusements together. This seemed quite normal to me; my Mother was lame, why should I not guide her steps? And who knew better about my thoughts and ambitions? Later in my life among my own colored people the women began to have more education, while the men imitated an American culture which I did not share: I drank no alcoholic beverages until I went to Germany and there I drank light beer and Rhine wine. Most of the men I knew drank whiskey and frequented saloons which from my boyhood were out of bounds. ~~My women friends however for the most part were not bound to me by the sex allure.~~

Indeed the chief blame which I lay on my New England schooling was the inexcusable ignorance of sex which I had when I went south to Fisk at seventeen. I was precipitated into a region, with loose sex morals among black and white, while I actually did not know the physical difference between men and women. At first my fellows jeered in disbelief and then became sorry and made many offers to guide my abysmal ignorance. This built for me inexcusable and startling temptations. It

~~I took I adopted a Connecticut attitude toward women~~

250.

began to turn one of the most beautiful of earth's experiences into a thing of temptation and horror. I fought, ~~fell, wept and cursed,~~ one found amid what should have been a climax of true living. I avoided women about whom anybody gossipped and as I tried to solve the contradiction of virginity and motherhood I was inevitably faced with the other contradiction of prostitution and adultery. ~~I almost fled to marriage as sanctuary rather than approaching it with thought and reason.~~

~~5~~ 5 My ~~sex life has bee~~ normal and reasonable. In my home town sex was deliberately excluded from talk and ~~for children~~ of course from thought. ~~I was 20 years of age before I knew the physical difference between male and female.~~ In public school there were no sexual indulgences of which I ever heard. We talked of girls looked at their legs and there was rare kissing of a most unsatisfactory sort, We teased about sweethearts, but quite innocently. When I went South, my fellow students being much older and reared in a region of loose sextual customs regarded me as liar or freak when I asserted my innocence. I liked girls and sought their company, but my wildest exploits were kissing. Then as teacher in the rural districts of east Tennesee, I was literally raped by the unhappy wife who was my landlady. From that time through my college course at Harvard and my study in Europe, I went through a desperately recurrin fight to keep the sex instinct in control. Abrief trial with prostitut in Paris ~~repelled~~ affronted my sense of decency. I lived more or less regularly with a shop girl in Berlin, but was ashamed ~~and frightened~~. Then when I returned home to teach, I was faced with the connivance of certain fellow teachers at adultery with their wives. I was literally ~~scared~~ frightened into marriage before I was able to support a family. I married a girl whose rare beauty and household training from her dead mother attracted and held me, ~~[illegible]~~

I married at twenty-nine and we lived together for fifty-three years. It was not an absolutely ideal union, but it was happier than most, so far as I could perceive. It suffered from the fundamental drawback of modern American marriage: a difference in aim and function between its partners; my wife and children were incidents of my main life work and ~~aims; sex indulgence, food, a home and comfort were its objects.~~ incidents but did not spend time I was not neglectful; I furnished a good home, and plenty of food, I educated the children and planned vacations and recreation. But my main work was out in the world and not at home. That work out there my wife ~~shared~~ understood but a little ~~She was interested~~ appreciated, but was too busy to share could not be absorbed, because of cooking, marketing sweeping and cleaning, and the endless demands of children. This she did without complaint until our firstborn died. Died not of neglect but because of the city's

careless sewage . His death tore our lives in two. I threw myself more completely into my work, while most reason for living left the soul of my wife. Another child, a girl, came later, but my wife never forgave God for the unhealable wound.

As I wandered across the world to wider and higher goals, I ~~xxxxx~~sensed two complaints against the pairing of the sexes in modern life : one that ties between humand beings are usually assumed to be sexual if a man and woman are concerned; and that normal friendships between men and women could not exist without sex being the main ingredient. Also if a man and woman are friendship, they must be married and their friendship ~~must~~ may become a cloying intimacy, often lasting 24 hours a day with few outside friends of the opposite sex on painof gossip, scandal and even crime engulphing the family. My travel and work away from home saved us from this.

Most of my friends and helpers have been women; from my mother, aunts and cousins, to my fellow teachers, students, secretaries and dreamers toward a better world. Sex indulgence was never the cause or aim of these friendships. I do not think my women friends ever ~~cause~~ gave my wife harm or unease. I was thoughtful of her comfort and support and of heer treatment in public and private. But I have often wondered if her limitation to a few women friends and they chiefly housekeepers; and if her lack of contact with men, because of her conventional upbringing and her surroundings -- if this did not make her life unnecessarily narrow and confined. My life on the other hand threw me widely with women of brains and great effort to work on the widest scale. I am endlessly grateful for these contacts.

My first married life lasted over half a century, and its ending was normal and sad, with the ~~endless~~ loneliness which is always the price of death. To fill this great gap, and let my work go on, I married again near the end of my days. She was a woman forty years my junior but her work and aim in life had been close to mine because her father had long believed in what I was trying to do. The faith of Shirley Graham in me was therefor inherited and received as a joy and not a duty. She has wisely made these days rich and rewarding.

In the midst of my career there burst on me a new and undreamed of aspect of sex. Ayoung man, long my disciple and student; then my co-helper and successor to part of my work, was suddenly arrested for molesting men in public places I had before that time no conception of homo-sexuality. I had never understood the tragedy of an Oscar Wild. I dismissed my co-worker forthwith. And spent heavy days regretting my act.

One difficulty of married life we faced as many others must have. My wife's life-long training as a virgin made it almost impossible for her ever to regard sexual intercourse as not fundamentally indecent. it took careful restraint on my part not to make her unhappy at this most beautiful of human experiences. This was no easy task for a normal and lusty young man

My absence from home so much helped us the "household drudgery"
I still make my own bed of mornings; for many years I prepared my own breakfast - especially my coffee; I always leave a bath room cleaner than when I entered; but sewing + cooking my I neglect

Class Struggle

Have & Have not — overwhelming Have not

Divided:
Have + Have not
Power Elite

Have not / those who get [illegible]
& bribery & higher wages
Black Labor from
Colonels
Lower class
From [illegible]
Boss & [illegible]
Labor [illegible]
Labor [illegible]
No 3rd party
Labor Leaders

I knew far too few of my contemporaries. I was on occassion incomprehensibly shy, and almost invariably loath to interrupt others in seeking to explain myself. This in the case of my fellow Negroes was balanced by our common experiences, and shared knowledge of what each other had lived through; but in the case of white companions, and especially these newly met, we could not talk together, we lived in different worlds. We belonged to no social clubs, and did not visit the same people or even stand at the same liquor bars. We did not lunch together. I did not play cards, and could never get wildly enthusiastic even over baseball. Naturally we could not share stories of sex.

Thus I did not seek white acquaintances, I let them make the advances, and they therefore thought me arrogant. In a sense I was, but after all I was in fact rather desparately hanging on to my self respect.

I was not fighting to dominat others; I was fighting against my own degradation. I wanted to meet my fellows as an equal; they offered only a status of inferiority and submission

I did not for the most part meet my great contemporaries. Doubtless this was largely my own fault. I did not seek them. I deliberately ~~avoided opportunities~~ refused invitations to spend week-ends with Henry James and H.G. Wells. I did not follow up the offer of the wife of Havelock Ellis to meet him and Bernard Shaw. Several times I could have met Presidents of the United States, and did not. The great statesman and writers and artists of America, I might have met, and in some cases known intimately. I did not try to accomplish this. This was partly because of my fear that color caste would interfere with our meeting and understanding; if not with the persons themselves, certainly with their friends. But even beyond this, I was not what Americams called a good fellow. ~~I did not slap people on the back.~~ Yet in the long run my circle of ~~acquaintances and firm friends was wide, especially among Negroes.~~

This too illustrates a certain lack of sympathy and understnding which I had for my ~~fellowmen~~ students. I was for instance a good teacher. I stimulated inquiry and accuracy. I met every question honestly and never dodged an earnest doubt. I read my examination papers carefully and marked them with sedulous care. But I did not know my students as human beings; they were ~~too~~ lone apt to be intellects and not souls. To the world in general I was nearly always the isolated outsider looking in and seldom part of that inner life. Partly that role was thrust upon me because of the color of my skin. But I was not a prig. I was a lusty man with all normal appetites. I loved "Wine, Women and Song". I worked hard and slept soundly; and if, as many said, I was hard to know, it was that with all my belligerency I was in reality unreasonably shy.

One thing I avoided: and that was envy. I tried to give the other fellow his due even when I disliked him personally and disagreed with him logically. It became to me a point of honor never to refuse appreciation to one who had earned it, no matter who he was. I loved living, physically as well as spiritually. I could not waste my time on baseball but I could appreciate a home run. My own ~~experience~~ exercise was walking, but there again I walked alone. I knew life and death. The passing of my First Born boy was an experience from which I never quite recovered. I wrote:

"The world loved him; the women kissed his curls, the men looked gravely into his wonderful eyes, and the children hovered and fluttered about him. I can see him now, changing like the sky from sparkling laughter to darkening frowns, and then to wondering thoughtfulness as he watched the world. He knew no color-line, poor dear -- and the Veil, though it shadowed him, had not yet darkened half his sun. He loved the white matron, he loved his black nurse; and in his little world walked souls alone, uncolored and unclothed. I -- yea, all men -- are larger and purer by the infinite breadth of that one little life. She who in simple clearness of vision sees beyond the stars said when he had flown -- "He will be happy There; he ever loved beautiful things." And I, far more ignorant, and blind by the web of my own weaving, sit alone winding words and muttering, "If still he be, and he be There, and there be a There, let him be happy, O Fate!"

" Blithe was the morning of his burial, with bird and song and sweet-smelling flowers. The trees whispered to the grass, but the children sat with hushed faces. And yet it seemed a ghostly unreal day -- the wraith of Life. We seemed to rumble down an unknown street behind a little white bundle of posies, with the shadow of a song in our ears. The busy city dinned about us; They did not say much, those pale-faced hurrying men and women; they did not say much -- they only glanced and said 'Niggers'."

811

My relogious developement has been slow and uncertain . I grew up in a liberal Congregational sunday school and listened once a week to a serman on doing good as a reasonable duty. Theology played a minor part and our teachers had to face some searching queastions. At seventeen I was in a missionary colleg where religious orthodoxy was srtressed; but I was more developed to meet it with argument, which I did. My "morals" were sound, even a bit puritanic, but when a hidebound old deacon inveighed against dancing I rebelled. To me dancing was sheer pleasure which I had praiced since boyhood. Then the teachers brought forward the old Pauline srgument 'if meet maketh thy brother offend". I smoled with this as takin a mean advantage of a conscientious youth. By time of graduation I was still a "believer" but in orthodox religion strong questions which were encouraged at Harvard. In Germany I became a freethinker and when I came to teach at an orthodox Methodist Negro school I was soon regarded with suspicion, especially when I refused to lead the students in puclic prayer. When I became head of a Department at Atlanta, the engagement was hotly cancelled because again I balked at leading in prayer. But the liberal president let me substitue the episcopal prayer book for extemporaneous prayers. Later I improvised on my own. Finally I faced a crisis: I was using Crapsey's "Religion and Politics" as a Sundayschool text. When Crapsey was hauled up for heresy, I refused further to teach Sunday school. When Archdeacon Henry Phillips my last rector died, I flatly refused again to join any church or sign any church creed. It smacked of hypocrisy. From my thirtieth year on I have increasingly regarded the Church as an institution, which defended such evils as slavery, color caste, and exploitation of labor, and War I think the greatest gift of the Soviet Union to modern civilizton was the dethronment of the clergy and the refusal to let religion be taught in the public schools

9J

~~The silly worship of Virginity and punishment of Fertility~~ the often barbarous

Religion helped and hindered my artistic sense. I know the old English and German hymns by heart. I ~~know~~ their silly words with studied inattention. Great music came at last in the religious oratorios, but burst in Berlin with the Ninth Symphony and its Hymn of Joy. I worshipped Cathredral and ceremony but I knew what I was looking at when a Cardinal became a strike-breaker and the Chruch of Chirst fought the Communism of Chirstianity.

Which I saw in Europe

which was learned at Yale University

Loved their music but ignored their words

I reversed life

I have never killed a bird nor shot a rabbit. I never liked fishing and always let others kill even the chickens which I ate. Nearly all my ~~Pisk~~ schoolmates in the South carried pistols. I never owned one. I could never conceive myself killing a human being. But ~~once~~ in 1906 I rushed back from Alabama to Atlanta where my wife and six year old child were living. A mob had raged for days killing Negroes. I bought a Winchester double-barrelled shot-gun and two dozen rounds of shells filled with buckshot. If a white mob had stepped on the campus where I lived I would without hesitation have sprayed their guts over the grass. They did not come, ~~perhaps because~~ they knew ~~this. This gun was never fired~~ but once. Then by accident into a row of Congressional Records

They went to south Atlanta where the police let them steal and kill. My gun was fired but once and then by error into a row of Congressional Records, which lined the lower shelf of my library.

Blossom 1910–
Varney 1911–16
Nash 1917

Shelby 1917 – 3
Johnson 1920 – 9
White 1920
White 1929–54 – 30

3, 9, 30

10) My attitude toward current problems arose from my long habit of keeping in touch with world affairs by repeated trips to Europe and other parts of the world. I became internationally-minded during my four years at Harvard, two in college and two in the graduate school. It early became my ambition, then, to study in Germany, and when finally I obtained a fellowship from the Slater Fund, I made plans through Albert Bushnell Hart, my Harvard mentor, to enroll at the University of Berlin.

Since that first rip in 1892 I have made fourteen trips to Europe, one of which circled the globe. I have been in most European countries and travelled in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies. Travel became a habit and knowledge of current thought in modern countries was always a part of my study, since before the first World War when the best of American newspapers took but small account of what Europe was thinking.

I can remember meeting in London in 1911 a colored man who explained to me his plan of leading a black army out of Africa and across the Pyrenees. I was thrilled

at his earnestness! But gradually all that disappeared, and I began building a new picture of human progress.

This picture was made more real in 1926 when it became possible for me to take a trip to Russia. I saw on this trip not only Russia, but prostrate Germany, which I had not seen for thirty years. It was a terrible contrast. I visited Leningrad, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod and Kiev, and finally came home by way of Odessa and Constantinople. It was for me a never-to-be-forgotten experience, and it strengthened my basic belief in Socialism as the one great road to progress.

By 1945 all these contacts with foreign peoples and foreign problems and the combination of these problems with the race problem here was forced into one line of thought by the Second World War. This strengthened my growing conviction that the first step toward settling the world's problems was Peace on Earth.

Many men have judged me, favorably and harshly. But the verdict of two I cherish. One knew me in mid-life for fifty years and was without doubt my closest friend. John Hope wrote me in 1918:

"Until the last minute I have been hoping that I would have an opportunity to be with you next Monday when you celebrate the rounding out of fifty years in this turbulent but very attractive world. But now I am absolutely certain that I cannot come, so I am writing to Mr. Shillady expressing my regret and shall have to content myself with telling you in this letter how glad I am that your fiftieth birthday is going to be such a happy one because you can look back on so much good work done. But not the good work alone. What you may look back upon with greatest comfort is good intention. The fact that every step of the way you have purposed to be a man and to serve other people rather than yourself must be a tremendous comfort to you. Sometime soon if I chance to be back in New York I am going to have you take your deferred birthday dinner with me. You do not realize how much that hour or two which we usually spend together when I am in New York means to me." ~~There is a certain solemnity about a man becoming fifty years old. If I am spared until the second day of June I shall be fifty years old.~~

~~JOHN HOPE~~

Six years later another friend whom I found when I came to New York wrote

~~In 1927~~ Joel Spingarn Said

~~Dear Dr. Du Bois,~~

"I have been hoping until the last moment to be able to attend the dinner in your honor, for nothing but an illness that has held me prisoner for weeks, could have kept me away.

"I should like to have given public expression by my presence and by my words, not merely to the sense of personal friendship which has bound us together for fifteen years, but to the gratitude which in common with all other Americans I feel we owe you for your public service. It so happens that by an accident of fate, you have been in the forefront of the great American battle, not merely for justice ~~to~~ to a single race, but against the universal prejudice which is in danger of clouding the whole American tradition of toleration and human equality.

"I congratulate you on your public service, and I congratulate you also on the power of language by which you have made it effective. I know that some people think that an artist is a man who has nothing to say and who writes in order to prove it. The great writers of the world have not so conceived their task, and neither have you. Though your service has been for the most part the noble one of teacher and prophet (not merely to one race or nation but to the world), I challenge the artists of America to show more beautiful passages than some of those in "Dark Water" and "The Souls of Black Folk."

Let one weekend ~~Ever yours,~~ Illustrate the paradox of my life

~~J.E. Spingarn~~

Robert Morss Lovett was perhaps the closest white student friend I made at Harvard, when not long before his last visit to New York (about 1950) he wanted to see and talk with me, he proposed the Harvard Club of which he was a member. I was not. No Negro graduate of Harvard was ever elected to membership in a Harvard club. For a while Jews were excluded, but no longer. I swallowed my pride and met Lovett at the Club. A few months later he died.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEPRESSION

From 1910 to 1920, I had followed ~~the pursuit of~~ sociology as the path to ~~an inseparable~~ ~~pursuit~~ of social reform, and social uplift as a result of scientific investigation. Then, in practice, I had conceived an interracial culture as superseding our goal of a purely American culture. Before I had learned a program for this path, and after throes of bitter racial strife, I had emerged with a program of Pan-Africanism, as organized protection of the Negro world led by American Negroes. But American Negroes were not interested.

Abruptly, I had a beam of new light. Karl Marx was scarcely mentioned at Harvard and entirely unknown at Fisk. At Berlin, he was a living influence, but chiefly in the modification of his theories then dominant in the Social Democratic Party. I was attracted by the rise of this party and attended its meetings. I began to consider myself a socialist. After my work in Atlanta and my advent in New York, I followed some of my white colleagues -- Charles Edward Russell, Mary Ovington, and William English Walling, into the Socialist Party. Then came the Russian Revolution and the fight of England, France and the United States against the Bolsheviks. I began to read Karl Marx. I was astounded and wondered what other areas of learning had been roped off from my mind in the days of my "broad" education. I did not however jump to the conclusion that the new Russia had achieved the ideal of Marx. And when I was offered a chance to visit Russia in 1926, with expenses paid, I carefully stipulated in writing that the visit would not bind me in any way to set conclusions.

My visit to Germany and the Soviet Union in 1926 and then to Turkey and Italy on return, brought change in my thoughts and action. The marks of war were all over Russia — of the war of France and England to turn back the clock of revolution. Wild children were in the sewers of Moscow; food was scarce, clothes were in rags, and the fear of renewed Western aggression hung like a pall. Yet Russia was and still is to my mind, the most hopeful land in the modern world. Never before had I seen a

I resigned when I received a vote for W Dean, William English Walling & Upton Sinclair for Negroes. Also a vote for Theodore Roosevelt, Taft or any unknown candidate

suppressed mass of poor, working people -- people as ignorant, poor, superstitious and cowed as my own American Negroes-- so lifted in hope and starry-eyed with new determination, as the peasants and workers of Russia, from Leningrad and Moscow to Gorki and from Kiev to Odessa. The art galleries were jammed, the theatres crowded, the schools opening in new places and new programs each day; and work was joy. Their whole life was renewed and filled with vigor and ideal, as Youth Day in the Red Square proclaimed.

I saw of course but little of Russia in one short month. I came to no conclusions as to whether the particular form of the Russian state was permanent or a passing phase. I met but few of their greater leaders; only Radek did I know fairly well, and he was imprisoned during the subsequent purge. I do not judge Russia in the matter of war and murder, no more than I judge France and England. But of one thing I am certain: I believe in the dictum of Karl Marx, that the economic foundation of a nation is widely decisive for its politics, its art and its culture. I saw clearly, when I left Russia, that our American Negro belief that the right to vote would give us work and decent wage; would abolish our illiteracy and decrease our sickness and crime, was justified only in part; that on the contrary, until we were able to earn a decent, independent living, we would never be allowed to cast a free ballot; that poverty caused our ignorance, sickness and crime; and that poverty was not our fault but our misfortune, the result and aim of our segregation and color caste; that the solution of letting a few of our capitalists share with whites in the exploitation of our masses, would never be a solution of our problem, but the forging of eternal chains, as India knows to its sorrow.

I did not believe that the Communism of the Russians was the program for America; least of all for a minority group like the Negroes; I saw that the program of the American Communist party was inadequate for our plight. But I did believe that a people where the differentiation in classes because of wealth had only begun, could be

so guided by intelligent leaders that they would develop into a consumer-conscious people, producing for use and not primarily for profit and working into the surrounding industrial organization so as to reinforce the economic revolution bound to develop in the United States and all over Europe and Asia sooner or later. I believed that revolution in the production and distribution of wealth could be a slow, reasoned development and not necessarily a blood bath. I believed that 13 millions of people, increasing albeit slowly in intelligence, could so concentrate their thought and action on the abolition of their poverty, as to work in conjunction with the most intelligent body of American thought; and that in the future as in the past, out of the mass of American Negroes would arise a far-seeing leadership in lines of economic reform.

The Pan-African congresses which I called in 1919, 1921, and 1923, were chiefly memorable for the excitement and opposition which they caused among the colonial imperialists. Scarcely a prominent newspaper in Europe but used them as a text of warning, and persisted in coupling them with the demagogic "Garvey Movement," then in its prime, as a warning for colonial governments to clamp down on colonial unrest. My only important action in this time, was a first trip to Africa, almost by accident, and a vaster conception of the role of black men in the future of civilization.

But here I was going too fast for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The board was not interested in Africa. Following post-war reaction it shrank back to its narrowest program: to make Negroes American citizens, forgetting that if the white European world persisted in upholding and strengthening the color bar, America would follow in its wake.

If it had not been for the depression, I think that through the Crisis, the little monthly which I had founded in 1910, and carried on with almost no financial assistance for twenty years, I could have started this program on the way to adoption by American Negroes. But the depression made the survival of the Crisis dependent on the charity of persons who feared this thought and forced it under the control of influences to whom such a program was Greek. In a program of mere agitation for "rights"

help from the main office of the N.A.A.C.P. This would change my whole conception of The Crisis as an independent organ leading a liberal organization toward radical reform. It was this sting in The Crisis which for thirteen years had made it was it was. But the Board was still mainly conservative; it represented Capital and Investment, and only to a small degree Labor and Socialism. If the Association had to pay for The Crisis it would have a right to determine its policy, not only in broad outline but in every detail.

The financial relations of the Crisis and the NAACP were unusual. I was responsible for the publishing of the magazaine. The NAACP at first paid all my $2500 salary. After two years the Crisis paid half and after four years all the salary; but the NAACP determined its amount. I was responsible for all the other expenses-- salaries of all the clerks and employees, and finally paid our share of the rent. We could incur no debts nor accumulate a back-log At first we had no bank account but when Walter Sachs became treasurer he let me set up a Crisis Fund and draw our own checks. But we could solicit no gifts nor organize any group of "Crisis Associates" to help support us in need. The NAACP promised to meet any deficit we might incur up to $50 a month, but we never called on them for a cent. At times, as for instance when I went abroad for the Second Pan-African Congress, the NAACP ordered my business manager to pay $700 from the Crisis Fund toward my expenses. I made no complaint on this situation. After all the NAACP was the object of the Crisis. It was never a profit-making institution. We could get few advertisements because we were classed as a propaganda organ. I was helped enormously by a Negro, Robert Wood, the first Negro Tammany politician, who was also a printer contractor and gave me unselfish advice in buying paper and securing printers. For 23 years we paid our way. We left no debts and made the NAACP a universally known organization. But when the Depression came we had nothing to fall back on and had to hand over control to the NAACP who legally owned the Crisis It was often suggested to me that I claim at least part ownership and try

to run it as a personal organ. This I refused to consider although I do not doubt but that a good lawyer might have made a case. But my attitude was that the Crisis belonged to the NAACP and that its future value depended on how the NAACP upheld its high ideals. However there was one circumstance whic which worried me and that was the change of secretaries which took place in I93I. James Weldon Johnson had resigned and Walter White had suceede him, and was destined to head the organization for twenty-five years. I knew Walter White

I knew his father and mother; I taught in college his brother and sisters. When in 1917, James Weldon Johnson, our field secretary met White in Atlanta, he suggested to me that White would make a good assistant secretary. I readily concurred and urged his appointment. White could be one of the most charming of men. He was small in stature, appealing in approach, with a ready smile and a sense of humor. Also he was an indefatigable worker, who seemed never to tire. On the other hand he was one of the most selfish men I ever knew. He was absolutely self-centered and egotistical to the point that he was almost unconscious of it. He seemed really to believe that his personal interests and the interest of his race and organization were identical. This led to curious complications.

As assistant to James Weldon Johnson who became Secretary in 1920, White was an outstanding success. He investigated lynchings at great personal risk; and especially, he carried out the plans which Johnson laid down. It was Johnson's strong point to consult widely and decide carefully. White than took over and put the plans to work. For twelve years this team worked harmoniously and well. Then Johnson was invited to the Pacific to study relations and given a fellowship by the Rosenwald fund. White ran the Association during his ~~xxxxxx~~ absence. After Johnson's return he came to me and said that White was not cooperating as usual, At the conference in Cleveland, White had simply done almost no work; Johnson intimated that he would have to resign if he lost the confidence of his executive helper. I think that White had already concluded that he should be secretary instead of working under Johnson.

Nothing more was said but in 1931, Johnson resigned and went to Fisk University. Walter White was elected to succeed him. within a year

¶ White's assumption of office soon set off an explosion. His attitude and actions ~~became~~ were unbearable. The whole staff appealed to me as the senior executive officer to lead a protest to the Board of Directors. As editor of The Crisis, this was not in my line of duty; but on the other hand as one of the incorporators of the Association, I could not shirk this appeal. I wrote a protest and all the staff signed it including the new assistant, Roy Wilkins; and all the older members, Pickens, Bagnall, and others. It was a strong and biting arraignment but all accepted it and signed it. ¶ The Board was deeply moved and while it did not attempt to deny the charges, thought it was too strong and not quite fair. They asked us to withdraw our signatures and promised to investigate the situation. Nearly all the signers, at the urgent request of Joel Spingarn, President of the Board, withdrew their names. But I refused. The matter dropped and was not heard of afterwards. But White radically changed his attitude toward the staff. He became pleasant and approachable. Above all he went to work. He worked hard ~~and~~

White refused humbly before the Board and made every promise of reform

I did not trust Walter White

but went under-ground & accomplish his aims. Many of them soon lost his job; but White never appeared as the cause. Every one who signed the protest except Wilkins, lost his position and Wilkins yielded to White in every request.

P White

[redacted] increased his prestige, and under his administration the Association grew in membership and influence.

[redacted] by 1932 it was evident that The Crisis could survive only if the Association helped support it. As such, The Crisis would become the traditional "organ" of an organization. Moreover, White was increasingly raising the funds which helped keep the N.A.A.C.P. alive. This would soon impose an impossible position for me and a difficult one for White.

I think I may say without boasting that in the period from 1910 to 1930 I was a main factor in revolutionizing the attitude of the American Negro toward caste. My stinging hammer blows made Negroes aware of themselves, confident of their possibilities and determined in self-assertion. So much so that today common slogans among the Negro people are taken bodily from the words of my mouth.

But, of course, no idea is perfect and forever valid. Always to be living and apposite and timely, it must be modified and adapted to changing facts. [redacted] I began to realize [redacted] that the heights and fastnesses which we black folk were assailing, could not in America be gained by sheer force of assault, because of our relatively small numbers. They could only be gained as the majority of Americans were persuaded of the rightness of our cause and joined with us in demanding our recognition as full citizens. This process must deal not only with conscious rational action, but with irrational and unconscious habit, long buried in folkways and custom. Intelligent propaganda, legal enactment, and reasoned action must attack the conditioned reflexes of race hate and change them.

Slowly but surely I came to see that for many years, perhaps many generations, we could not count on any such majority; that the whole set of the white world in America, in Europe, and in the world was too determinedly against racial equality, to give power and persuasiveness to our agitation. Therefore, I began to emphasize and restate certain implicit aspects of my former ideas. I tried to say to the American Negro: during the time of this frontal attack which you are making upon American and European prejudice, and with your unwavering statement and restatement of what is right and just, not only for us, but in the long run, for all men; during this time, there are certain things you must do for your own survival and self-preservation. You must work together and in unison; you must evolve and support your own social institutions; you must transform your attack from the foray of self-assertive individuals to the massed might of an organized body. You must put behind your demands, not simply American Negroes, but West Indians and Africans, and all the colored races of the world. These things I began to say with no lessening, or thought of lessening, of my emphasis upon the essential rightness of what we had been asking for a generation in the political and civic and social equality.

It was clear to me that agitation against race prejudice and a planned economy for bettering the economic condition of the American Negro were not antagonistic ideals but part of one ideal; that it did not increase segregation; the segregation was there and would remain for many years. But now I proposed that in economic lines, just as in lines of literature and religion, united racial action should be planned and organized and carefully thought through. This plan would not establish a

[INSERT PAGE 8]

It was a curious dilemma still unsolved for most American Negroes: the N AACP said "No discrimination based on race and color". But it did not say nor even contemplate what path Negroes would follow when they once became Americans who suffered no discrimination. I tried to face the problem of what to do, assuming that discrimination would last through our life time. The legal department of the NAACP sought to attack discrimination head on. They were beginning to win and in 1954, they won. But this posed another dilemma: the court decision was not enforced and will not be for many years. Meantime what should be our program? We must accept and fight for integrated schools which we do not have in the overwhelming portion of the South where most Negroes live. ~~What shall we do? Leave~~ That leaves the battle to our children and let them learn nothing in school of Negro history, do nothing for Negro culture, have no program for themselves as Americans. I wavered for years, advocating Socialism first as a racial program; then as a national effort and then after this trip of 1958 as a definite and direct ~~movement~~ step to join the world movement toward a Socialism leading toward Communism, and embracing the colored world and that part of the white world willing to give up colonialism and private capitalism. But, as I say, this decision was slow in making. Meantime, I was fighting segregation but simultaneously advocating such segregation as would prepare my people for the struggle they were making

new segregation; it did not advocate segregation as the final solution of the race problem; exactly the contrary; but it did face the facts and faced them with thoughtfully mapped effort.

The N.A.A.C.P. from the beginning faced this bogey. It was not, never had been, and never could be an organization that took an absolute stand against race segregation of any sort under all circumstances. This would be a stupid stand in the face of clear and incontrovertible facts. When the N.A.A.C.P. was formed, the great mass of Negro children were being trained in Negro schools; the great mass of Negro churchgoers were members of Negro churches; the great mass of Negro citizens lived in Negro neighborhoods; the great mass of Negro voters voted with the same political party; and the mass of Negroes joined with Negroes and co-operated with Negroes in order to fight the extension of this segregation and to move toward better conditions. What was true in 1910 was still true in 1940 and will be true in 1970. But with this vast difference: that the segregated Negro institutions are better organized, more intelligently planned and more efficiently conducted, and today form in themselves the best and most compelling argument for the ultimate abolition of the color line.

No sooner had I come to this conclusion than I saw that I was out of touch with my organization and that the question of leaving it was only a matter of time. This was not an easy decision; to give up The Crisis was like giving up a child; to leave the National Association was leaving the friends of a quarter of a century. But on the other hand, staying meant silence, a repudiation of what I was thinking and planning. Under such circumstances, what could I do? I had seen the

especially as the Crisis was no longer self-supporting

modern world as few of my fellow workers had: West African villages, Jamaican homes, Russian communism, German disaster, Italian fascism, Portuguese and Spanish life, France and England repeatedly, and every state in the United States. I knew something of the seething world. I could ~~not~~ seek through my editorship of The Crisis slowly but certainly to change the ideology of the N.A.A.C.P. and of the Negro race into a racial program for economic salvation along the paths of peace and ~~organ-~~ isation. Socialism

When now I came advocating new, deliberate, and purposeful segregation for economic defense in precisely the lines of business and industry whither the N.A.A.C.P. was not prepared to follow, it was not an absolute difference of principle, but it was a grave difference as to further procedure. When I criticized the Secretary for his unsound explanation of the historic stand of the N.A.A.C.P. on segregation, the Board of Directors voted May 21, 1934, "that The Crisis is the organ of the Association and no salaried officer of the Association shall criticize the policy, work, or officers of the Association in the pages of The Crisis." Thereupon I forthwith gave up my connection with the Association saying:

"In thirty-five years of public service my contribution to the settlement of the Negro problems has been mainly candid criticism based on a careful effort to know the facts. I have not always been right, but I have been sincere, and I am unwilling at this late day to be limited in the expression of my honest opinions in the way in which the Board proposes. . . . I am, therefore, resigning, . . . this resignation to take effect immediately." The Board refused to accept this resignation and asked me to reconsider. I did so, but finally wrote, June 26, "I appre-

ciate the good will and genuine desire to bridge an awkward break which your action indicated, and yet it is clear to me, and I think to the majority of the Board, that under the circumstances my resignation must stand." Negotiations followed but there was but one possible decision

In finally accepting my resignation the Board was kind enough to say in part: "He founded The Crisis without a cent of capital, and for many years made it completely self-supporting, reaching a maximum monthly circulation at the end of the World War of 100,000. This is an unprecedented achievement in American journalism, and in itself worthy of a distinguished tribute. But the ideas which he ~~expressed~~ propounded in it and in his books and essays transformed the Negro world as well as a large portion of the liberal white world, so that the whole problem of the relation of black and white races has ever since had a completely new orientation. He created, what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia, and many who have never read a word of his writings are his spiritual disciples and descendants. Without him the Association could never have been what it was and is.

"The Board has not always seen eye to eye with him in regard to various matters, and cannot subscribe to some of his criticism of the Association and its officials. But such differences in the past have in no way interfered with his usefulness, but rather on the contrary. For he had been selected because of his independence of judgment, his fearlessness in expressing his ~~courageous~~ convictions, and his acute and wide-reaching intelligence. A mere yes-man could not have attracted the attention of the world, could not even have stimulated the Board itself to further study of various important problems. We shall be the poorer for his loss, in

intellectual stimulus, and in searching analysis of the vital problems of the American Negro; no one in the Association can fill his place with the same intellectual grasp. We therefore offer him our sincere thanks for the services he has rendered, and we wish him all happiness in all that he may now undertake."

I had already for some years begun to canvass the possibility of a change of work. This, of course, is not easy when a person is over sixty years of age. If he has not had the grace to die before this, he ought, in accordance with prevalent public opinion, at least be willing to stop acting and thinking. I did not agree with that. I thought of many possibilities, but at last determined to accept an offer that had been made to me quietly in 1929, and periodically repeated from time to time when John Hope of Atlanta came to town. We had been close friends since 1897. We taught together until 1910. Hope had joined the Niagara movement and the N.A.A.C.P. We met in France in 1918 while he was a Y.M.C.A. secretary, and I promoting Pan-Africa. Always when he came to New York, we did a theater and a dinner, and discussed the reformation of the world. When he became President of the newly organized Atlanta University, he invited me to join him.

Every American should read the story of John Hope as told by Ridgely Torrence. No one "Colored" a white man with Negro blood and American Negro culture

About 1925, the General Education Board adopted a new program. It had become clear that the studied neglect of the Negro college was going too far; and that the Hampton-Tuskegee program was inadequate even for its own objects. A plan was adopted which envisaged, by consolidation and endowment, the establishment in the South of five centers of University education for Negroes. Atlanta had to be one of these centers, and in 1929 Atlanta University became the graduate school of an

affiliated system of colleges which promised a new era in higher education for Negroes. My life-long friend, John Hope, became president, and immediately began to sound me out on returning to Atlanta to help him in his great enterprise. He promised me leisure for thought and writing, and freedom of expression, so far, of course, as Georgia would permit it.

It seemed to me that a return to Atlanta would not only have a certain poetic justification, but would relieve the N.A.A.C.P. from financial burden during the depression, as well as ~~from the~~ greater efforts of re-considering its essential program.

The untimely death of John Hope in 1936 marred the full fruition of our plans, ~~following my return to Atlanta in 1933~~. These plans in my mind fell into three categories; first, with leisure to write, I wanted to fill in the background of certain historical studies concerning the Negro race; secondly, I wanted to establish at Atlanta University a scholarly journal of comment and research on race problems; finally, I wanted to restore in some form at Atlanta, the systematic study of the Negro problem.

The first thing which hindered this program was the set opposition of Florence ~~Hunty~~ Reed, President of Spelman College, the institution for women in the newly integrated Atlanta University. Miss Reed was a white woman. She was not a scholar but she was a capable executive, who had worked for

I went to Atlanta in 1933 for a series of lectures and the next year became head of the Department of Sociology.

Lauren Spelman was a Rockefeller creation, ~~Spelman had been endowed~~ the Rockefellers had endowed this school

1866 70 1938 — 1915 70 94

267

The Rockefellers and

represent the Rockefeller interests in the new organization. She believed completely in American business methods and was put in her position by those who wanted to placate the white South in every reasonable way and keep the new institution from radical influences. She was very fond personally of John Hope at a time when he needed friendship. She respected me but feared my radical thought in many directions. She was set to act as a balance wheel to Hope's plans for accommodation and my plans for social reform. She delayed the invitation for me to join the University and when I came, delayed some of my proposals. I proposed a quarterly magazine to record the situation of the colored world and guide its course of development. Her opposition delayed the starting of Phylon from 1934 until 1940. She made the reopening of the Atlanta University studies of the Negro Problems much slower than I had hoped and she made my efforts to confer and plan with Hope very difficult. Indeed I fear that the very pressure exerted on him from two of his closest friends depressed Hope very much and contributed to his untimely death. Hope was sensitive and over careful to do no injustice. He was the perfect target for overwork at Atlanta University.

Between 1935 and 1941, I wrote and published three volumes: a study of the Negro in Reconstruction; a study of the black race in history and an autobiographical sketch of my concept of the American race problem. To these I was anxious to add an Encyclopaedia of the Negro. I had planned an "Encyclopedia Africana" in 1909 but my leaving Atlanta for New York postponed this project and the World War prevented its renewal. In 1934 I was chosen to act as editor-in-chief of a new project of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to prepare and publish an Encyclopedia of the Negro. I spent nearly ten years of intermittent effort on this project and secured co-operation from many scholars, white and black, in America, Europe and Africa. But the necessary funds could not be secured. Perhaps again it was too soon to expect large aid for so ambitious a project directed by Negroes and built mainly on Negro scholarship. Nevertheless, a preliminary volume summarizing this effort was published in 1944.

John Hope died in 1936 and after a year Rufus Clement became his successor. Clement was head of a colored municipal college in Louisville and while

[illegible]

not experienced came of a good family and had done some ~~good~~ work in research for his doctorate. I greatly preferred him over Miss Reed who was an active candidate. On his advent I immediately began pushing for my delayed program.

At Atlanta University I celebrated quite elaborately my 70th anniversary. There was a bronze bust by Alexander Portnoff; J.E. Spingarn and James Weldon Johnson spoke; Braithwaite read a poem written for the occasion. I succeeded in getting Phylon published in 1940. I kept it going for the four years that I remained at the University with a subvention of only one thousand dollars a year from the University. We sold it for only a dollar a year. I then began to push the re-establishment of my plan of study of the Negro problem. ~~I posed the situation in 1941~~.

In this we faced the fact that in the twenty-three years which had passed since their discontinuance, the scientific study of the American Negro had spread widely and efficiently. Especially in the white institutions of the South had intelligent interest been aroused. There was, however, still need of systematic, comprehensive study and measurement, bringing to bear the indispensable point of view and inner knowledge of Negroes themselves. Something of this was being done at Fisk University, but for the widest efficiency, large funds were required for a South-wide study. I made a beginning in 1941 and thus explained the situation:

Some eleven million Americans ~~are placed today~~ were in an unenviable position. Theoretically they ~~are~~ were asked to take sides in a struggle between democracy and dictatorship. Realistically, they ~~have~~ had not been able themselves to enjoy many of the advantages of democracy in the United States: two-thirds of them living in the South are almost completely disfranchised; the other third living in the North are compelled to use their political power primarily as means of income. Moreover, beyond themselves and in the general organization of the country they ~~are~~ were unable to see the triumph of democracy for the masses of the people in the nation. ~~American Negroes cannot, therefore, enter into the~~ present controversy ~~with enthusiasm~~. Quite naturally as lifelong victims of caste, autocracy, and privilege, they believe that the democratic way of life ~~will~~ would in

the long run triumph in human government and in economic organization, if civilization survived. They did not believe that democracy has triumphed in the British Empire, nor in America, and they know it had failed in their own case.

On the other hand, facing the menace of Hitlerism as shown in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, they were painfully aware that the increase of race antagonism and exaggerated theories of race threaten many people of the world, and particularly the darker races. Their mental reaction, therefore, in the present situation was a paradox. They know that their progress in America has probably been greater than that of any Negro group in the world; that this was due partly to the cooperation and attitude of white Americans, but in much greater degree to the determination and hard work of Negroes themselves, in spite of slavery and caste. They know, on the other hand, that back of Hitlerism, and one of its strongest foundation stones, was industrial rationalization and state control of economic factors and redistribution of goods and services among the mass of people; to this plan both England and America would have to yield, in the long run.

What, then, must American Negroes do? First of all, as a minority group they are compelled to obey the law and take their place among the armed forces, in spite of the segregation which the basic draft law laid down; and despite the discrimination and other difficulties which the administration of the draft involved. On the other hand, there was in the defense organization opportunities for Negroes which they must recognize as being of the highest importance. They have been systematically and deliberately excluded from many modern techniques. The older technical training which they inherited from slavery and added to through industrial education, has lost much of its importance because of great changes in industrial methods during the last half century. From the newer techniques in mechanics, chemistry and electricity, and in much of mass production, the Negro has been excluded: first, by public opinion; second, by the attitude of employers; third, and especially, by the fact that the great majority of the more powerfully organized

trades unions had sought deliberately to exclude Negroes, no matter what their abilities might be. For a generation the Negro group in the United States in a sense went simultaneously forward and backward, increasing in average intelligence, with notable cases of individual accomplishment; and at the same time losing economic status and receiving a fluctuating but on the whole progressive decrease in average income below that of white workers

A few facts illustrate the fluctuation of Negro employment from 1910 to 1930. Negro farmers and farm laborers have shown steady decrease in actual numbers and in proportion from the beginning of the century; domestic service has wavered decreasing until 1920 and then suddenly increasing under the burden of the depression; artisans fluctuated; blacksmiths steadily decreased; masons decreased rapidly after the first World War; carpenters remained stationary; machinists increased at the time of the first World War and then decreased. The increased use of cement has multiplied the number of plasterers and cement finishers, and painters also increased. Favorable attitudes of the miners union led to an increase of Negro workers in the decadent mining industry. In the manufacturing and mechanical industries, and in transportation and communication, the number of Negroes increased until after the first World War, although chiefly as unskilled laborers. Since 1920, the number has remained about stationary.

The story of the depression as it affected American Negroes, has not yet been adequately attempted. In many great centers of population more than a third of the Negroes went on public charity and more ought to have gone but suffered deliberate discrimination in the South. In addition to this, the greater tragedy was the loss of thousands of farms and homes, the disappearance of savings among the rising Negro middle class, the collapse of Negro business -- banks, insurance, and retail businesses. The economic change deserves to be called revolutionary, because this "middle" class was the upper class in the Negro world in knowledge, training and wealth.

Organizations demanded the displacement of the Negro in industry, and the Ku Klux Klan rose and flourished with new life, largely on this issue. The new organizations of "White Shirts," "Blue Shirts," and the like, spread in the South; and beyond such organized demand, was the widespread feeling in America that in the matter of re-employment and re-adjustment after the depression, the first duty of white Americans was toward white folk and that consideration of long service and desert and need ought not to be taken into account across the Color Line.

Under the New Deal the Negro came in for some attention, but the pressing question was chiefly as to how far discrimination against him should be recognized either in wage, hours of work, or employment under any circumstances. Also starting with the New Deal came a rationalization of the displacement of the Negro worker due to efforts toward raising wages. When minimum wages and standards of work have been enforced by law or made advisable by public opinion, in numberless cases poorly paid Negro workers were replaced by white workers with better wages and better hours of work. The resultant natural increase in efficiency has often been attributed to racial replacement alone. In the labor movement, the organization of the CIO gave Negroes far better recognition than the American Federation of Labor ever had. Despite all this, unemployment among Negroes reached a dangerous height.

This worked for social dislocation among Negroes. It is difficult to get figures, but certainly spread of disease must have greatly retarded the Negro population; and stealing and homicide must have been largely augmented. A general philosophy arose tinged with irritation and despair. Pressure groups demanding employment and even threatening violence appeared in Chicago, New York, and Washington. Their success both encouraged and appalled.

A rough calculation of Negro incomes which I essayed in 1939 had to be largely guesswork because of lack of data; and yet it seemed to indicate that of over 2,800,000 Negro families in the United States, 1,200,000 were receiving less than $500 a year and 1,000,000 between $500 and $1,000; leaving 600,000 families with $1,000 a year or more a year,

of whom only one-tenth received more than $2,500. This estimate is not accurate, and may be too low, but I believe that it is not an unfair indication of the truth. Housing and youth projects have helped Negroes greatly, but only indirectly have they faced the basic problem of employment and income.

The years of the depression and of the New Deal illustrated the complicated currents which influenced me. I was for example born in a world which was not simply fundamentally capatalistic, but had no conception of any system except one in which capital was privately owned. Whatever was mentioned in school, or in books, did not fundamentally contradict that what a man made or received as gift or inheritance was his to do with as he wished. A wages contract might be entered into in thich the laborers work was balanced against the savings of the man who hired him. I remember hearing my grandmother in sharp and angry arguement with a white land owner, for whose father she had worked. She was insisting that the wages paid had not been fair, and he was retorting that the fact that they had been received without complaint at the time, settled the matter. The truth concerning the wages contract remained largely hidden from me, because I had so little actual contact with artisans and workers. I never saw the inside of the cotton mills in our town. I knew little of the actual work of carpenters and plumbers. My relatives had moved from farming to house service, or to work in hotels, and not in factories. My cousin Ned, a kind and intelligent young man, who had gone through the elementary schools, but who died in his thirties, as a hotel waiter, with never a chance and probably little fault of being anything more. In High School and college, socialism meant to me some amelioration of the wages contract, more human relations between employer and employee, but it involved no fundamental study of Marxism. While I was at Harvard, Frank Taussing taught a course in the wages fund. It followed Ricardo, and never touched Marx. Later my long and continuous fight for racial equality landed me in a curious spiritual provincialism, from which I did not extricate myself until later in life. What I wanted was the same economic opportunities that white Americans had. Beyond this I was not thinking, and did not realize what wretched exploitation white

Americans and white workers of all sorts faced and had faced in the past, and would face in years to come. Although a student of social progress, I did not know the labor development in the United States. I was bitter at lynching, but not moved by the treatment of white miners in Colorado or Montana. I never sang the song of Joe Hill, and the terrible strike at Lawrence Massachusetts did not stir me, because I knew that factory strikers like these would not let a Negro work beside them or live in the same town. It was hard for me to outgrow this mental isolation, and to see that the plight of the white workers was fundamentally the same as that of the black. Even if the white worker helped enslave the black.

When now the depression came and thousands of workers, black and white, were starving in the thirties, I began to awake and to see in the socialism of the New Deal, emmancipation for all workers, and the labor problem, which included the Negro problem. I knew that Hitler and Mussolini were fighting Communism, and using race prejudice to make some white people rich and all colored peoples poor. But it was not until later that I realized that the colonialism of Great Britain and France had exactly the same object and methods as the facists and the Nazi's were trying to clearly use. While going through this transformation, I found myself fighting for such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority, and also opposing Roosevelt because in his industrial organization he deliberately provided lower wages for southern Negro workers. I even brought myself to sympathize with Roosevelt when he strove to use American wealth to save the British empire, not realizing that the British empire had been built on the same exploitation of land and labor and race hate which Hitler and Mussolini were planning to establish, so that they could rule the world. I blamed the Communists when their agitation made the ignorant Scottsboro boys suffer for the sins of others, and failed to give those same Communists credit for making the Scottsboro case known to the civilized world. It was not until I saw the

miracle of modern China that I realized how splendidly and surely the world could be led by the working class; even when at times they wavered and made vast mistakes.

The advent of the second World War finds the Negro fighting desperately for a place in the new defense industry and accomplishing something; but in the long run that is a passing and minor matter as compared with the general economic future when the world is again sane and at peace, and when the world's whole pattern of income, work, and wage will be found radically altered.

There looms, then, before colored men of education and vision the question as to what can be done by thought and planning for the future of Negro economy, for solving the question as to how the Negro is going to earn a decent living and be in position to take a normal part in the future world. If economic planning for nations presents great difficulties, similar planning for national minorities is unusually hazardous. It faces all the difficulties of racial segregation, of artificial loyalties and increased animosities; so that among Negroes today there is serious difference of opinion, first as to whether any such economic planning is possible; and secondly, whether it is in any way advisable. Can a group within a group plan for its work and wage except as a part of a larger group and in accordance with the will of the majority? And even if it can, is not this a direct and dangerous way of increasing racial friction?

Whatever the answer to this question is, manifestly it is a time for careful conference and thought. Several such conferences have been held, notably at Hampton Institute, Fisk University, and elsewhere. But they have been primarily concerned with the integration of the Negro in the defense program. It seemed to me at Atlanta University that a further movement was necessary -- that is, a series of conferences looking toward a long-time program of Negro economic stabilization after the war.

CHAPTER XIX

I RETRURN TO THE NAACP

Howard University, Fisk University and North College for Negroes offered me work after my retirement. For the most part it was for lectures and part time employment. Then came an unexpected offer for me to return to the employment of the NAACP which I had helped to found and from which I had resigned in 1933. I had had at various times requests to cooperate with the NAACP -- to attend mass meetings, to take part in Spingarn medal installations, to serve on committees, etc. I had stedfastly refusdd in order to avoid seeming to interfere in any way with an organization from which I had parted. And especially because I never had come to trust the Secretary, Walter White. But now I was without employment to support me and my family and two men whom I regarded as close ffiends urged me to give serious heed to this invitation;

Arthur Spingarn and Louis Wright. Spingarn's brother was one of my closest friends before his untimely death. I believed that Arthur was also a friend, although we had not been thrown as closely together. Louis Wright I had known from his youth. His step-father was my family physician and since I had come to New York Louis also a physician had willingly taken care of me and my family without charge.

These two friends assured me that a real welcome awaited me at the NAACP. They said that Walter White was the chief mover in this offer and urged my acceptance. I wrote them in detail and at last came to New York to consult Arthur Spingarn, Louis Wright, Walter White and Hubert Delaney. I asked a salary of $5000; two offices, one for myself and library and one for my secretary; I wanted leisure to write and assured tham that I expected no role in the executive department of the organization; that I would be glad to revive the Pan-African movement and give general attention to the foreign aspects of the race problem. The committee assented to everything, willingly although nothing was reduced to writing except my letters.

As events soon proved, in my invitation to return to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, there were three conflicting ideas as to what my status would be. My own thought was that I was to have no power or place in the regular organization except to give such advice as I was asked for. I was to have freedom to write and express my opinions avoiding of course anything that would hurt the organization. I was to continue the long interrupted interest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Africa, by calling Pan African Congresses and consulting with them. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored Pople might be able to help finance such Congresses, and perhaps other methods of assisting the Africans, but that naturally would be at the discretion of the main organization under the secretary, Walter White.

But I naturally expected to work and to have an area of work which was mine. That I would continue to think and express and publish my thoughts; that in fine I would continue to be myself, working in cooperation but not in complete subordination to anybody. It did not occur to me that anyone would expect or ask that.

On the other hand, as his actions later developed, Walter White expected me to help him by writing such documents as he needed, by ~~representing~~ appearing for him on such public occasions as he wished, and in general to act as ghost writer and representative. It was for this reason that he did not want me to occupy separate offices, or to take any action which he did not ~~permit and~~ initiate. The ~~three~~ third theories of my new status was a theory of my two friends, my former physician, Louis Wright, who was chairman of the Board of Directors, and the brother of one of my closest friends, Arthur Spingarn, who was President of the Association. They assumed with some

that at seventy-six my life work was done. That what I wanted was leisure and comfort and that what I would willingly give in return to act as window-d dressing, to say a proper word now and then and give the Association and its secretary moral support. This theory did not occur to me. I had no thought of doing nothing or of subordinating myself entirely tok anybody in thought o or deed. I was determined not to try to run the Association and I wanted to cooper ate with Walter White in every possible way (Ever)

Since the donations from the philanthropists never became large, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People depended more and more on membership dues. The three first of the secretaries, Shillady, Johnson and White increased this source of support, until Negroes were themselves paying mainly the cost of their emancipation. Especially under White, the income increased rapidly, and with it his power and independence. The Board of Directors became chiefly window dressing, and real power of the organization lay in the hands of an executive committee, who were selected by White from among his subordinate appointees.

I returned to the NAACP after an absence of ten years during which I had not followed closely its development. The results astonished me. The income had quadrupled, the membership approached a half-million; the staff had tripled or more. It had become a big business, smoothly run and extraordinarily influential. The newspapers vied for its releases, courts listened to its attorneys, and men of prominence accepted readily places on its Board of Directors.

One thing, however, filled me with foreboding: almost every vestige of democratic method and control had disappeared from the organization. This change slapped me hard in the face within three months. I had hesitated in accepting this work; repeatedly during my sojourn at Atlanta, I had refused invitations from Mr. White to sttend NAACP meetings and to cooperate in other ways. Invariably I had refused because I did not like Mr. White's methods nor did I trust his personal attitude toward me.

But it never occurred to me that anybody, least of all a group of my friends would have so poor an opinion of me as to think I would be willing utterly to efface myselfand sink into silent senility.

No sooner however had I reached New York than ominous things occurred which I tried to ignore. I was expected to join the NAACP in August; but the United States Government invited me to join their organization in Haiti and lecture before the teachers as a Summer conference. I thought this an ideal start of my work, but White objected. When I pressed the necessity of acceptance, White declared that my salary could not be paid while I was in Haiti. However Spingarn and Wright intervened and in the end all was amicably adjusted. However when in September I reported for my duties at the NAACP, I found that despite the rush for my presence, my promised office space was not ready for me, and indeed for the 4 years that I remained I was never furnished the offices promised. I was jammed -- books, desk and secretary -- in one office about five by ten feet, where the voices of the whole organization were plainly audible. Most of my books and office paraphernalia had to be stored. I asked and protested about adequate quarters but got no results until the secretary took a trip to the military front in Asia and loaned me his own office during his absence.

This was in 1945 and the meeting of the UNO in San Francisco was projected. The NAACP was asked to send a consultant and the Board of Directors of the NAACP selected me. I corresponded with interested persons, especially Negroes and was making ready to start to San Franciso when White without notice appeared on the scene and took back his offices. Also when final authorization came from Washington, White was set down as Consultant and I as assistant. The NAACP Board was not consulted. I made no complaint since as secretary he undoubtedly would have been so designated had he been in the country. Yet it was his ~~acquaintanceship~~ maneuvering in Washington which enabled him without notice to me or the Board to change my

Noone but a writer can realize what lack of office facilities means to an author. I had had beautiful and commodious offices in Atlanta. My first request on considering coming back to the NAACP was office accomodations. I remembered my offices which I occupied from 1910 to 1933 and while I did not insist on similar accomodations I did want comfort, space and quiet. I asked this clearly and there was no whisper of objection. It proved however that this was the one thing to which White objected. He wanted me visibly at his elbow so that at no point could my subordination to him be doubted. I did not dream of this reaction of his and could not understand why in all New York he could not find me office space

designation. I went with him and rendered every service I could. I wrote statements and appeals; wrote a daily column in the San Francisco Chronicle and consulted men like John Foster Dulles. Yet White was the official representative of the NAACP and was consulted in many cases where I was not invited.

When I returned to New York, no offices were yet ready. I protested to Spingarn and Wright and to the Board of Directors, but got no results. ~~It began to dawn on me that the understanding was that I was to obey Walter White or go.~~ This seemed to me wretchedly unfair, ~~but~~ finally I hired offices for myself, ~~secretary and books~~ on Sixth Avenue and 42nd St. in the suite of a friend. I paid $476 for these out of my own pocket ~~and despite my request was never reimbursed~~. However it was true that the NAACP offices were crowded and that ~~when~~ the organization was moving ~~moved to the~~ into a new building which was being purchased on 40th St. I hoped to have the space there promised. I laid my plight before Mr. Spingarn in person, with plans based on the new building.

By this time after much delay I had finally arranged for attending the Fifth Pan-African Congress in England. In the four years in which I remained with the NAACP I attended the Fifth Pan African Congress in England, wrote two books on colonies and Africa, edited two others and wrote many articles, pamphlets and newspaper columns. I attended several conferences and travelled 20,000 miles to deliver 150 lectures on subjects connected with my work for the NAACP as I conceived it. I was instructor for two semesters at the New School for Social Research in New York and I was guest speaker at Vassar, Yale and Princeton.

I was however taken aback when I saw how the organization was being conducted. At first I attended meetings of the Board of which I was not a member. Few Directors usually attended. Their work was to accept the report of the Committee on Administration which consisted of the secretary, and his five assistants whom he appointed; and nine members of the Board, only two or three of whom usually attended. Unfinished business of the Board was referred to this committee. There was little discussion at Board meetings and the chief work was to accept the report of the Committee of Administration after brief discussion

G

I was included in the invitation and thought my presence was desired

278

after brief discussion.

Once the secretary summoned a staff conference for general criticism. It was at a suburban resort and elaborately conducted. I wrote a general criticism pointing out that the executive was trying to do too many things and not giving his helpers enough initiative and authority. The statement won wide assent, but it was given no attention and no further conferences were called.

The result of this close dictatorship was soon apparent in my work. I tried to confine myself to my department of relations of the organization to Africa, colored people and colonies. But try as I did I could get no action nor directive as to this work.

Walter White soon undoubtedly set out to get rid of me. In 1946, he accused me before the Board of Directors of appearing before a Congressional Committee without his consent. This was Connally's committee on assent to the Charter of the United Nations. They invited me as an individual and not as representative of the NAACP. My first words in testifying were that I spoke for no organization and only for myself. Walter White was also invited but did not go.

Next he accused me of interfering with a court case on school segregation being tried by the NAACP in Dayton, Ohio. This was my answer to one of dozens of letters asking my opinion on many subjects. In this case I was asked my present interpretation of a passage in my "Dusk of Dawn". My answer expressed my personal opinion. Finally White demanded the right to open and read my mail for the reason that many persons wrote me as an officer of the NAACP rather than as an individual. I assured the secretary that I would turn over to him immediately any letter which came to me but belonged in his hands; but that under no circumstances could he open mail addressed to me. I saw the handwriting on the wall, but I was sure that my two sponsoring friends would see the attack being made on me and stand by me.

In 1946 I was asked to visit Columbia S.C. and speak to a meeting of the Southern Negro Race Congress, whose leaders, James Jackson and Louis Burnham, I knew

and admired for their hard work and sacrifice. They had called a "Southern Youth Legislature" in the former center of secession with white and Negro members. I went and said in part:

"The future of American Negroes is in the South. Here three hundred and twenty-seven years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America; here they have made their greatest contribution to American culture; and here they have suffered the damnation of slavery, the frustration of reconstruction and the lynching of emancipation. I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South as the battle-ground of a great crusade. Here is the magnificent climate; here is the fruitful earth under the beauty of the Southern sun; and here if anywhere on earth, is the need of the thinker, the worker and the dreamer. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the colored races; and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalistic monopoly."

"There has always been in the South that intellectual elite who saw the Negro problem clearly. They have always lacked and some still lack the courage to stand up for what they know is right. Nevertheless they can be depended on in the long run to follow their own clear thinking and their own decent choice. Finally even the politicians must eventually recognize the trend in the world, in this country, and in the South. James Byrnes, that favorite son of this commonwealth, and Secretary of State of the United States, is today occupying an indefensible and impossible position; and if he survives in the memory of men, he must begin to help establish in his own South Carolina something of that democracy which he has been recently so loudly preaching to Russia. He is the end of a long series of men whose eternal damnation is the fact that they looked truth in the face and did not see it; John C. Calhoun, Wade Hampton, Ben Tillman are men whose names must ever be besmirched by the fact that they fought against

freedom and democracy in a land which was founded upon Democracy and Freedom.

"'Behold the beautiful land which the Lord thy God hath given thee.' Behold the land, the rich and resourceful land, from which for a hundred years its best elements have been running away, its youth and hope, black and white, scurrying North because they are afraid of each other, and dare not face a future of equal, independent, upstanding human beings, in a real and not a sham democracy.

"To rescue this land, in this way, calls for the Great Sacrifice; This is the thing that you are called upon to do because it is the right thing to do. Because you are embarked upon a great and holy crusade, the emancipation of mankind black and white; the upbuilding of democracy; the breaking down, particularly here in the South, of forces of evil represented by race prejudice in South Carolina; by Lynching in Georgia; by disfranchisement in Mississippi; by ignorance in Louisiana and by all these and monopoly of wealth in the whole South.

"There could be no more splendid vocation beckoning to the youth of the twentieth century, after the flat failures of white civilization, after the flamboyant establishment of an industrial system which creates poverty and the children of poverty which are ignorance and disease and crime; after the crazy boasting of a white culture that finally ended in wars which ruined civilization in the whole world; in the midst of allied peoples who have yelled about democracy and never practised it either in the British Empire or in the American Commonwealth or in South Carolina.

"Here is the chance for young women and young men of devotion to lift again the banner of humanity and to walk toward a civilization which will be free and intelligent; which will be healthy and unafraid; and build in the world a culture led by black folk and joined by peoples of all colors and races -- without poverty, ignorance and disease!"

In 1945 I had planned an appeal to the Commission on Human Rights of the UN, in behalf of American Negroes and their disabilities. I had proposed a pamphlet which I would edit and to which a group of experts would contribute articles. I secured the cooperation of Earl Dickerson, Milton Korvitz, William R. Ming, Jr., Leslie S. Perry and Rayford Logan. To this appeal of 80 pages I wrote an introduction.

~~Further difficulty came in the matter of the NAACP appeal to the UN.~~ When the affair was ready for the press, the Secretary, without consulting me as editor, held it up for weeks because he wanted to add an introduction by himself. I pointed out that for a pamphlet of less then 100 pages there was no call for two introductions, and that my introduction of 14 pages was an integral part of the plan. After further and unnecessary delay the appeal was issued. At first the Human Rights Commission refused to receive it except for filing. At last however the appeal was received formally by an Undersecretary and at a public meeting. Walter White made the speech of presentation, ~~and I followed~~.

One other development of the NAACP gradually dawned on me. The organization had divided into two parts: A Legal Department under Arthur Spingarn as chairman and Thurgood Marshall as legal director, occupied separate offices and was supported by a separate fund. Although still a department of the NAACP, they were largely independent of the executive secretary and their work was decided by decision of a few men. They achieved unexpected and extraordinary success in a series of court decisions which culminated in the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954, outlawing race segregation in schools and other public facilities. To me this success was beyond anything I had dreamed. But it proved two things which the public did not realize: 1. No such decision would have been possible without the world pressure of Communism led by the Soviet Union. It was simply impossible for the United States to continue to lead a "Free World" with race segregation kept legal over a third of its territory. 2. Legal enactment and decision in the United States is necessary but it does not ensure action. The South is rebelling against this Supreme Court decision and for many years will have its way; not forever but long enough to ruin the education of millions of black and white children.

Then came the political campaign of 1948. I have never belonged to an active political organization, but I have expressed my views on candidates since the election of 1912. I early donned a Wallace button and let it be known that I was going to support him. A poll in the NAACP office showed that 70% of the staff favored Wallace. I was then warned by the Secretary not to take part in "political activity". I replied that I

certainly would be careful not to appear to speak for the NAACP nor to take the time for active political work; but I assumed that I had the right to vote and to tell my choice; that this was what the NAACP had stood for for 30 years. The Secretary merely reiterated that the Board insisted that no salaried employee should take part in politics. When later at a non-political meeting in Philadelphia, I advised the audience to vote for Wallace, I was careful to preface my remarks by saying that I did not officially speak for the NAACP or any official. I was rebuked by the Secretary for this, while at the same time he was making a nation-wide drive for Truman, by letter, newspaper articles, telegram, and public speech.

In 1947 the Human Rights Commission of the UN scheduled a meeting in Paris at which our Appeal would be considered. Walter White decided, himself, to attend. Naturally I regarded White's trip at this point as interfering into a matter which was in my domain. He asked for memoranda from me which I furnished. Then he asked for a second memorandum from me which I refused to write until the Board of Directors took some action on the matter of just what my area of work was.

Here again I quite misconceived the attitde of the Board toward me and my work. I was to have no area of work which was mine. I was to be completely at the direction of the secretary. He could direct or interfere as he chose and he was the judge as to whatwas the properprocedure. In a tight modern business corporarion this has become standard procedure. But I could not conceive being asked to function in such acapacity. Surely in my nearly fifty years of work for the American Negro ~~I had earned~~ I had earned the right to some small niche where I could think and act with reasonable freedom

The Board paid not the slightest attention to my request. Indeed since I sent it in care of the secretary it is quite possible that the Board never received it at all.

White prepared to sail before the next meeting of the Board.

At Geneva nothing important took place. The Soviet delegate tried to take up our appeal and another appeal from women. But Mrs. Roosevelt and Daniels objected. Mr. White not being a member of the Commission did not even have the right to attend its meeting.

I sent a memorandum to each member of the Board protesting against the handling of this case which lay in my department. And protesting also against the political activity of the Secretary and his representation of his appointment as consultant to the UNO as reason for supporting Truman. I pointed out that the Annual Meeting of the NAACP to which I was not invited, was turned into a Truman rally. I sent copies of this protest to the Board, and the office staff. I did not send any copy of this protest to any newspaper

then took a decision adv. 9

nor did I speak to any newspaper reporter.

The Board promptly dismissed me from my position effective December 31. They did not discuss at all the facts, but dismissed me for refusing "to cooperate" with the Secretary and for distributing my memorandum before the Meeting of the Board.

A considerable number of persons now urged me to lead a fight protesting my treatment and planning a reorganization of the NAACP. I refused. I was too old for such a task which was the duty of younger persons. Moreover White was not wholly responsible for what had happened. Much of the blame lay on the shoulders of my two friends at whose insistence I had returned to the NAACP. I now realized that between Spingarn and Wright on the one hand and the secretary on the other, there had been an understanding that at any time White could not get along with me, I was to go. They assumed that my days of work were over and they wanted to furnish me leisure and dignity before death. White, on the other hand, wanted me for window dressing, someone who would boost his prestige with reports which he would use and speeches made at his direction. On the other hand I myself had not even at the age of eighty felt any serious diminution of my power to work or to follow my ideals. I could not work as long or reason so quickly; but in joining the NAACP I had no thought of sitting down and doing nothing; and it never occurred to me that I would be expected to act as show piece or figure head for someone else.

I started in to do a job and I was succeeding when White decided that my work interfered with his and he asked Spingarn and Wright to redeem their promise. They hesitated. They asked me once when I had appealed to them about office space. "Why do you work so hard? Why not take it more leisurely?" I did not understand. I merely smiled and proceeded to point out that in the newly purchased headquarters I had been alloted a small office of some 10 by 12 feet for myself and secretary, 2500 books ten file-cases and office furniture. They pointed out that the new offices were too small and that the growing legal department was seriously cramped and needed even the

space that I was occupying.

Finally I was not dismissed because of my radical thought — this was never discussed; nor for disobeying the Secretary or the rules of the organization. I was dismissed on the technical charge of sending to the newspapers facts about a difference of opinion between the secretary and myself over furnishing him more data for his trip to the Human Relations Conference in Paris. This in fact I had not done and told this to the Board. But I added that if the newspapers had asked me [13] about this difference I would have stated the facts. For this the Board dismissed me.

The NAACP has a noble record of which all Negroes and all Americans should be proud. All the more reason that its future path be guided by wisdom and by use of that vast reservoir of human knowledge and experience which ~~we call~~ (can be called into use by) democracy. It is difficult to guide a mass of people. Continually we are tempted to use our own limited knowledge and experience to push through decisions and compel action, instead of trusting the slower, muddled and hesitating development of mass action. Yet without this action we land in tyranny and fatal mistake. The hundred thousands of members of the NAACP are not people of the highest education or widest experience. But that is no excuse for turning their most effective organ of protest and progress into a fascist dictatorship, virtually under the control of one man. We see too much of this attitude already current in (America, in) the broad areas of business and industry; in the organized church; in social reform and uplift of every sort; in politics and government; it is the growing custom to narrow control, concentrate power, disregard and disfranchise the public; and assuming that certain persons by divine right (of money raising) or by sheer assumption, have the power to do as they think best without consulting the wisdom of mankind.

It is the tragedy of the day that the democracy of which we prate so glibly is being murdered in the house of its friends, and in everyday life far more than in broad governmental decisions. The nation which cannot conduct its philanthropy in a democratic manner, will not in the end convince the world that it knows more of good government abroad than it does at home.

The present condition of the NAACP illustrates what I have said. The NAACP is today divided in two parts, with separate offices, officials and funds. The Legal Department is under control of two lawyers; one a conservative white man, honest and careful, trained as an expert in conserving the private funds of the rich and well-to-do. He has had broad human contacts, but he has no sympathy with radical thought or experiment. The other lawyer is a talented colored man, trained in the strict field of current law and with narrow cultural background. These men have collected a fund which they administer and pursued a line of legal attack on color castse with extraordinary sucess, culminating with the epoch-making decision of the Supreme Court against segregation by race in the public schools. They have drawn around them a number of able young helpers and are supported by the strong public opinion of the nation, black and white. Walter White tried several times in vain to interfere with their work but never suceeded.

The remaining field of the NAACP has to do with social uplift of all sorts: education, housing, occupations, race relations, literature and art, history , science and social progress of every sort. Here rests the whole theory of the future of the Negro race in America and its relation to the Negroes of Africa and the West Indies, and the Colored peoples of the world. It matters not how many may think that these relations may be ignored, the fact is that they must be considered. Moreover and beyond this, the relations of American Negroes to the working people of America and to the Socialist and Communist movements of the world have got to be matters of grave and present consideration. The whole world is confronting thesae problems, while the NAACP the greatest organization among fifteen million of the most advanced group of Negroes in the world has no program or leadership; no experts, no commentators or leaders but can only answer to each problem with the parrot-like call " No Discrimination". This was the slogan of the last generation. It is desperately inadequate today

Given no race discrimination, Negro citizens must still face modern problems and for a long time face them as a group, working together because of blood relationship and cultural ties. For this they must organize, plan and work: how can they plan to live with friends and acquaintances; how shall the history of Negroes be taught; what occupations shall their children be prepared to follow, what shall their attitude be toward Socialism and Communism, and especially toward the Soviet Union and China who above all nations fight the very color bar which we try to get rid of. All these matters call for trained knowledge and expert advice and wide experience.

This the main office of the NAACP today lacks. Its secretary has been trained as a newspaper reporter; he is ~~pleasant~~ intelligent and good-willed but lacks all training in social science, has travelled little and has no broad background of education; he has a staff of excellent clerks but not a single professional social ~~st~~ worker, artist ~~or~~ or research specialist, writer. The branches and their officials have no scientifically planned program except to raise money and defend cases of injustice or discrimination in courts. The organization fears the processes of democracy and avoids discussion. All meetings and programs are "fixed". When a North Carolina official voices what every Negro at sometime has thought -- namely retaliation for attack and injustice-- there is no discussion, but he is buried by a prepared vote. What is demanded is wide planning, thoughtful cooperation, organized social work and the selection of men and women of genius and training to solve one of the most difficult of modern problems of race relations

Above all the American Negro needs to be taught to read ~~literature~~ and to support a school of art and literature which will preserve ~~their~~ his history and culture and add to the great treasure of human accomplishment; rather than let the unique and marvelous life and experience of the black race in America be lost to memory as it threatens to be today.

CHAPTER ~~XXII~~ XXIII

MY TENTH DECADE

My ninetieth birthday was a surprising occassion. Friends wanted to celebrate it, but I recoiled. Who would sponser such an event? There had I admitted been some pleasant occurrences. I had a successfull television interview over the Dumont Broadcasting system; my bust by Zorach had been accepted by the New York Public Library and installed in the Schomburg Collection at the 135th. street branch. At the dedication Franklin Frazier, Judge Jane Bolin and Van Wyck Brooks took part. Tablet, the official organ of the Brooklyn diocese of the Roman Catholic church, naturally added one sour note, writing the library "This corporation writes to enquire whether you would accept a bust of Benedict Arnold, which we would be happy to present to you."

I spoke at Paul Robeson's sixtieth birthday:

"The persecution of Paul Robeson by the government and people of the United States during the last nine years has been one of the most contemptible happenings in modern history. Robeson has done nothing to hurt or defame this nation. He is, as all know, one of the most charming, charitable and loving of men. There is no person on earth who ever heard Robeson slander or even attack the land of his birth. Yet he had reason to despise America. He was a blackman; the son of black folk whom Americans had stolen and enslaved. Even after his people's hard won and justly earned freedom, America made their lot as near a hell on earth as was possible. They discouraged, starved and insulted them. They sneered at helpless black children. Someone once said that the best punishment for Hitler would be to paint him black and send him to the United States. This was no joke. To struggle up as a black boy in America; to meet jeers and blows; to meet insult with silence and discrimination with a smile; to sit with fellow students who hated you and work and play for the honor of a college that disowned you -- all this was America for Paul Robeson. Yet he fought the good fight; "He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief and we hid as it were our faces from Him; He was despised and we esteemed Him not."

"Why? Why? Not because he attacked this country. Search Britain and France, the Soviet Union and Scandinavia for a word of his against America. What then was his crime? It was that while he did not rail at America he did praise the Soviet Union; and he did that because it treated him like a man and not like a dog; because he and his family for the first time in life were welcomed like human beings and he was honored as a great man. The children of Russia clung to him, the women kissed him; the workers greeted him; the state named mountains after him. He loved their homage. His eyes were filled with tears and his heart with thanks. Never before had he received such treatment. In America he was a "nigger" in Britain he was tolerated; in France he was cheered; in the Soviet Union he was loved for the great artist that he is. He loved the Soviet Union in turn. He believed that every black man with blood in his veins would with him love the nation which first outlawed the color line.

"I saw him when he voiced this. It was in Paris in 1949 at the greatest rally for world peace this world ever witnessed. Two thousand persons from all the world filled the Salle Pleyel from floor to rafters. Robeson hurried in, magnificent in height and breadth, weary from circling Europe with song. The audience rose to a man and the walls thundered. Robeson said that his people wanted Peace and "would never fight the Soviet Union". I joined with the thousands in wild acclaim.

"This, for America, was his crime. He might hate anybody. He might join in murder around the world. But for him to declare that he loved the Soviet Union and would not join in war against it -- that was the highest crime that the United States recognized. For that, they slandered Robeson; they tried to kill him at Peekskill; they prevented him from hiring halls in which to sing; they prevented him from travel and refused him a passport. His college RUTGERS lied about him and dishonored him. And above all, his own people, American Negroes, joined in hounding one of their greatest artists -- not all, but men like Langston Hughes, who wrote of Negro Musicians and deliberately omitted Robeson's name-- Robeson who more than any living man has spread the pure Negro folk song over the civilized world. Yet has Paul Robeson kept his soul and stood his ground. Still he loves and honors the Soviet Union. Still he has hope for America.

Still he asserts his faith in God. But we -- what can we say or do; nothing but hang our heads in endless shame."

On my ninetieth birthday, my friends invited my well-wishers to a party at the Roosevelt Hotel. No body of sponsers could be found, but Angus Cameron acted as chairman, and Eslanda Robeson as treasurer. Two thousand persons were present including my own great grandson, who behaved with exemplary decorum. I addressed my remarks to him. I quote from the National Guardian:

"The most distinguished guest of this festive occasion is none other than my great-grandson, Arthur Edward Mc Farlane II, who was born this last Christmas day. He has kindly consented to permit me to read to you a bit of advice which, as he remarked with a sigh of resignation, great-grandparents are supposed usually to inflict on the helpless young. This then is my word of advice.

"As men go, I have had a reasonably happy and successful life, I have had enough to eat and drink, have been suitably clothed and, as you see, have had many friends. But the thing which has been the secret of whatever I have done is the fact that I have been able to earn a living by doing the work which I wanted to do and that work was what the world needed done.

"I want to stress this. You will soon learn, my dear young man, that most human beings spend their lives doing work which they hate and work which the world does not need. It is therefore of prime importance that you early learn what you want to do; how you are fit to do it and whether or not the world needs this service. Here, in the next 20 years, your parents can be of use to you. You will soon begin to wonder just what parents are for besides interfering with your natural wishes. Let me therefore tell you: parents and their parents are inflicted upon you in order to show what kind of person you are, what sort of world you live in and what the persons who dwell here need for their happiness and well-being.

"Right here, my esteemed great-grandson, may I ask you to stick a pin. You will find it the fashion in the America where eventually you will live and work to judge that life's work by the amount of money it brings you. This is a grave mistake. The return from your work must be the satisfaction which that work brings you and the world's need of that work.

With this, life is heaven or as near heaven as you can get. Without this--with work which you despise, which bores you and which the world does not need-- this life is hell. And believe me, many a $25,000-a-year executive is living in just such a hell today.

Income is not greenbacks, it is satisfaction; it is creation; it is beauty. It is the supreme sense of a world of men going forward, lurch and stagger though it may, but slowly, inevitably going forward, and you, you yourself with your hand on the wheels. Make this choice then, my son. Never hesitate, never falter.

And now comes the word of warning: the satisfaction with your work even at best will never be complete, since nothing on earth can be perfect. The forward pace of the world which you are pushing will be painfully slow. But what of that: the difference between a hundred and a thousand years is less than you now think. But doing what must be done, that is eternal even when it walks with poverty.

> And I care not to garner while others
> Know only to harvest and reap
> For mine is the reaping of sowing
> Till the spirit of rest gives me sleep."

Five hundred

A purse of seven thousand dollars was given me. Later in Chicago, Truman Gibson and Margaret Burroughs arranged another birthday celebration and gave me seventeen hundred dollars more. After talks in California, I was able to take a trip to the West Indies and see the beginnings of the new British West Indian Federation.

I was invited to attend the All African conference at Accra. At the Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester, England in 1945, a Sixth Congress on the continent of Africa had been projected. When Ghana gained her independence it was planned. I was not allowed to attend the inauguration. If I had been present undoubtedly the matter would have been further discussed. Meantime George Padmore, secretary of the Pan-African Congress, was called to Ghana as chief adviser to the Prime Minister, and he published a book called"Pan-Africanism or Communism" in which he said:

"In our struggle for national freedom, human dignity and social redemption, Pan-Africanism offers and ideological alternative to Communism on the one side

and Tribalism on the other. It rejects both white racialism and black chauvinism. It stands for racial co-existence on the basis of absolute equality and respect for human personality."

I ventured to advise Nkrumah. "I have your kind invitation of January 22, 1957. In behalf of myself and of my wife, Shirley Graham, I thank you for it and want to say how great was our desire to accept it. But since the United States government refused to issue us passports, we must with deep regret inform you of our inability to accept. I have recently also, and for the same reason, been compelled to my sorrow to decline a trip to China for lectures and participation in the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. However, because of the fact that I am now entering the 90th. year of my life and because of my acquaintanceship with you during the last 12 years, which cover the years of your imprisonment, vindication, and political triumph, I trust you will allow me a few words of advice for the future of Ghana and Africa.

"Today, when Ghana arises from the dead and faces this modern world, it must no longer be merely a part of the British Commonwealth or a representative of the world of West Europe, Canada, and the United States. Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa.

"The consequent Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels. It should avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalists who seek to get rich on African labor and raw material, and should try to build a socialism founded on old African Communal life; rejecting the exaggerated private initiative of the West, and seeking to ally itself with the social program of the Progressive nations: with British and Scandinavian Socialism, with the progress toward the Welfare State of in India, Germany, France and the United States; and with the Communist States like the Soviet Union and China, in peaceful co-operation and without presuming to dictate as to how Socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places.

"Pan-African Socialism seeks the Welfare State in [redacted] Africa. It will refuse to be exploited by people of other continents for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the peoples of Africa. It will no longer consent to permitting the African majority of any African country to be governed against its will by a minority of invaders who claim racial superiority or the right to get rich at African expense. It will seek not only to raise but to process its Raw material and to trade it freely with all the world on just and equal terms and prices.

"Pan-Africa will seek to preserve its own past history, and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folk which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all, the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of all its youth on the broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa and for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry nor stool-pigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of vision and character.

"I pray you, my dear Mr. Nkrumah, to use all your power to put a Pan-Africa along these lines into working order at the earliest possible date. Seek to save the great cultural past of the Ashanti and Fanti peoples, not by inner division but by outer cultural and economic expansion toward the outmost bounds of the great African peoples, so that they may be free to live, grow, and expand; and to teach mankind what Non-Violence and courtesy, Literature and Art, Music and Dancing can do for this greedy, selfish, and war-stricken world."

Meantime Big Business in America, surprised by the success of the Ghana revolution set itself to influence Nkrumah. Nkrumah was invited to the United States in 1958, and treated as never a Negro had been treated by the government. Hershey, a great manufacturer of chocolate sent a special plane to take him to his factories; and the New York Cocoa Board of Trade dined him at the Waldorf-Astoria. I saw Mr. Nkrumah briefly. He was most cordial and I expected soon to be invited to the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Accra. No invitation came, but I received my passport and sailed for Europe. While I was in Tashkent an invitation arrived but not

from Nkrumah nor for a Pan-African Congress. It was from a new "All-African" body for an African conference in December and it said nothing about my expenses. I sensed immediately that opposition had arisen in Africa over American Negro leadership of the African peoples. This had happened in 1920, when the West African Congress acknowledged no tie with the First Pan-African Congress in Paris which sparked it. American Negroes had too often assumed that their leadership in Africa was natural. With the rise of an educated group of Africans, this was increasingly unlikely. I realized how natural this was and knew that neither Nkrumah nor Padmore were calling a Sixth "Pan-African Congress" but that this "All-Africa Conference" was taking its place. Howefer later Padmore sent me a cordial note emphasing the invitation and offering to pay expenses.

By this time, however, my long travel was beginning to tell on me and I was in a Soviet Sanitarium at Barvieka near Moscow. I prepared to leave for Africa, but the council of physicians advised against the trip as too taxing. I had prepared three messages for Afroca. One I delivered at Tashkent, one I sent by my wife Shirley, who attended the conference at Accra, and the last I broadcast later from Peking on my ninety-first birthday.

At Tashkent, before my invitation to Accra had come. I warned Africa about borrowing capital from the West.

"Boycott the export of big capital from the exploiting world, led by America. Refuse to buy machines, skills, and comforts with cocoa, coffee, palm oil and fruit sold at ridiculously low price in exchange for imported foods, liquor, refrigerators and automobiles sold at exhorbitant prices. Live simply. Refuse to buy big capital ~~even for advance~~ from nations that cheat and overcharge. Buy of the Soviet Union and China as they grow able to sell at low price. Save thus your own capital and drive the imperialists into bankruptcy or into Socialism."

Shirley, my wife, took my speech to Accra. She was shown rare courtesy and was the only non-African allowed to address the Assembly. She read my words:

"My only role in this meeting is one of advice from one who has lived long, who has studied Africa and has seen the modern world. I had hoped to deliver this word in person, but this was not possible. I have therefore asked my wife, Shirley Graham, to read it to you. It is simple and direct. In this great crisis of the world's history, when standing on the highest peaks of human accomplishment we look foward to Peace and backward to War; when we look up to Heaven and down to Hell, let us mince no words. We face triumph or tragedy without alternative. Africa, ancient Africa has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Which way shall Africa go? First, I would emphasize the fact that today Africa has no choice between private Capitalism and Socialism. The whole world, including Capitalist countries, is moving toward Socialism, inevitably inexorably. You can choose betwwn blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union, you cannot choose between Socialism and Private Capitalism, because Private ownership of capital is doomed.

"But what is Socialism? It is disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth andpower. No! The mass of workers with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort. Gradually,every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part and even the United States adopted the New Deal which was largely socialistic, even though today further American socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and the Trade Union leaders.

On the other hand, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its very beginnings. No tribesman was free.

All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice. Read of the West Coast trade as described by Casely-Hayford. There is no trace of private enterprise of individual initiative. It was the tribe which carried on trade through individuals, and the chief was mouthpiece of the common will.

9 When now, with a certain suddenness, Africa is whirled by the bitter struggle of dying private Capitalism into the last freat battleground of its death throes, you are being tempted to adopt at least a passing private capitalism as a step to some partial socialism. This would be a grave mistake. For four hundred years Europe and North America have built their civilization and comfort on theft of colored labor and the land and materials which rightly belong to those colonial peoples. They are still today determined to make most of the world's people work for the comfort of the few; this is today true in London, Paris and New York. The dominant exploiting nations are willing to yield more to the demands of the mass than were their fathers. But their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot - not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of stopping socialism by force and not of surrendering the fatal mistakes of private Capitalism. Either capital belongs to all or power is denied all.

10 Here then, by Brothers, you face your great decision: Will you for temporary advantage - for automobiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns, spend your income in paying interest of borrowed funds, or will you sacrifice present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbors in order to educate your children, develop such industry as best serves the great mass of people and makes your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defense? Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the United States, will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism. You are not helpless. You are the buyers of catital goods, and to continue existence as sellers of catital, the great nations, former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage

for a mass of western capitalistic pottage. You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized western private capitalists, but at last today you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West. The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the West, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which is the price which the West has demanded, and still demands. Today she offers a compromise, but one of which you must beware: She offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters, if in turn they induce the nation's masses to pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia. Strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply soil it into new slavery to old masters overseas.

"As I have said, this is a call for sacrifice. Great Goethe sang, "Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren"-"Thou shalt forego, Shalt do without." If Africa unites it will be because each part, each nation, each tribe gives up a part of its heritage for the good of the whole. That is what union means; that is what Pan-Africa means: When the child is born into the tribe the price of his growing up is to give over a part of his freedom to the tribe. This he soon learns or dies. When the tribe becomes a union of tribes, the individual tribe surrenders some part of its freedom to the paramount ytibe.

"When the nation arises, the constituent tribes clans and groups must each yield power and much freedom to the demands of the nation or the nation dies before it is born. Your local tribal, much-loved languages must yield to the few world tongues which serve the largest numbers of people and promote understanding and world literature.

"This is the great dilemma which faces Africans today; faces one and all: Give up individual rights for the needs of the nation; give up tribal independence for the needs of Mother Africa. Forget nothing but set everything in its rightful place: the Glory of the six Ashanti Wars against Britain: the wisdom of the Fanti Confederation; the unity of Nigeria; the song of the Songhay and Haysa; the rebellion of the Mahdi and the hands of Ethiopia; the greatness of the Basuto and the fighting of Chaka; the revenge of Mutessa, and many other happenings and men; but above all - Africa, Mother of Men. Your nearest friends and neighbors are the colored people of China and India, the rest of Asia, the Middle East and the sea isles, once close bound to the heart of Africa and now long severed by the greed of Europe. Your bond is no more color of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt.

"So too, your bond with the white world is closest to those like the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who support and defend China and help the slaves of Tibet and India, and not those who exploit the Middle East, the West Indies, and South America.

"Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; reject the meekness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but emphasize the virtues of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labor. Africa awake, put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African Socialism.

"You have nothing to lose but your Chains!

"You have a continent to regain!

"You have freedom and human dignity to attain!!"

The address was ~~listened~~ greeted to with applause. Later Shirley and Mrs. Robeson with the help of Tom M'Boya the chairman, secured the removal of Chiang kai Chek's Formosa flag from the assembly hall.

When in Peking, my ninety-first birthday was given national celebration. I pled for unity of China and Africa and my speech was broadcast to the world:

"By courtesy of the government of the 680 million people of the Chinese Republic, I am permitted on my ninety-first birthday to speak to the people of China

and Africa and through them to the world. Hail, then, and farewell, dwelling places of the yellow and black races. Hail human kind!

" I speak with no authority; no assumption of age nor rank; I hold no position, I have no wealth. One thing alone I own and that is my own soul. Ownership of that I have even while in my own country for near a century I have been nothing but a "Nigger". On this basis and this alone I dare speak, I dare advise.

China after long centuries has arisen to her feet and leapt forward. Africa arise, and stand straight, speak and think! Act! Turn from the West and your slavery and humiliation for the last 500 years and face the rising sun.

" Behold a people the most populous nation on this ancient earth which has burst its shackles, not by boasting and strutting, not by lying about its history and its conquests, but by patience and long suffering, by blind struggle, moved up and on toward the crimson sky. She aims to "make men holy; to make men free."

" But what men? Not simply the mandarins but including mandarins; not simply the rich, but not excluding the rich. Not simply the learned, but led by knowledge to the end that no man shall be poor, nor sick, nor ignorant; but that the humblest worker as well as the sons of emperors shall be fed and taught and healed and that there emerge on earth a single unified people, free,well and educated.

" You have been told, my Africa: My Africa in Africa and all your children's children overseas; you have been told and the telling so beaten into you by rods and whips, that you believe it yourselves, that this impossible; that mankind can only rise by walking on men; by cheating them and killing them; that only on a doormat of the despised and dying, the dead and rotten, can a British aristocracy, a French cultural elite or an American millionaire be nurtured and grown.

" This is a lie. It is an ancient lie spread by church and state, spread by priest and historian, and believed in by fools and cowards, as well as by the downtrodden and the children of despair.

" Speak, China, and tell your truth to Africa and the world. What people have been despised as you have? Who more than you have been rejected of men? Recall when lordly Britishers threw the rickshaw money on the ground to avoid touching a filthy hand. Forget not,the time when in Shanghai no Chinaman dare set foot in a park which

he paid for. Tell this to Africa, for today Africa stands on new feet, with new eyesight, with new brains and asks: Where am I and why?

"The Western sirens answer: Britain wheedles; France cajoles; while America, my America, where my ancestors and descendants for eight generations have lived and toiled; America loudest of all, yells and promises freedom. If only Africa allows American investment.

"Beware Africa, America bargains for your soul. America would have you believe that they freed your grandchildren; that Afro-Americams are full American citizens, treated like equals, paid fair wages as workers, promoted for desert and free to learn and learn and travel across the world.

"This is not true. Some are near freedom; some approach equality with whites; some have achieved education; but the price for this has too often been slavery of mind, distortion of truth and oppression of our own people.

"Of 18 million Afro-Americans, 12 million are still second-class citizens of the UnitedStates, serfs in farming, low-paid laborers in industry, and repressed members of union labor. Most American Negroes do not vote. Even the rising six million are liable to insult and discrimination at any time.

"But this, Africa, relates to your descendants, not to you. Once I thought of you Africans as children, whom we educated Afro-Americams would lead to liberty. I was wrong. We could not even lead ourselves, much less you. Today I see you rising under your own leadership, guided by your own brains.

"Africa does not ask alms from China nor from the Soviet Union nor from France, Britain, nor the United States. It asks friendship and sympathy and no nation better than China can offer this to the Dark Continent. Let it be given freely and generously. Let Chinese visit Africa, send their scientists there and their artists and writers. Let Africa send its students to China and its seekers after knowledge. It will not find on earth a richer goal, a more promising mine of information.

"On the other hand, watch the West. The new British West Indian Federation is not a form of democratic progress but a cunning attempt to reduce these islands to the control of British and American investors. Haiti is dying under rich Haitian investors who with American money are enslaving the peasantry.

Cuba is showing what the West Indies, Central and South America are suffering under American Big Business.

" The American worker himself does not always realize this. He has high wages and many comforts. Rather than lose these, he keeps in office by his vote the servants of industrial exploitation so long as they maintain his wage. His labor leaders represent exploitation and not the fight against the exploitation of labor by private capital. These two sets of exploiters fall out only when one demands too large a share of the loot.

" This China knows. This Africa must learn. This the American Negro has failed so far to learn. I am frightened by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment and high interest to bind you in serfdom to business as the Near East is bound and as South America is struggling with. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers. What shall you do?

" First, understand! Realize that the great mass of mankind is freeing itself from wage slavery, while private capital in Britain, France, and now in America, is still trying to maintain civilization and comfort for a few on the toil, disease and ignorance of the mass of men. Understand this, and understanding comes from direct knowledge. You know America and France, and Britain to your sorrow. Now know the Soviet and its allied nations, but particularly know China.

China is flesh of your flesh, and blood of your blood. China is colored and knows to what a colored skin in this modern world subjects its owner. But China knows more, much more than this: she knows what to do about it. She can take the insults of the United States and still hold her head high. She can make her own machines, when America refuses to sell her American manufactures, even though it hurts American industry, and throws her workers out of jobs. China does not need American nor British missionaries to teach her religion and scare her with tales of hell. China has been in hell too long, not to believe in a heaven of her own making. This she is doing.

" Come to China, Africa, and look around. Invite Africa to come, China, and see what you can teach by just pointing. Yonder old woman is working on the street.

But she is happy. She has no fear. Her children are in school and a good school. If she is ill, there is a hospital where she is cared for free of charge. She has a vacation with pay each year. She can die and be buried without taxing her family to make some undertaker rich.

" Africa can answer: but some of this we have done; our tribes undertake public service like this. Very well, let your tribes continue and expand this work. What Africa must realize is what China knows: that it is worse than stupid to allow a people's education to be under the control of those who seek not the progress of the people but their use as means of making themselves rich and powerful. It is wrong for the University of London to control the University of Ghana. It is wrong for the Catholic church to direct the education of the black Congolese. It was wrong for Protestant churches supported by British and American wealth to control higher education in China.

" The Soviet Union is surpassing the world in popular and higher education, because from the beginning it started its own complete educational system. The essence of the revolution in the Soviet Union and China and in all the "iron curtain" nations, is not the violence that accompanied the change; no more than starvation at Valley Forge was the essence of the American revolution against Britain. The real revolution is the acceptance on the part of the nation of the fact that hereafter the main object of the nation is the welfare of the mass of the people and not of a lucky few.

" Government is for the people's progress and not for the comfort of an aristocracy. The object of industry is the welfare of the workers and not the wealth of the owners. The object of civilization is the cultural progress of the mass of workers and not merely of an intelluctual elite. And in return for all this communist lands believe that the cultivation of the mass of people will discover more talent and genius to serve the state than any closed aristocracy ever furnished. This belief the current history of the Soviet Union and China is proving true each day. Therefore don't let the West invest when you can avoid it. Don't buy capital from Britain, France and the United States if you can get it on reasonable terms from the Soviet Union and China. This is not politics; it is common sense.

CHAPTER THREE

The Pawned Peoples

Pawned

THE ~~CAPTIVE~~ PEOPLES OF THE ~~PEOPLES RELEASED~~

Between Western Europe and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, lie a number of nations: The Baltic states, Poland ~~and~~ Czeckoslovakia, ~~and~~ Hungary, ~~and the Balkans~~. These peoples differing in race and composition, but have had a long history with many resemblances. ~~Much~~ Most of their territory has long been ruled by a hereditary aristocracy, conquering, invading and ~~by~~ great land holders. They have been invaded and annexed by neighbors and have fought each other. During the world wars, they (most of the territory) came to be looked upon as territory which would be used eventually by the west to re-conquer Russia, and ~~have~~ by the new Soviet Union, (it was looked on) as territory, which it must control in sheer self defense against expanding western Capitalism.

(and ~~Finland~~ the Scandinavian countries to the North and the Balkan states of Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania)

(the "London Daneliers" nations)

(9 of 9 Post Czechoslovakia nations)

These are the folk whom the Americans call "The Captive Peoples" Peoples and they include the Baltic states of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania; Poland, which for centuries has raped and torn by Europe and Bohemia and Slovakia, long a pat of the Austa Hungary empire and the Hungarian part of that alliance. These lands have been the center of the political machinations of the Catholic church. Beyond these come the Balkans, including today Bulgarya and Romania, and portions of what once belonged to Turkey and Greece

2

I have seen these countries ~~partly~~ on this trip and ~~partly~~ during former journeys. I was in Poland in 1893 and 1950. I was ~~briefly~~ in Czeckoslovakia in 1893 in 1950 and 1956. I studied two years in Germany from 1892 to 1894, and revisted the land in 1926, in 1936 and 1959. Hungary I saw ~~briefly~~ in 1893 and 1936. Save my sojurn in Germany, none of these trips were long enough for intensive study and observation; but taken together, they tell an intersting story.

For one thing, there was no doubt in my mid but that the people in these lands were far better off in 1959 than in 1893 or in 1950. They were better fed, better dressed and they looked more ~~satisfied~~. I shall never forget the abject grovelling of the Polish church goers in 1893; and how my classmate, the Ritter von Estreicher, begged me to visit him in Crakow, so as to show me how much worse oppression was there than Negro oppression in the United States. His father, librarian of the University, opened my doubting eyes. In 1950, Poland showed the horrible crucifixtion through which she had ~~gone~~ but she showed also, ~~her~~ beginnings of mighty resurrection.

3

Czeckoslovakia was a prosperous looking nation. The people were busy and decidedly more hopeful than when I had previously seen the nation uneasy look. Prague had spilled over into the neighboring valleys and was growing. Socialism was making a normal growth from private capitalism; even Slovakia, which when I had spoken there in 1950, seemed sullen if not discontent, was now humming with new hope and housing cooperation. Here I had one surprise which lifted my spirits. Charles University was founded 300 yeas before Columbus discovered America. It was a great center of learning in the Middle Age, and even after the First World War, many persons in the West hoped that Charles would lead the resistance against Communism. It did not, and in addition, it honored me in the face of the known attitude of the United States toward Negroes. No American University (except Negro Institutions) has ever recognized that I had any claim to scholarship. I had no reason to think that Charles University even knew my name.. But I was summoned to the restored beauty of the old Caroleum, and amid the fanfare of medieval trumpets, marched in procession with rector and faculties of the University to the high rostrum.

W. Dep. defense

I was given the degree of Doctor of the Science of History, "honoris causa" while the "Star-Spangled banner" was played in honor of my American citizenship. This gesture of a Communist nation doubtless prejudiced me in favor of Socialism. But I do not think it was decisive. In [redacted] Hungary the age-old strife between the Church and land-holding aristocracy, the rising Bourgeoisie supported by western enterprise and capital; and the degraded peasants who, as I saw them in 1893, were distinctly below the level of American Negro serfs. I was not surprised when the pushing business men and artisans, calling themselves "Commons" and despising laborers and serfs, rebelled against Communism. I wasglad when the Soviet Union intervened and thus served notice on all reactionaries that the Russian revolution was still unwilling to yield its gains before a show of force. I did not see the Balkans in 1959, but I met many of their folk. I knew what their petty aristocrats, joined with American money, had made their masses endure in the last century. The Hungarian Academy made me a corresponding member and the University of Sofia gave me a degree. I cannot imagine that the people of the Balkans are worse off then they were in the Nineteenth century. I think they are much better off.

Germany had been torn in two

5

by war. The eastern third ~~where I had lived and studied for two years,~~ is now ~~was~~ following the Social Democracy which I had known in 1892 to 1894. It ~~was~~ is developing the faith of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and becoming a socialist state. But America, Britain, and France united after the war, to turn back the part of Germany, which they occupied, to the Nazis. Big Business of the United States, led by the banks; the cartels; and the Trade Unions, succeded in turning over German industry in West Germany to American business, as George Wheeler has so recently graphically revealed. The last bedevilment was the partition of Berlin, by planting a bit of West Germany in the capital of East Germany. I visited my old university in 1959. It looked familiar. It had dropped its old name "Friederich Wilhelm ~~Universitaet zu Berlin~~" and was now Humboldt University, after its greatest scholars.

6

I walked down the Unter den Linden to the Branderburger Thor. There I stopped. I could not visit again my old lodging on the Schoneberger Ufer. That lay in West Berlin, and if I had entered, American soldiers might arrest me. I turned back and traversed a ~~prosperous~~ city, with new buildings and enterprises, but also with ghosts of war and destruction. In the great hall of the University, with women students now common, but in 1892 never admitted, I sat in the office where in my day Rudolph Virchow had presided as Rector Magnificas. A group played the soft music of Sebastian Bach, and the faculty of economics bestowed on me the honorary degree of Doctor of Economics. I had coveted this degree 65 yeas before, but then the University of Berlin would not recognize the equal status of Harvard, and I was not allowed to take the examination.

7

Expansion by force is not true of Communism: the majority of intelligent people, work for a living in the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia , and the Balkans seem to me quite evidently to want Communism. It was probably quite true a generation ago that most of the landholdersm capitalists and aristocracy in these land opposed Communism, and being the only ones ~~who voted~~ with political power could truly say that their countries did not want to be socialized. But these classes did not represent the mass of the people, and when this mass obtained political power, they built and hold a Communist State.

Between the first and second world wars, Western Capitalism and ~~Russian~~ Soviet Socialism sought to increase their influence in these states. The Russians had the inside track in the Baltic states and practically annexed them. Poland sided with the West in bitter opposition to the Soviet Union. Czeckoslovakia swayed in the balance, and Hungary and the Balkans were torn by civil war.

Then came

the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, [redacted] contradictory series of moves

Stalin sought alliance with the west against Hitler and was repulsed.

The west joined with Hitler in tacit opposition to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union in swift counter movement made alliance with Hitler

against the west. Wheeling suddenly, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union,

and the west was certain that the vast German war power would wipe out

Communism. ~~The west hesitated and then made late alliance with the~~

~~Soviet Union, with the hope of delaying Hitlers attack on the west.~~

along with ruthless will and drunken beauty. There is the eternal struggle and endless contradiction within a people who can never die, so long as men remember Ronsard, the Kings called Louis, the Napoleons and the Alexander Dumas.

For France as for Portugal, Italy and Spain, salvation lies in Africa and Asia; in Negroid art and joy of life; in Asiatic work and patience; in the humility of the colored peoples

Sweden was a sort glimse of the West before I returned home. I had long known of this Scandinavian nation. The Socialists called it the "Middle Way" from private capitalism to Communism. They saw the increase of social control of the Welfare State over the anarchy of individual profit. its new housing intrigued us; its pension system, its schools. This was the way we hoped to ward off revolution and save rugged individualism. Moreover this visit was symbolic. Ten years ago in 1949, I had sat in on the formation of the World Council of Peace after that marvelous Paris meeting. Then for ten years I missed the meetings I could not attend that meeting which adopted the marvelous "Stockholm Appeal" which America called a Communist trick to disarm America. The meetings continued and most of the world joined but I could not go. Then came 1959, and I was present I saw Swedun, that beautiful Northern city, shing on its fourteen islands. I saw what is perhaps the finest popular housing in the world. Sweden had almost avoided war, She was now welcoming World Peace. But she was ashamed to do so. I was amazed as I realized this. She did not want this Council. She would not repulse it, but she gave it no welcome. Her Press and Pulpit ignored it. Its homes, with a few exceptions, closed their doors in the face of many men and women of world leadership, because they met to promote World Peace and because they met with nations who did not believe in capitalism but did hate war. It was astonishing. Was Sweden afraid, and if so of what? Did Peace encourage Communism and if so what a confession. Was Sweden afraid of America and Britain? If so what an accusation for Britain and America. I saw an Indian author whose books unprinted in the Unites States, I was just reading. He looked a bit upset; he said, "My publisher asks me not to call, until this council meeting is over." Only a few citizens of Stockholm attended the service in honor of Juliet-Curie. Few met the white-haired leader of the women of France and Madame Dluen of Belgium

There is at Canton a marble commercial building where the import and export exposition was recently opened. There are five floors of exhibits. I am convinced (12) that America can not make anything which is not today being made by China, or which cannot be made, and made cheaper, and for the most part made quite as well, and for ~~Come~~ Out of the things that China makes ~~which places~~ no profits ~~to~~ for private exploiters.

Most nations of the world are beginning to buy China's goods, except the United States. China sells increasingly to Europe, to Asia and South America, to India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and Malaya . To Africa and the West Indies; to Australia and New Zealand, and such goods; silk and woolen clothing; watches, clocks, radio's and television sets; looms, machinery and lamps, shoes and hats, pottery and dishes ~~pins and~~ all Chinese seem to be at work, and not afraid of unemployment, and welcoming every suggestion that displaces mucle with machinery.

INSERT CHAPTER ~~VII (CONT)~~ VII (13)

In every town and city, we went to the opera, and can never forget the assault of the monkey king on the hosts of heaven, facing God and the angels.
A night sleeping train took us over the thirty hour trip from Peiping to Hankow.
There I saw the bridge that had been miraculously thrown across the Yangstze.
We rested in a little hotel adorned with flowering cabbages. We visited the great steel mills and shook hands with welcoming workers. The colored American prisoner who ~~stayed here~~ stood in China rather than return to America, and is happy with his wife and baby, came to visit us.

The people of the land I saw: the workers, the factory hands, the farmers and laborers, scrubwomen and servants. I went to ~~theatres~~ halls and restaurants, sat in the homes of the high and the low; and always I saw a happy people; people with faith that need no Church nor priest and laughs gaily when the Monkey King fools the hosts of Heaven and overthrows the angels.

In all my wandering, I never felt the touch or breath of insult or even dislike- I who for 90 years in America scarcely ever saw a day without some expression of hate for "niggers."

What is the secret of China in the second half of the 20th. century? It is that the vast majority of a billion human beings have been convinced that human nature in some of its darkest recesses can be changed, if change is necessary. China knows, as no other people know, to what depths human meanness can go.

I used to weep for American Negroes, as I saw through what indignities and repressions and cruelties they had passed; but as I have read Chinese history in these last months and had it explained to me stripped of Anglo-Saxon lies, I know that no depths of Negro slavery in America have plumbed such abysses as the Chinese have seen for 2,000 years and more. They have seen starvation and murder; rape and prostitution; sale and slavery of children; and religion cloaked in opium and gin, for converting the "heathen". This oppression and contempt came not only from Tartars, Mongolians, British, French, Germans and Americans, but from the Chinese themselves: Mandarins and warlords, capitalists

Prime Minister of the Nation of 680 Million souls

We come to Cheng-Tu. We ride about this farthest Western stopping place, close to the crowds and the workers and the homes, old and new. We visit a commune of 60,000 members. We climb the mountain to see irrigation being widened today, yet started two thousand two hundred years ago. There is a glorious temple on its summit, and below a wide lake between a winding road. Four rivers roll down fron the Himilayas, out of Tibet into the Yangstze. Then we fly to Kunmin, the end of the American Burma road. It is warm and quiet, and at the state school, the minorities dance and sing welcome, and among them are the Tibetans. There are more Tibetans in China, than in Tibet.

In Tibet while we were on its border in Czechwan, the landholders and slave drivers and the religious fanatics revolted against the Chinese, and failed as they deserved to. Tibet has belonged to China for centuries. The Communists linked the two by roads and began reforms in land holding, schools and trade, which now moved quickly. At Kunmin we were at the end of the Burma Road and near the great Mekong river. Below lay Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. The nest of grafters, whoremongers and gamblers at Saigon, helped by Americans, have broken the Geneva treaty which closed the French Indo-Chinese War, and are attacking the Communists of Vietnam. That is called "Communist Aggression". It is the attempt of American business and the American Navy to supplant France as colonial ruler in southeast Asia.

Chan in Tibet. We are in Szechwan
bordering Tibet when the Landlords
and religious families
[illegible]

This monster was a nation, with [illegible] a dark tinted billion born at the beginning of time, and facing its end, this struggle from starved degradation, murder, and suffering to the triumph of that Long March, to world leadership. Oh beautiful, patient, self scarificing China, despised and unforgetable, Victorious and forgiving, crucified and risen from the dead!

ships rot.

Fifteen times I have crossed the Atlantic and once the Pacific. I have seen the world. But never so vast and glorious a miracle as China.

alliance rested on the understanding that the Baltic states, Poland, Czekoslovakia, Hungary and the Balkans, would decide as to their future status; but neither the West or the Soviet Union were quite frank with each other. Who constituted these states? What peoples within their borders had the power or could get the power to make this momentous decision concerning their future? The West tacitly assumed that the people who had been in power in the past would remain in power, especially if Western captial helped them. The Soviet Union saw in these states the same bitter struggle for dominion which had been carried on in Russia: foreign investors, hereditary aristocrats, great land-holders, a rising bourgeosie, and an almost helpless mass of voiceless city workers and rural serfs. The West was determined that no such revolution as had been successful in the Soviet Union would be carried out in these border states. The Soviet Union knew well that unless the revolution did succeed in these border states, the overthrow and re-conquest of Russia was but a matter of time. This was the vast difference of opinion that separated Capitalism and Communism at the conclusion of the second world war. The United States influenced by millions of immigrants from the Baltic states, Poland and the Balkans, struggled to increase western influence in these lands. These immigrants had left their country before the Communist revolution began. They were largely representatives of the bourgeosie, and did not know what was happening in these lands and in Russia; inherited their former enmities and worked against Communism. The Soviet Union in every possible way helped and encouraged the Communist revolution. As a result the Baltic states became Russian, Czeckoslovakia adopted Socialism, and the Balkans tried to adopt it

the equal status of Harvard, and I was not allowed to take the examination.

Expansion by force is not true of Communism; the majority of intelligent people work for a living in the Baltic States, Poland, Czeckoslovakia, and the Balkans seem to me quite evidently to want Communism. It was probably quite true a generation ago that most of the landholders, capitalists and aristocracy in these lands opposed Communism, and being the only ones with political power could truly say that their countries did not want to be socialized. But these classes did not represent the mass of the people, and when this mass obtained political power, they built and hold a Communist State. Between the first and second world wars, Western Capitalism and Soviet Socialism sought to increase their influence in these states. The Russians had the inside track in the Baltic states and practically annexed them. Poland sided with the West in bitter opposition to the Soviet Union. Czeckoslovakia swayed in the balance, and Hungary and the Balkans were torn by civil war.

Then came the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, threatening war with the West. A series of moves ensued. Stalin sought alliance with the West against Hitler and was repulsed. The West joined with Hitler at Munich in tacit opposition to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in swift counter movement made alliance with Hitler against the West. Wheeling suddenly, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, and the West was certain that the vast German war power would wipe out Communism. But when the Soviet Union did not fall, decided at last to help it so that Communism and Nazism would destroy each other.

(1)

CHAPTER IV

THE SOVIET UNION

I have in a sense seen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics grow, not as a casual visitor, or hurried tourrist. In 1926, I saw a Russia just emerging from war with the world. The people were poor and ill-clothed; food was scarce and long lines stood hours to get their share. Orphan children, ragged and dirty, crawled in and out of sewers. Men faced foreign force, and none betrayed. Yet, despite this, I saw a land of hope and hard work. Schools were multuplying; books were being printed and widely read; workers were being protected with living wage, nurseries for children, night schools, trade unions and wide discussion. Indeed this wide discussion and criticism intrigued me. Never had I seen such public interest in social matters on the part of men, women and children. Here was a people seeking a new way of life through learning the truth, and cooperating with each other and by willing sacrifice. Not everybody was happy but most Russians saw a bitter past being succeeded by a great future, not swiftly, but surely. I visited Cronstad, Leningrad, Nijni Novorod, Kiev, Moscow and Odessa. There were no signs of prostitution or crime. There was some drunkeness, but little gambling. Priests were plentiful and tarnished gold-domed churches abounded, but dogma was being driven from the schools. Above all the spirit of the people was high, the officials were working desperately hard, and with efficiency.

I remember one jarring note. A peasant cabman pointed to a new tractor in the fields. He said: "They want us to use them things. We'll never do it."

CHAPTER LII

BLIND STAGGERS, 1917-1936

Sitting in Moscow on my arrival August 28, 1926, I was reading the New York Times; it said " Revolution has broken out in Kronstadt. Streets are flowing with blood! " I stared with astonishment, for the issue was dated the very day I had landed in Kronstadt. One can know what Kronstadt looked like when I landed by reading page 20.
The dispatch was dated from Riga. That explained much. Riga was in Latvia; just south of Estonia and but 50 miles from Lithuania, these three states of Clemenceau's Cordon Sanataire, whence European Big Capital would one day re-conquer Russia. Thus Riga had long been a nest of liars who poured fairy tales about Russia into the West. Even I had known that and how could the Times be misled into printing this story without confirmation? I went back in my own mind to what I had known about Russia since the Revolution and remembered that I was astonished to learn how long the war had lasted in Russia after the Armistice. Leaving Russia in October 1926, I tried after my return to America to collect and organize my knowledge and read neglected books and reports.

The result was amazing. I presume in all our knowledge something like this takes place: save in some narrow file we know events and situations vaguely, from newspapers, magazines or a book or so. But soon we are making judgements and coming to conclusions not on a basis of carefully garnered knowledge, but on flimsy generalizations influenced tremendously by current public opinion. Thus we tend to learn our history backwards.

I had known that Czarist Russia naturally resisted the revolution. But of the extent of that counter-revolution and of the active help in manpower, material and arms, supplied by the civilized world; of the spying and intrigue from all Europe which had accompanied and inspired this war of reaction; I had but the vaguest information. Indeed I did

not learn the whole story until Sayers and Kahn published their "Great Conspiracy" in 1946.

3

What amazed and uplifted me in 1926 was to see a nation stoutly facing a problem which most other modern nations did not dare even to admit was real. Taking inspiration directly out of the mouths and dreams of the world's savants and prophets, who had inveighed against modern industrial methods; against the co-existance of progress and poverty; ~~against slums and disease;~~ this new Russia led by Lenin and inspired by Marx proposed to build a socialist state with production for use and not for private profit; with ownership of land and capital goods by the state abd state control of public services, including education and health. It was enough for me to see this mighty attempt. It might fail, I knew; but the effort in itself was social progress and neither foolishness nor crime.

Russia was handicapped by 95% of illiteracy among her peasants and nearly as much among her working classes; by a religion led by a ~~menial and~~ largely immoral priesthood, dealing in superstition and deception, and rich with the ~~land and~~ loot of grovelling followers. Most of her industrial capital was owned by foreigners whose only interest was the was the 50 or 75% which they reaped from merciless exploitation. Her government had long been shot through with dishonesty and graft under dissolute nobles and fawning lackeys. Her punishment of crime and independent thought had long affronted the civilized world. Yet the best people of Europe and America seldom raised a finger of protest but fawned on Russian royalty and aristocracy, receiving them with open arms and loud sympathy when they were repudiated.

Visioning now a real Dictatorship of the Proletariat, two questions follow. Is it possible today for a great nation to achieve such a worker's psychology? And secondly, if it does achieve it, what will be its effect upon the world? The achievement of such a psychology depends partly upon Russia and partly upon the United States and the Western part of Europe. In Russia one feel today, even on a casual visit, the beginning of a workingman's psychology. Workers are the people that fill the streets and live in the best houses, even though these houses are dilapidated; workers crowd (literally crowd) the museums and theatres, hold the high offices, do the public talking, travel in the trains.

The Soviet program is mainly psychological; can a people be trained to work effectively with the general prosperity as the motive and the fear of poverty and old age taken away? The present generation of lazy, indifferent and inefficient workers were trained under capitalism. Their psychology will change slowly. Leisure and taking away of the fear of poverty will mean to them loafing, laziness, and self-assertion; to a large extent, the tremendous strain of the transition period.

The Soviets have had after war, conquest after conquest and famine, and but three years of experiment. Can the Soviets conquer jealousy and envy on the part of the workers? Yes, they answer by giving them necessities. But how about luxuries? By raising a public opinion against luxuries. There is something like this now. Moscow has no well-dressed leisure class. But it is a hard job, and you and I, who have been trained to distrust human nature and believe in selfishness and lust, may easily believe a task impossible. Sometimes we seem to be right.

There is no question but that governments can carry on business. Every government does. Whether governmental industry compares (in efficiency) with private industry depends entirely upon what we call efficiency. And here it is and not elsewhere that the Russian experiment is astonishing and new, and of fateful importance to the future of

5

of civilization. What we call efficiency in America is judged primarily by the resultant profit to the rich and only secondarily by the results to the workers. The face of industrial Europe and America is set toward private wealth; that is, toward the people who have large income. We recognize the economic value of small incomes mainly as a means of profit for great incomes. Russia seeks another psychology. Russia is trying to make ~~this~~ the workingman the main object of industry. His well-being and his income are deliberately set as the chief ends of organized industry, directed by the State.

6

It is on its economic problem that Russia ~~in 1926,~~ must primarily be judged. Russia had established a socialistic state. The world had long been ~~veering~~ steering toward Socialism. We had made essays toward socialism; but when the Socialistic state appeared full-fledged, most of us called it by other names and refused to judge it by its socialism, but rather we insisted, on investigating of the ethics of the methods underlying its establishment.

What had Russia done in 1926, to establish a Socialistic State? First, it had nationalized the land. Every inch of land in Russia--the air above it and the resources beneath belong to the Russian State. Persons who wish to till the soil may have as much land as they can successfully till, with the labor of their own family; and with the death of the father, the children may have first chance at tillage of the same soil. ~~Preference as to kind and place of soil goes to the former users of any particular piece.~~ The mineral and oil rights may be farmed out by the government for a term of years, but the government retains ownership of mines and wells and the terms of the leases are limited. Improvement on the land-- houses on farms and homes of the dwellers belong to the builders if they cost less than about $15,000-- if more, their ownership goes to the state after forty-nine years.

7

Ten years later, in 1936, I rode across the Soviet Union on the Trans-Siberian railway from Moscow to Otpur, Manchuria. The trip of four thousand miles was slow and took ten days and nights. But it traversed main part of the Soviet Union. It went through cities, crossed

8)

the Urals and crossed lakes and rivers. The change in ten years was remarkable. This was no longer a people struggling for survival, it was a nation sure of itself. In Moscow the streets were widening and the city had crossed the river. Old buildings remained, but great new buildings were crowding them. The golden domes of churches had disappeared and tall office buildings were taking their place. Few priests were visable and few beggars. The folk were better dressed and food was much more plentiful. There were no unemployed and all children were in school, factories shops and libraries had multiplied and there was evidence of law and order everywhere. Industry was moving west and climbing the Urals. Military might was evident and we saw the massing of soldiers toward the East to meet the threat of Japan. Great dams, canals and water works were built. The peasant was in close cooperation and not in revolt against the factory worker, Here was a self-confident nation ready to fight for existence. The people of the nation did not have all they wanted or planned to have, but much more than ever before. They did not fear poverty or old age; ~~the children were being educated and they~~ looked toward a great future. ~~They~~ were content; not slaves, not ready for revolt.

Thirteen years later, in 1949, after the Peace Congress in Paris, twenty-five Americans were invited to attend a Peace Congress in the Soviet Union. I was the only one who accepted the invitation. In the Hall of the Nobles, Moscow, where the Russian aristocrats used to gamble, I met a cross-section of the Soviet people- workers, writers, officials, and visitors from neighboring lands. It was an inspiring body and I tried to convince them that most Americans did not desire war with them, but strove for peace. I saw the continued growth of Moscow, and the increased confidence of the Soviet Union in itself, and in Socialism as a path to a Commumist state. ~~I returned by way of Poland, and saw the evidences of its death and resurrection.~~

9)

Ten years passed. I was allowed to visit Europe until 1959, when I again saw the Soviet Union and spent five months in its borders. Its growth in size and building; in industry and trade; in science and education, was marvellous.

I am in the Hermitage. Around me is Leningrad. I look out upon the Neva and the grim prison with its three spires of gold, but above all, I have seen the hands of the old man in red, the woe of the world on the old man's face, and to the return of the prodigal son and blank face of his brother. These pictures hang in the Hermitage. This is a lovely city; that square before the Winter Palace, where an ideal of Czar shot down the praying peasants and started a revolution that killed his kind for ever. The Nevsky Prospect and its crowds. The sports arena for one hundred thousand people, the parks and parks; the houses always new houses, rows of houses, three rooms and bath at one hundred rubles a month. Never before in this world have so many people enjoyed the basic

In November of 1959, I rode into Moscaoward saw above the city the gre great Sickle and star which crowns the niversity and blesses the city. Later this omonosov State University, ember of the order of Lenin and of the Workers' Order of the Red Star, called me to its halls and made me honorary doctor of his torical science

We flew to Moscow and I was on Red Square at the great celebration with a half million spectators. A gaily uniformed major escorted me, to the hotel, and on the way we stopped and saluted Khruschev, and Khruschev raised his hat.

Next day off I went in my auto with Shirley to a Sanitarium. It is a great solemn place with tall pines and snow. We have servants for every wish, and all are as kind as can be. I have been here a month, and have had every probe and test possible. My heart has been measured a dozen times; my blood tested, my blood pressure taken and I have been poked inside and out.

10

Today I was granted an interview with Prime Minister Khruschev at my request. For about two hours I and my wife, Shirley Graham discussed with him the Peace movement in the United States and the Pan-African movement.

I told him of my indictment and acquital in 1951 of the charge of not registering as a foreign agent, because I secured signers for the Stockholm appeal. We discussed the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Council. I talked about African independence and unity, and of establishing in Moscow an Institute under the Academy of Sciences, to study African history and culture.

I said, Africa has just taken a decisive step at the conference at Accra toward independence, union and free cultural development. The first efforts of Africans will be in political lines and then for industrial progress and economic organization. Education will receive attention, but resources will be limited and teachers scarce. I believe that here the Soviet Union can be of great assistance to new Africa.

The Scientific study of Africans and their continent is necessary for the guidance of their education and the organization of their culture. This is one of the ways in which the progressive world can help its lagging parts and one in which there are fewest causes for friction and diversity of interest. I suggest therefore that the Soviet Academy of Sciences establish an Institute for the study of Pan-African history, sociology, ethnography, anthropology, and all cognate studies. This Institute of the Academy would aim at promotion of scientific research into all the activities, past and present of the peoples of Africa, together with a study of their physical, and biological environment.

This series of studies would be carried on with the central idea of the unity of the whole subject and the conviction that history is not separate from sociology or culture from biology, but that all research in such related fields seek the one end of unified scientific knowledge.

While this enterprise would start and center in the Soviet Union, its object would be the welfare and progress of Africa and from the first, it should seek cooperation wherever it could be found, and especially among Africans.

I told him of my indictment and acquital in 1951 of the charge of not registering as a foreign agent, because I secured signers for the Stockholm appeal. We discussed the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Council. I talked about African independence and unity, and of establishing in Moscow an Institute under the Academy of Sciences, to study African history and culture.

I said, Africa has just taken a decisive step at the conference at Accra toward independence, union and free cultural development. The first efforts of Africans will be in political lines and then for industrial progress and economic organization. Education will receive attention, but resources will be limited and teachers scarce. I believe that here the Soviet Union can be of great assistance to new Africa.

The Scientific study of Africans and their continent is necessary for the guidance of their education and the organization of their culture. This is one of the ways in which the progressive world can help its lagging parts and one in which there are fewest causes for friction and diversity of interest. I suggest therefore that the Soviet Academy of Sciences establish an Institute for the study of Pan-African history, sociology, ethnography, anthropology, and all cognate studies. This Institute of the Academy would aim at promotion of scientific research into all the activities, past and present of the peoples of Africa, together with a study of their physical, and biological environment.

This series of studies would be carried on with the central idea of the unity of the whole subject and the conviction that history is not separate from sociology or culture from biology, but that all research in such related fields seek the one end of unified scientific knowledge.

While this enterprise would start and center in the Soviet Union, its object would be the welfare and progress of Africa and from the first, it should seek cooperation wherever it could be found, and especially among Africans.

The Institute should by offer of scholarships to Africans, and by cooperation with African students and institutions of learning, try eventually to build within Africa, a center of centers of scientific study, which would lead in world study, and the promotion of world peace.

Realizing how in modern history, the exploitation and almost universal underestimation of Africans have led to wide denial of the very existence of their history and culture, it would be a first duty of this Institute to make known the history of the African peoples, and to distribute knowledge of this in libraries and museums; in text-books and university studies, and as common knowledge. No greater work for world peace can be conceived, no quicker way to convince mankind that no part of it must exist for the exploitation and comfort of the rest at any cost of suffering to black folk.

The Soviets are making a new people; a disciplined people. No, this is not a matter of police; few police are in evidence, and there is little giving of orders. Secret dred? I sense none. But let me illustrate: Out from my hotel window I look on two great squares; the furtherest is Red Square with the towers of the Kremlin walls and the brown tomb where Lenin and Stalin sleep their last long sleep. Across these squares yesterday a half million people marched, walked and danced; they ate and sang, they laughed and cheered. This morning when I arose and looked out, there was not a scrap of paper or sign of dirt. That meant work in the night I'm sure, but it meant much more than this: it meant that this half million people dropped no dirt and threw away no paper, and they did this not under orders, but because they felt these squares were theirs and they must not soil their own. These people feel a vested interest in this nation such as no American feels in the United States. Why? I do not know, and yet it may be because they are consulted about it. They are asked, continually asked; they sit and sit and talk and talk and vote and vote; if this is all a mirage, it is a perfect one. They believe it as I used to believe in the Spring Town Meeting in my town.

There is power rivalry and personal jealousy; all things in the Soviet Union are not perfect,

Mails miscarry, cables come a day late, styles are often funny, but the Soviet Union is great and growing greater and it belongs to this two hundred million folk about me seem to believe; I am strongly inclined to agree with them.

Over 1

Nowhere are public questions so throughly and exhaustively discussed. Russians sit and listen long to talks, lectures, expositions; they read books, magazines and newspapers, not just picture books. Each problem of existance is discussed in each village and factory. Comments, spoken and written, are welcomed, until every aspect, every opinion has been expressed and listened to, and the matter rises to higher echelons, and is discussed again. Gradually agreement is approached, until when the thrashed-out result reaches the All-Soviet height, there is usually but one opinion and one decision. This is a sifting of democracy which the West has lost. In America there is little political discussion. It is discouraged in every way by stopping meetings, refusing use of halls; closing columns of newspapers, refusing radio time, and police interference and jail. In Britain there is freer discussion, but it is limited by custom and prestige; and by aristocratic influence and the money and leisure of the dominant class. In France, parliamentary debate is directed by the powerful interests who work the puppets and pull the strings. In Italy, the Church stands always in the shadow, keeping watch above its own. The Church represents wealth, and wealth rules the Church.

Over 2

In the Soviet Union the overwhelming power of the working class as representing the nation is always decisive. Above this but representing it and expressing its thought and ideal, rises the real aristocracy of the Soviet Union, the writers and scientists. They get the highest wage, they enjoy such privileges as the law and public opinion allow. How free are they? Science is singularly free from religious dogma and vested interest. The writer has wide leeway and rich applause, but he is limited by the aims of Socialism and by the fear of outside attack which in the past has

to serve all and not a few.

(1) The world problem of mental service has not been settled. The question of life Careers and the decisions between what one wants to do + what one is fitted to do, and what ~~needs~~ offers are needed — these matters have not yet found final answers; but they are being frankly faced + experiments are making

(over)

(2) This is not astonishing nor unusual How many right answers to our problems are there?

nearly ruined the Soviet Union. But the recalcitrant writer, the idealists and dreamers disagree and variety of opinion has become reasuringly common and open. As the Soviet Union becomes stronger and more self-confident, and less sensitive to that western opinion which has so long ruled the world with a rod of gold, it will become freer. Never I hope so free as to betray the ideals of the land as French writers have betrayed France and as American writers today submitted to dictation.

For years most American leaders regarded the figures as to Russian progress as exaggerations or lies. The Teachers' Union begged me not to say in answer to a citation that the schools of Moscow were better than those of New York. Then cane "Sputnik". Then came the unanswerable proof of Soviet superiority in Science. But what I saw in the Soviet Union was more than triumph in physics, it was the growth of a nations soul; the confidence of a great people in its plans and future. And beyond that the realization around the world that the Seven year Plan was not boasting, but knowledge shared by 200,000,000 people. Around these millions were gathered eveb greater millions in China, Vietnam and Korea, who believed in Socialism and sought Communism.

Ex-President Conant of Harvard declared that the Communist Party would not allow promotion to higher schools by examination; presumably only by favor

There followed the startling figures of 6 Education in school + college

15

Is it possible to conduct a great modern government without autocratic leadership of the rich? The answer is: this is exactly what ~~Russia~~ the Soviet Union is doing today. But can she continue to do this? This is not a question of ethics or economics; it is a question of psychology. Can Russia continue to think of the State in terms of the workers? This can happen only if the Russian people believe and idealize the workingman as the chief of citizen. In America we do not. The ideal of every American is the millionaire-- or at least the man of "independent" means or income. We regard the laborers as the unfortunate part of the community and even liberal thought is directed toward "emancipating" the workingman by relieving him in part, if not entirely, of the necessity ~~of~~ for work. Russia, on the contrary, is seeking to make a nation believe that work, and work that is hard and in some respects ~~disagreeable~~ very disagreeable and to a large extent physical, is a necessity of human life at present and likely to be in any conceivable future world; that the people who do this work are the ones who should determine how the national income from their combined efforts should be distributed; in fine, that the workingman is the State; that he makes civilization possible and should determine what civilization is to be.

For this purpose he must be a workingman of skill and intelligence and to this ~~combined~~ Russian education is being organized. This is what the ~~Russian~~ Dictatorship of the Proletariat means. This dictatorship does not stop there. As the workingman is today neither skilled nor intelligent to any such extent as his responsibilities demand, there is within his ranks the Communist Party, directing the Proletariat toward their future ~~dictatorship~~ duties. This is nothing new. In the government "of the people", we have elaborate and many-sided arrangements for guiding the rulers. The test is, are we and Russia really preparing future rulers? Insofar as I could see in the Soviet Union ~~1926~~ in shop and school, in the press and on the radio, in books and lectures, in trade unions and National Congresses ~~Russia~~ men. Russia is. We are not.

16

But it is the organized private capital of America, England, France and Germany which is chiefly instrumental in preventing the realization of the Russian workingman's psychology. It has used every modern weapon to crush Russia. It sent against Russia every scoundrel who could lead a mob and has given him money, guns, and armies; and when Russia nearly committed suicide in crushing this civil war, modern industry began the industrial boycott, the refusal of capital and credit, which is being carried on today just as far as international jealousy and greed will allow. And can we wonder? If modern capital is owned by the rich and handled for their power and benefit, can the rich be expected to hand it over to their avowed and actual enemies ? On the contrary, if modern industry is really for the benefit of the people and if there is an effort to make the people the chief beneficiaries of industry, why is it that this same people is powerless today to help this experiment, or at least give it a clear way? On the other hand, so long as the most powerful nations in the world are determined that the Soviet Russia must fall, there can be but a minimum of free discussion and democratic difference of opinion in Russia.

There is world struggle then in and about Russia; but it is not simply an ethical problem, as to whether or not the Russian Revolution was morally right; that is a question, which only history will settle. It is not simply the economic question as to whether or not Russia can conduct industry on a national scale. She is doing it today and in so doing she differs only in quantity, not in quality from every other modern country. It is not a question merely of "dictatorship". We are all subject to this form of government.

The Russian question is: Can you make the worker and not the millionaire the center of modern power and culture? If you can, the Russian Revolution will sweep the world. One can stand on the streets of Moscow and Kiev and see clearly that Russia has struck at the citadels of the power that rules modern countries. Not manhood suffrage, women's suffrage, state regulation of industry, social reforms, nor religious and moral teaching in any modern country, have shorn organized wealth of its power as the Bolshevik Revolution has done in Russia.

Russia seems to me the only modern country where people are not more or less taught and encouraged to despise and look down on some group or race. I know countries where race and color prejudice show only slight manifestations, but no European country where race and color prejudice seems so absolutely absent. In Paris, I attract some attention; in London I meet elaborate blankness; anywhere in America I would get anything from curiosity to insult. In Moscow, I pass unheeded. Russians quite naturally ask me information; women sit beside me quite confidentially and unconsciously.

~~China in Tibet~~. In Tibet whole tribes were on the border in Czechuan. The landlords and slave drivers and the religious fanatics revolted against the Chinese and ~~[illegible]~~ Buddha as they deserved. Tibet has belonged to China for centuries. The Communists ~~[illegible]~~ broke the two ~~[illegible]~~ by roads and began reforms in land holding ~~[illegible]~~, schools and trade which never known before.

At Kunming we were at the head of the Burma Road and near the great Mekong river. Below lay Vietnam, ~~[illegible]~~ Laos Cambodia or THAILAND. The rest of Graham, whoremongers and gamblers at Saigon, backed by ~~[illegible]~~ American have broken the Geneva treaty which closed the French Indo-Chinese war and are attacking the Communists of Vietnam. That is called Communist aggression. It is the attempt of American bankers and the American ~~[illegible]~~ & Navy to install French colonial rule in ~~[illegible]~~ Southeast Asia

and wasting wealth and energy on the preparation for war, which is nothing less than criminal. Yet the United States dare not stop spending money for war. If she did her whole economy which is today based on preparation for war, would collapse. Therefore, we prepare for a Third World War; we spread our soldiers and arms over the earth and we bribe every nation we can to become our allies. We are taxing our citizens into poverty, crime and unemployment, and systematically distorting the truth about socialism.

[redacted]

along with ruthless will and drunken beauty. There is the eternal struggle and endless contradiction within a people who can never die, so long as men remember Ronsard, the Kings called Louis, the Napoleons and the Alexandre Dumas.

Many Africans and other people seek today to take a neutral stand between the great forces which seek to dominate the world. This is natural; a nation with old and desperate problems like India wants time to work at these problems and does not wish to be drawn into disputes and differences which do not seem immediately to concern her. A new nation like Ghana wants time to develop and settle her own pressing problems before facing problems which divide America and Russia.

Until this world trip of mine, which began last August and ended July 1st, and which has covered parts of Britain, Holland France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, the Soviet Union, China and Sweden, before this amazing trip, I would have agreed in the main with this attitude, but since this journey, I have slowly but firmly come to this conclusion: there is today in this world no neutral area, no attitude which can avoid or postpone decision as to capitalism and socialism. [redacted]

I knew the United States. It is my country and has long been the land of my fathers. I was born on its soil and educated in its schools. I have served my country to the best of my ability. I have never knowingly broken its laws or unjustly attacked its reputation. At the same time I have pointed out its injustices and crimes and blamed it, rightly as I believe, for its mistakes. Today the United States is the leading nation in the world, which apparently believes that war is the only way to settle present disputes and difficulties. For this reason it is spending fantastic sums of money, and

THE CLOUDS OF TIME
(AN EARLY DRAFT OF A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY)

c. 1958
Notes and fragments, including chapter 18, "I Await Death."

CLOUDS OF TIME

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W. E. B. DU BOIS

CHAPTER I	MY BIRTH AND FAMILY	17 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER II	BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON	31 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER III	I GO SOUTH	32 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER IV	HARVARD AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	23 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER V	EUROPE, 1892 TO 1894	41 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER VI	WILBERFORCE	12 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER VII	UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA	11 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER VIII	ATLANTA UNIVERSITY	36 pp.	(complete)
CHAPTER IX	THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT	22 pp.	(partly finished)
CHAPTER X	THE NAACP	20 pp.	(partly finished)
CHAPTER XI	MY CHARACTER	8 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XII	THE DEPRESSION	23 pp.	(partly complete)
CHAPTER XIII	RETURN TO THE NAACP	19 pp.	(partly complete)
CHAPTER XIV	PEACE CONGRESSES	9 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XV	THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER	5 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XVI	AN INDICTED CRIMINAL	9 pp.	(in outline)
CHAPTER XVII	REJECTED OF MEN	29 pp.	(partly complete)
CHAPTER XVIII	I AWAIT DEATH	9 pp.	(in outline)

33-3-226

CLOUDS OF TIME

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W. E. B. DU BOIS

CHAPTER I	MY BIRTH AND FAMILY	17 pp.	/complete/
CHAPTER II	BOYHOOD IN GREAT BARRINGTON	31 pp.	"
CHAPTER III	I GO SOUTH	32 pp.	"
CHAPTER IV	HARVARD AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	23 pp.	"
CHAPTER V	EUROPE, 1892 TO 1894	41 pp.	"
CHAPTER VI	WILBERFORCE	12 pp.	"
CHAPTER VII	UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA	11 pp.	/in outline/
CHAPTER VIII	ATLANTA UNIVERSITY	36 pp.	/complete/
CHAPTER IX	THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT	22 pp.	/partly finished/
CHAPTER X	THE NAACP	20 pp.	"
CHAPTER XI	MY CHARACTER	8 pp.	/in outline/
CHAPTER XII	THE DEPRESSION	23 pp.	/partly complete/
CHAPTER XIII	RETURN TO THE NAACP	19 pp.	"
CHAPTER XIV	PEACE CONGRESSES	9 pp.	/in outline/
CHAPTER XV	THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER	5 pp.	"
CHAPTER XVI	AN INDICTED CRIMINAL	9 pp.	"
CHAPTER XVII	REJECTED OF MEN	29 pp.	/partly complete/
CHAPTER XVIII	I AWAIT DEATH	9 pp.	/in outline/

1894 — Professor at Wilberforce
1893 — reappointed by Slater Trustees
1893 Receive Scholarship Appointment
1892 Enter U of Berlin
1892 Scholar Trustees Slater Fund
1892 Fellow of Harvard
1891 Harvard AM.
1891 Fellow of Harvard
1890 Harvard A B
1890 Commencement Speech
1890 1st Boylston Prize
1888 4 Boylston Prize
1890 2nd Schol. at Harvard
1889 Scholarship at Harvard
1888 Div at Harvard
1888 Graduate with AB
1885 Enter Fisk U.
1884 Graduate from N.S., 1884
1880 Enter high school

Hon John A Andrew, M.C.,

Sir:

33-3-229

VI

33-3-230

1894 - Professor at Wilberforce

1895 - Reappointed by Slater Trustees

1893 - Receive Schmuller's approval

1892 - Enter University of Berlin

1892 - Schc'arship Trustees Slater Fund

1892 - Fellow of Harvard

1891 - Harvard A. M.

1891 - Fellow of Harvard

1890 - Harvard A. B.

1890 - Commencement Speech

1890 - 1st Boylston Prize

1888 - 4th Boylston Prize

1890 - 2nd Scholarship at Harvard

1889 - Scholarship at Harvard

1888 - Bid at Harvard

1888 - Graduate with A. B.

1885 - Enter sophomore at Fisk

1884 - Graduate from high school

1880 - Enter high school

IX

1888 - 1899
20-30 - Education

38-12-42

1888 - Frederick III - William II
Enter Harvard - Summer @ Lake Mahanna
(James, Palmer, Royce, Shaler,
Santayana, Eliot, Hart.

1889 - Harrison
Circuit tour

1890 Trials - Negro disfranchisement - McKinley tariff
Commencement speaker - Fellow
Blair bill defeated

1891 - Fellow - Thesis

1892 - President Hayes - Fellow of Slater Fund
Germany - Eisenach
(Schmoller, Wagner, von Treitschke, Virchow, Ritter von Eschenbach
Travel
Hartzreise, Switzerland, Italy, Austria
Hungary, South, West & East Germany, Hansa
Gradstone, Hawaii
~~Chicago Expo~~. - High Tide of Lynching, 155.

1893 Cleveland
Chicago Expo

1894 - France, England & U.S.A
Rosebery, Dreyfus
Nicholas II of Russia
China - Japan War
Wilberforce Univ

1895 Salisbury - Jameson Raid
Ph.D

1896 Marriage
Battle of Adwa - End of Slave Trade
U. of Penna.

(over)

1897 - Khartoum captured - Burghardt born

McKinley (Bryan)

Atlanta C.

Rucker, collector

The 3rd Decade - Education, from 1888-1898, 20-30 yea

My education at Harvard + Berlin + the beginning of my
Teaching Career

~~Immigration~~ = scholarship

Harvard y 1888 — the Man

My work + Habits, Interests + social Circle (Wendell — education — Town y court

contacts ——— the U.S.A y 1888-98 { Harrison 89
Cleveland 93
McKinley 97

Commencement
Fellow Union

Free silver
Bryan + Populists

Carol Peabody + Hayes — presidency

Trusts - disfranchisement

Appointment - Berlin + Trust

Labor

(Europe)

41-1001-14

Reform

Publications — The Paradox

~~Marriage y [illegible] Parson~~

Marriage — Adams - Park

Death y Parson

CHAPTER XVIII

I AWAIT DEATH

This is my ninetieth birthday and I await death. I am a little disturbed at its uncertainty, because for so many years I have been used to planing ahead. Always on my desk lies the calender of my own devsing with dailly and hourly taskes; with plans for the week and next week , the month and the sentinel of my main task for the year.. This year-part is now getting uncertain. But I'll get used to that. Otherwise I am reasonably content and although my strength warns me not to try to work so many hours as once I did, yey I work and work regularly and with some efficiency.

I have long faced the inevitability of death and not tried to dodge the thought. ~~In 1924 I began to write about it~~ 1918

fact.

own Jc

In 1924 ~~after my~~ from my 60th birthday I work again

In early Manhood I sneered!

36-12-58

At fifty after a serious operation
I wrote

"Last year I looked death in the face and found its lineaments not unkind. But it was not my time. Yet in nature some time soon and in the fullness of days I shall die, quietly, I trust, with my face turned South and eastward;

and, dreaming or dreamless, I shall, I am sure, enjoy death as I have enjoyed life.

XXIV

And I saw a mother black & seared & iron haired, who had washed her boy thro' college for men & fear & drearnage & trembled till he sought women & whiskey & died. She died, and a Cathedral of St John the Divine & Promised there where a comfortable red & yellow angel, calling, summed her ample limbs, "To Keep the Memory of Obadiah James Green," stock-gambler. And there she rested while the organ warbled the overture & the Trinitarians, and the choir assented My Jesus! as thou wilt" The

Celestial trumpet sonorous hand sweet inbored

36-12-60

XXIV

"Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden & I will give you rest For my yoke is easy & my burden light"

And then the window-angel waved a fat wing & murmured: "Except Niggers!"

36-12-61

In that dark day, when all friends gathered round shall weep; He goes, to that full dreadfull shore when earth shall quake away, and these dim eyes shall they see
kneel & scenes all glorious shall thou see on that
round the wide world's shore
morrow; a glorified Negro Problem ~~around the throne~~ —

If so Faithful friends, send me to Hell —

On Being Black

Part I ~~The Ist~~ In the Morning Enlight

Part II at Eventide.

Part I L'allegro.

Part II Il Penseroso.

From then until now the wraith of Death has folowed me, slept with me and awakened me and accompanied my day. Only now it is more commonplace and reasonable. It is the end and without ends there can be no beginnings. Its ~~end-less-ness~~ finality we must not falsify. It is our ~~endless~~ great debt to the Soviet Union that it alone of nations dared stop that lying to children which so long disgraced our schools. We filled little minds with fairy tales of religious dogma which we never ourselves ~~xxxxxxxx~~ believed. We filled their ~~minds~~ thought with pictures of barbarous revenge called God which contradicted all sense of decency. We ~~told them~~ refuted them fairy tales of children without fathers, of death which was life, of secrifice which was ~~good~~ shrewd investment and ridiculous pictures of ~~Heaven and Hell~~ an endless future. The Soviets have stopped. They allow a child to grow up without religion lies and make his own decision about the world without scaring him into Hell or rewarding him with a silly Heaven.

We know that Death is the End of Life. Even when we profess to deny this we know that this hope is mere wishful thinking, pretense broidered with abject and cowardly Fear. Our endless egotism cannot conceive a world wuthout Us and yet we know that this will happen and the world ~~the~~ be happier for it. I have lived a good and full Life. I have finished my course. I do not want to live this life again. I am tired. I am through. For the souls who follow me, for that little boy born last Christmas day and his compeers I bequeath all that waits to be done. ~~From me only a fond goodbye. forever.~~

I have tasted its de ights and ~~thrilling~~ pleasures; I have known its suffering and despair

26-12-59

and ~~then~~ holy Time what a mess he's been in

My great grandson

[1958]

CHAPTER XVIII

I AWAIT DEATH

This is my ninetieth birthday and I await death. I am a little disturbed at its uncertainty, because for so many year I have been used to planning ahead. Always on my desk lies the calendar of my own devising with daily and hourly tasks; with plans for the week and next week, the month and months ahead and the sentinel of my main task for the year. This year-part is now getting uncertain. But I'll get used to that. Otherwise I am reasonably content and although my strength warns me not to try to work so many hours as once I did, yet I work and work regularly and with some efficiency.

36-12-62

I have long faced the inevitability of death and not tried to dodge the thought. In early manhood I wrote:

And I saw a mother, black and seared and iron-haired, who had her boy through college for men to jeer and discourage and tempted him till he sought women and whiskey and died. She crept on a winter's Sunday into a Cathedral of St. John The Divine and crouched there where a comfortable red and yellow angel sat sunning her ample limbs, "To Keep the Memory of Obadiah James Green," — a stock-gambler. And there she rested while the organ warbled the overture to Der Feischutz, and the choir asserted "My Jesus! As Thou wilt." "Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. For my yoke is easy and my burden light". And the window-angel moved a fat wing and murmured: "except Niggers!"

In that dark day when all friends gathered round shall sigh, He goes to that full dreadful home when earth shall away and these dim eyes shall to scenes all glorious shall they see on that morning round the wide, white throne a glorified Negro Problem. If so, Father of Mercies, send me to Hell.

At fifty, after a serious operation I wrote:

"Last year I looked death in the face and found its lineaments not unkind. But it was not my time. Yet in nature some time soon and in the fullness of days I shall

die, quietly, I trust, with my face turned South and eastward; and, dreaming or dreamless I shall, I am sure, enjoy death as I have enjoyed life."

At sixty years of age I wrote again:

"For long years we of the world gone wild have looked into the face of death and smiled. Through all our bitter tears we knew how beautiful it was to die for that which our souls called sufficient. Like all true beauty this thing of dying was so simple, so matter-of-fact. The boy clothed in his splendid youth stood before us and laughed in his own jolly way — went and was gone. Suddenly the world was full of the fragrance of sacrifice. We left our digging and burden-bearing; we turned from our scraping and twisting of things and words; we paused from our hurrying hither and thither and walking up and down, and asked in half-whisper: Death — is this Life? And is its beauty real or false?

36-12-63

"Here, then is beauty and ugliness, a wide vision of world-sacrifice, a fierce gleam of world-hate. Which is life and what is death and how shall we face so tantalizing a contradiction? Any explanation must necessarily be subtle and involved. No pert and easy word of encouragement, no merely dark despair, can lay hold of the roots of these things. And first and before all, we cannot forget that this world is beautiful. Grant all its ugliness and sin — the petty, horrible snarl of its putrid threads, which few have seen more near or more often than I — notwithstanding all this, the beauty of the world is not to be denied.

"And then — the Veil. It drops as drops the night on southern seas — vast, sudden, unanswering. There is Hate behind it, and Cruelty and Tears. As one peers through its intricate, unfathomable pattern of ancient, old, old design, one sees blood and guilt and misunderstanding. And yet it hangs there, this Veil, between then and now, between Pale and Colored and Black and White — between You and Me. Surely it is a thought-thing, tenuous, intangible; yet just as surely is it true and terrible and not in our little day may you and I lift it. We may feverishly unravel its edges and even climb slow with giant shears to where its ringed and gilded

top nestles close to the throne of Eternity. But as we work and climb we shall see through streaming eyes and hear with aching ear, lynching and murder, cheating and despising, degrading and lying, so flashed and fleshed through this vast hanging darkness that the Doer never sees the Deed and the Victim knows not the Victor and Each hates All in wild and bitter ignorance. Listen, O Isles, to these Voices from within the Veil, for they portray the most human hurt of the Twentieth Cycle of that poor Jesus who was called the Christ!

"There is something in the nature of Beauty that demands an end. Ugliness may be indefinite. It may trail off into gray endlessness. But Beauty must be complete — whether it be a field of poppies or a great life, — it must end, and the End is part and triumph of the Beauty. I know there are those who envisage a beauty eternal. But I cannot. I can dream of great and never-ending processions of beautiful things and visions and acts. But each must be complete or it cannot for me exist.

36-12-64

On the other hand, Ugliness to me is eternal, not in the essence but in its incompleteness; but its eternity does not daunt me, for its eternal unfulfilment is a cause of joy. There is in it nothing new or unexpected; it is the old evil stretching out and ever seeking the end it cannot find; it may coil and writhe and recur in endless battle to days without end, but it is the same human ill and bitter hurt. But Beauty is fulfilment. It satisfies. It is always new and strange. It is the reasonable thing. Its end is Death -- the sweet silence of perfection, the calm and balance of utter music. Therein is the triumph of Beauty.

So strong is the spell of beauty that there are those who, contradicting their own knowledge and experience, try to say that all is beauty. They are called optimists and they lie. All is not beauty. Ugliness and hate and ill are here with all their contradiction and illogic; they will always be here -- perhaps, God send, with lessened volume and force, but here and eternal, while beauty triumphs in its great completion -- Death. We cannot conjure the end of all ugliness in

eternal beauty, for beauty by its very being and definition has ~~in each definition~~ has in each definition its ends and limits; but while beauty lies implicit and revealed in its end, ugliness writhes on in darkness forever. So the ugliness of continual birth fulfils itself and conquers gloriously only in the beautiful end, Death.

At last to us all comes happiness, there in the Court of Peace, where the dead lie so still and calm and good. If we were not dead we would lie and listen to the flowers grow. We would hear the birds sing and see how the rain rises and blushes and burns and pales and dies in beauty. We would see Spring, summer, and the red riot of autumn, and then in winter, beneath the soft white snow, sleep and dream of dreams. But we know that being dead, our Happiness is a fine and finished thing and that ten, a hundred, and a thousand years, we shall lie at rest, unhurt in the Court of Peace.

36-12-65

From then until now the wraith of Death has followed me, slept with me and awakened me and accompanied my day. Only now it is more commonplace and reasonable. It is the end and without ends there can be no beginnings. Its finality we must not falsify. It is our great debt to the Soviet Union that it alone of nations dared stop that lying to children which so long disgraced our schools. We filled little minds with fairy tales of religious dogma which we ourselves never believed. We filled their thoughts with pictures of barbarous revenge called God which contradicted all their inner sense of decency. We repeated fairy tales of children without fathers, of death which was life, of sacrifice which was shrewd investment and of ridiculous pictures of an endless future. The Soviets have stopped this. They allow a child to grow up without religious lies and with mature mind make his own decision about the world without scaring him into Hell or rewarding him with a silly Heaven.

We know that Death is the End of Life. Even when we profess to deny this we know that this hope is mere wishful thinking, pretense broidered with abject and

and cowardly Fear. Our endless egotism cannot conceive a world without Us and yet we know that this will happen and the world be happier for it. I have lived a good and full Life. I have finished my course. I do not want to live this life again. I have tasted its delights and pleasures; I have known its pain, suffering and despair. I am tired. I am through. For the souls who follow me for that little boy born last Christmas day, my great grandson and his compeers I bequeath all that waits to be done and holy Time what a forever.

A VISTA OF NINETY YEARS

By W. E. B. Du Bois

36-12-66

This is the month of my ninetieth birthday. I have lived to an age of life which is increasingly distasteful to this nation. Unless by sixty a man has gained possession of enough to support himself, he faces the distinct possibility of starvation. He is liable to lose his job and to refusal if he seeks another. At seventy he is frowned upon by the Church and if he is foolish enough to survive until ninety, he is often regarded as a freak. This is because in the face of human experience the United States has discovered that Youth knows more than Age. When a man of 35 becomes president of a great institution of learning or United States Senator or head of a multi-million dollar corporation, a cry of triumph rings in the land. Why? To pretend that fifteen years bring of themselves more wisdom and understanding than fifty is a contradiction in terms. Given a fool, a hundred years will not make him wise; but given an idiot, he will not be wise at twenty. Youth is more courageous than age because it knows less. Age is wiser than youth because it knows more. This all mankind has affirmed from Egypt and China five thousand years ago to Britain and Germany today. Only the United States knows better. I would have been hailed with approval if I had died at fifty. At seventy-five my death was practically requested. If living does not give value, wisdom, and meaning to life, then there is no sense in living at all. If immature and inexperienced men rule the earth, then the earth deserves what it gets:

the repetition of age-old mistakes, and wild welcome for what men knew a thousand years ago was disaster.

I do not apologise for living long. High on the ramparts of this blistering hell of life, as it must appear to most men, I sit and see the Truth. I look it full in the face, and I will not lie about it, neither to myself nor to the world. I see my country as what Cedric Belfrage aptly characterizes as a "Frightened Giant" afraid of the Truth, afraid of Peace. I see a land which is degenerating and faces decadence unless it has sense enough to turn about and start back. It is no sin to fail. It is the habit of men. It is disaster to go on when you know you are going wrong. I judge this land not merely by statistics or reading lies agreed upon by historians. I judge by what I have seen, heard, and lived through for near a century.

36-12-67

There was a day when the world rightly called Americans honest even if crude; earning their living by hard work; telling the truth no matter whom it hurt; and going to war only in what they believed a just cause after nothing else seemed possible. Today we are lying, stealing, and killing. We call all this by finer names: Advertising, Free Enterprise, and national defense. But names in the end deceive no one; today we use science to help us deceive our fellows; we take wealth that we never earned and we are devoting all our energies to kill, maim and drive insane, men, women and children who dare refuse to do what we want done. No nation threatens us. We threaten the world. Our President says that Foster Dulles is the wisest man he knows. If Dulles is wise, God help our fools — the fools who rule us and are today running wild in order to shoot a football into the sky where Sputnik rolls in peace around the earth. And they know why we fail — these military masters of men — we haven't taught our children mathematics and physics. No, it is because we have not taught our children to read and write or to behave like human beings and not like hoodlums. Every child on my street is whooping it up with toy guns and big boys with real pistols. When Elvis Presley goes through the motions of copulation on the public stage it takes

the city police force to hold back teen-age children from hysteria. What are we doing about it? Half the Christian churches of New York are trying to ruin the free public schools in order to replace them by religious dogma, and the other half are too interested in Venezuelan oil to prevent the best center in Brooklyn from fighting youthful delinquency, or preventing a bishop from kicking William Howard Melish into the street and closing his church. Which of the hundreds of churches sitting half empty protests about this? They hire Billy Graham to replace the circus in Madison Square Garden.

All this must not be mentioned even if you know it and see it. America must never be criticized even by honest and sincere men. America must always be praised and extravagantly praised, or you lose your job or are ostracized or land in jail. Criticism is Treason, and treason or the hint of treason testified to by hired liars may be punished by shameful death. I saw Ethel Rosenberg lying beautiful in her coffin beside her mate. I tried to stammer futile words above her grave. But not over graves should we shout this failure of justice, but from the housetops of the world.

36-12-68

Honest men may and must criticize America. Describe how she has ruined her democracy, sold out her jury system, and led her seats of justice astray. The only question that may arise is whether this criticism is based on truth, not whether it has been openly expressed.

What is truth? What can it be when the President of the United States, guiding the nation, stands up in public and says: "The world also thinks of us as a land which has never enslaved anyone." Everyone who heard this knew it was not true. Yet here stands the successor of George Washington who bought, owned, and sold slaves; the successor of Abraham Lincoln who freed four million slaves after they had helped him win victory over the slave-holding South. And so far as I have seen, not a single periodical, not even a Negro weekly, has dared challenge or even criticize that extraordinary falsehood.

This is what I call decadence. It could not have happened fifty years ago. In the day of our fiercest controversy we have not dared thus publicly to silence opinion. I have lived through disagreement, vilification, and war and war again. But in all that time, I have never seen the right of human beings to think so challenged and denied as today.

The day after I was born, Andrew Johnson was impeached. He deserved punishment as a traitor to the poor Southern whites and poorer freedmen. Yet during his life, no one denied him the right to defend himself.

A quarter of a century ago, I tried to state and carry into realization unpopular ideas against a powerful opposition — in the white South, in the reactionary North, and even among my own people. I found my thought being misconstrued and I planned an organ of propaganda — The Crisis — where I would be free to say what I believed. This was no easy sailing. My magazine reached but a fraction of the nation. It was bitterly attacked and once the government suppressed it. But in the end I maintained a platform of radical thinking on the Negro question which influenced many minds. War and depression ended my independence of thought and forced me to return to teaching, but with the certainty that I had at least started a new line of belief and action.

36-12-69

As a result of my work and that of others, the Supreme Court began to restore democracy in the South and finally outlawed discrimination in public services based on color. This caused rebellion in the South which the nation is afraid to meet. The Negro stands bewildered and attempt is made by appointments to unimportant offices and trips abroad to bribe him into silence. His art and literature cease to function. Only the children like those at Little Rock stand and fight.

The Yale sophomore who replaced a periodical of brains by a book of pictures concealed in advertisements, proposed that America rule the world. This failed because we could not rule ourselves. But Texas to the rescue, as Johnson proposes that America

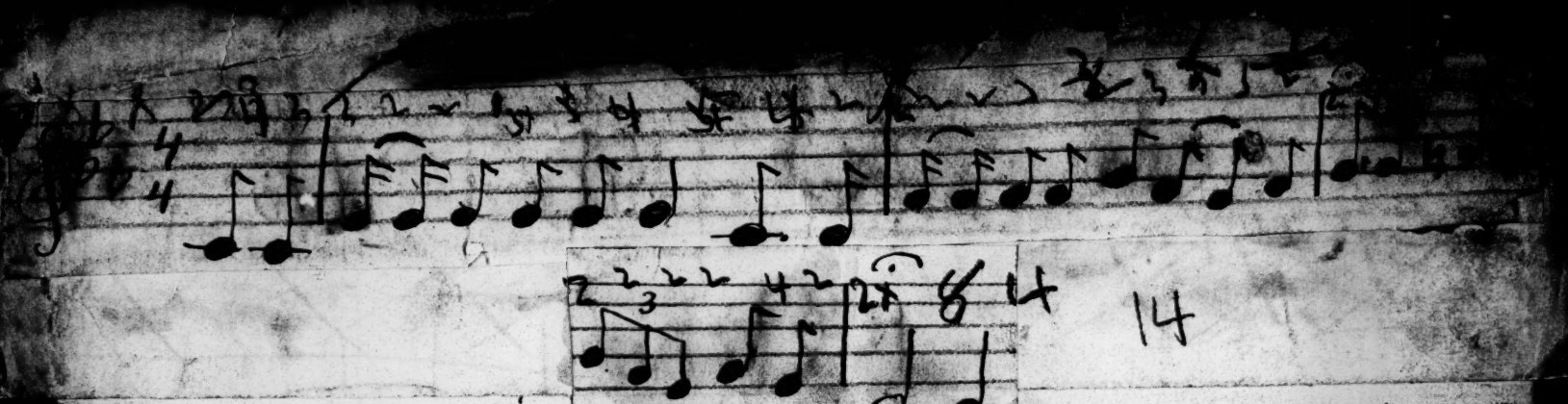
take over outer space. Somewhere beyond the Moon there must be sentient creatures rolling in inextinguishable laughter at the antics of our Earth.

We tax ourselves into poverty and crime so as to make the rich richer and bring more crime and poverty. We know the cause of this: it is to permit our rich business interests to stop socialism and to prevent the ideals of Communism from ever triumphing on earth. The aim is impossible. Socialism progresses and will progress. All we can do is to silence and jail its promoters. I believe in socialism. I seek a world where the ideals of Communism will triumph — to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. And I still live.

36-12-70

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

Handwritten and typewritten draft manuscript of "Of the Coming of John"



Carlisle street runs west ward from the centre of Johnstown, across a great black bridge, down a hill and up again, by little shops and meat-markets, past single-stoned homes, until suddenly it stops against a wide green lawn. It is a broad restful place, with two large buildings outlined against the west. When at evening the winds ~~came~~ swelling ~~rustling~~ from the east, and the great pall of the city's ~~smoke~~ smoke hangs wearily above the valley, then the red west glows like a dreamland down Carlisle street; and, at the tolling of the supper-bell, throws the passing forms of students in dark silhouette against the sky. Tall and black, they move slowly by, and seem in the sinister light & flit before the city like dim warning ghosts. Perhaps they were; for this is Wells's Institute, and these black students have few dealings with the

7-13-99

white city below.

And if you will notice, night after night, there is one dark form that ever hurries last and late toward the twinkling lights of Swain Hall, — for Jones is never on time. A long straggling fellow he is, brown and ~~[illegible]~~ hard-haired, who seems to be growing straight out of his clothes, and walks with a half-apologetic roll. He used perpetually to set the quiet dining-room into waves of merriment, as he stole to his place after the bell had tapped for prayers; he seemed so perfectly awkward. And yet one glance at his face made one forgive him much, — that broad good-natured smile in which lay no bit of art or artifice, but seemed just bubbling good-nature and genuine satisfaction with the world.

He came to us from Altamaha, away down there beneath the gnarled oaks ~~[illegible]~~

of South east Georgia, where the sea sings & the sands and the sands listen till they sink half-drowned beneath the waters, rising only here and then in long low islands. The white folk of ~~Altamaha~~ voted John a good boy, — fine plough-hand, good in the rice-fields, handy everywhere, and always good-natured and respectful. But they shook their heads when his mother wanted to send him off to school. "It 'ill spoil him, — ruin him," they said; and they talked as though they knew. But full half the Black folk followed him proudly to the station, and carried his queer little trunk and many bundles. And there they shook and shook hands, and the girls kissed him shyly, and the boys clapped him on the back. So the train came, and he pinched his little sister lovingly, and put his great arms about his mother's neck, and then was away with a puff and a roar into the great yellow world that flamed

41-9-432

and flared about the ~~dark and~~ doubtful pilgrim. Up the coast they hurried, past the squares and palmettos of Savannah, through the cotton-fields and through the weary night, & Millville, ~~Macon~~, and came with the morning & the noise and bustle of ~~Atlanta~~ Johnstown.

And they that stood behind, that morning in Darien, and watched the train as it noisily bore playmate and brother and son away & the world, had thereafter one ever-recurring word,—"When John comes." Then what parties were & be, and what speakings in the churches; what new furniture in the front room,—~~and~~ perhaps even a new front room; and there would be a new school house, with John as teacher; and then perhaps a big wedding; all this and more—when John comes.

41-4-433

¶ ~~#~~ But the white people shook their heads. ¶

At first he was coming at Christmas-time,—but the vacation proved too short; and then,

the next summer, - but times were hard and schooling costly, and so, instead, he worked (Johnstown ~~Atlanta~~). And so it drifted & the next summer, and the next, - till playmates scattered, and mother grew gray, and sister went up & the Judge's kitchen & work. And still the legend lingered, - "when John comes." Up at the Judge's they rather liked this refrain; for they too had a John - a fair-haired, frank-faced boy, who had played many a long summer's day & its close with his darker name sake. "Yes, sir! John is at Princeton, sir," said the broad-shouldered gray-haired Judge every morning as he ~~marched~~ down & the Post Office. "Showing the Yankees what a Southern gentleman can do," he added; and strode home again with his letters and papers. ## Up at the great pillared house they lingered long over the Princeton letter, - the Judge & his frail wife, his sister and

41-9-434

IP

that growing daughters. "It'll make a man of him," said the Judge. "College is the place." And then he asked the shy little waitress, "Well, Jennie, how's your John?" and added reflectively, "Too bad, too bad your mother sent him off,— it will spoil him." And the waitress wondered.

Thus in the fair = a way Southern village the world lay waiting, half consciously, the coming of two young men, and dreamed in an inarticulate way of new things that would be done and new thoughts that all would think. And yet it was singular that no one thought of two Johns,— for the black folk thought of one John, and he was black; and the white folk thought of another John, and he was white. And neither world thought the other world's thought, save with a vague

41-9-435

unrest.

Up in Johnstown, at the Institute, we were long puzzled at the case of John Jones. For a long time the clay seemed unfit for any sort of moulding. He was loud and boisterous, always laughing and singing, and never able to work consecutively at anything. He did not know how to study; he had no idea of thoroughness; and with his tardiness, carelessness, and appalling good humor, we were sore perplexed. One night we sat in faculty-meeting, worried and serious; for Jones was in trouble again. This last escapade was too much, and so we solemnly voted, "That Jones, on account of repeated disorder and inattention to work, be suspended for the rest of the term." It seemed to us that the first time life ever struck Jones as a really serious thing was when the Dean told him he must leave school. He stared at the gray-haired man

blankly, with great eyes. "Why, – why," he faltered; "but – I haven't graduated!" Then the dean slowly and clearly explained, ~~and recounted~~ reminding him of the tardiness and the carelessness, of the poor lessons and neglected work, of the noise and disorder, until the fellow hung his head in confusion. Then he said quickly, "But you won't tell mammy and Kister, – you won't write Mammy now, will you? For if you won't I'll go out into the city and work, and come back next term and show you some thing." So the dean promised faithfully, and John shouldered his little trunk, ~~and~~ giving neither word nor look to the giggling boys, and walked down the Carlisle ~~the Market~~ street to the great city, with sober eyes and a set and serious face.

41-9-437

Perhaps we imagined it, but somehow it seemed to us that the serious look that crept over his boyish face that afternoon never left it again. When he came back to us he went to work with all his

rugged strength. It was a hard struggle, for things did not come easily to him, — a few crowding memories of early life and teaching came to help him on his new way; but all the world toward which he strove was of his own building, and he builded slow and hard. As the light dawned lingeringly on his new creations, he sat rapt and silent before the vision, or wandered alone over the green campus peering through and beyond the world of men into a world of thought. And the thoughts at times puzzled him sorely; he could not see just why the circle was not square, and carried it out (56) spell decimal places, one midnight, — would have gone further, indeed, had not the matron rapped for lights out. He caught terrible colds lying on his back in the meadows of nights, trying to think out the solar system; he had grave doubts as to the ethics of the Fall of Rome, and strongly suspected the Germans of being thieves and rascals despite his text-books; he pondered

41-9-438

long over every new Greek work, & wondered why they meant that and why it could mean something else, and how it ~~seemed~~ must have felt & think all things in Greek. So he thought and puzzled along for himself, - passing heedlessed where others skipped merrily, and walking steadily through the difficulties where the rest stopped and surrendered.

Thus he grew in body and soul, and with him his clothes seemed to grow and arrange themselves; coat sleeves got longer, cuffs appeared, and collars got less soiled. Now and then his boots shone, and a new dignity crept into his walk. And we who saw daily a new thoughtfulness growing in his eyes, began to expect something of this plodding boy. Thus he passed out of the preparatory school into college, and we who watched him felt four more years of change, which almost transformed the tall grave man who bowed & as commencement morning. He had left his green thought-world and come back

41-9-439

& a world of motion and of men. He looked now for the first time sharply about him, and wondered he had seen so little before. He ~~felt~~ grew slowly & ~~feel~~ aware for the ~~first~~ first the Veil that lay between him and the white world; he first noticed now the oppression that had not seemed oppression before, differences that erst while seemed natural, restraints and slights that in his boyhood days had gone unnoticed or been greeted with a laugh. He felt angry now when men did not call him Mister, he clenched his hands at the "Jim Crow" cars, and chafed at the color-line that hemmed in him and his; a tinge of sarcasm crept into his speech, and a vague bitterness into his life; and he sat long hours wondering and planning a way around these crooked things. Daily he found himself shrinking from the choked and narrow life of his native town. And yet he always planned & go back to Altamaha,—

1-9-15

always planned to work there. Still, more and more as the day approached he hesitated with a nameless dread; and even the day after graduation he received with eagerness the offer of the Dean to send him North with the quartette during the summer vacation, to sing for the Institute. A breath of air before the plunge, he said to himself in half apology.

It was a bright September afternoon; and the streets of New York were brilliant with moving men. They reminded John of the sea, as he sat in the square and watched them, so changelessly changing, so bright and dark, so grave and gay. He scanned their rich and faultless clothes, the way they carried their hands, the shape of their hats; he peered into the hurrying carriages. Then, leaning back with a sigh, he said, "This is the World." The notion suddenly revived him to see where the world was going; so many of the richer and ~~brighter~~ brighter seemed

hurrying all one way. So when a tall light-haired young man and a little talkative lady came by, he rose half- hesitatingly and followed them. Up the street they went, past stores and gay shops, across a broad square, until with a hundred others they entered the high portal of a vast building. He was pushed toward the ticket-office with the others, and felt in his pocket for the new five-dollar bill he had hoarded. There seemed really no time for hesitation, so he drew it bravely out, passed it to the busy clerk, and received simply a ticket but no change. When at last he realized that he had paid five dollars to enter he knew not what, he stood stock-still amazed.

"Be careful," said a low voice behind him; "you must not lynch the colored gentleman simply because he's in your way," and a girl looked up

2hh-6-11

roguishly into the eyes of her fair-haired escort. A shade of annoyance passed over the escort's face. "You will not understand us at the South," he said, half-impatiently, as if continuing an argument. "With all your professions, one never sees in the North so cordial and intimate relations between white and black as are every-day occurrences with us. Why, I remember my closest play-fellow in boyhood was a little Negro named (after me), John, and surely no two, — well!"

The man stopped short and flushed to the roots of his hair, for there directly beside his reserved orchestra chairs sat the Negro he had stumbled over in the hall-way. He hesitated, and grew pale with anger, called the usher and gave him his card, with a few peremptory words, and slowly sat down. The lady deftly changed the subject.

All this John did not see, for he sat in

Feb 69
41-9-443

[p. 287 MISSING]

of all?) and if ~~He~~ he had called what right had ~~He~~ he to call when a world like this lay open before ~~men~~ men? ~~human souls~~.

¶ Then the movement changed, and fuller, mightier harmony swelled away. He looked thoughtfully across the hall, and wondered why the beautiful gray-haired woman looked so listless, and what the little man could be whispering about. He would not like to be listless and idle, he thought, for he felt with the music the movement of power within him. If he but had some master-work, some life-service, hard, — aye, bitter hard, but without the cringing and sickening servility, without the ~~shameless~~ cruel hurt that hardened his heart and soul. When at last a soft ~~light~~ sorrow crept across the violins, there came to him the vision of a far-off home, the great eyes of his sister, and the dark drawn face of his mother. And his heart sank below the waters, even as the sea-sand

4444-6-14

sinks by the shores of Altamaha, only to be lifted aloft again with that last ethereal wail of the swan that grieved and faded away into the sky.

¶ It left John sitting so silent and rapt that he did not for some time notice the usher tapping him lightly on the shoulder and saying politely, "Will you step this way, please, Sir?" He A little surprised, he arose quickly at the last tap, and turning to leave his seat looked full into the face of the fair-haired young man. For the first time the young man recognized his dark boyhood playmate, and John knew that it was the Judge's son. The white John started, lifted his hand, and then froze into his chair; the black John smiled lightly, then grimly, and followed the usher down the aisle. The manager was sorry, very, very sorry - but he explained that some mistake had been made in selling

S44-6-15

the gentleman a seat already disposed of; he would repaid the money, of course, and indeed felt the matter keenly, and so forth, and — before he had finished John was gone, walking hurriedly across the square and down the broad streets, and as he passed the park he buttoned his coat and said, "John Jones, You're a natural-born fool." Then he went to his lodgings and wrote a letter, and tore it up; he wrote another, and threw it in the fire. Then he seized a scrap of paper and wrote: "Dear Mother & Sister — I am coming — John."

41-9-446

"Perhaps," said John, as he settled himself on the train, "perhaps I am to blame myself in struggling against my manifest destiny simply because it looks hard and unpleasant. Here is my duty & Altamaha plain before me; & perhaps they'll let me help settle the Negro.

problems there, — perhaps they would. "I will go unto the King which is not according to the law, and if I perish, I perish." And then he mused and dreamed, and planned a life-work; and the train flew south.

Down in Altamaha, after seven long years, all the world knew John was coming. The homes were scrubbed and scoured, — above all, one; the gardens and yards had an unwonted trimness, and Jenny bought a new gingham. With some finesse and negotiation, all the dark Methodists and Presbyterians were induced to join in a monster welcome at the Baptist church; and as the day drew near, warm discussions arose on every corner as to the exact extent and nature of John's accomplishments. It was noontide on a gray and cloudy day when he came. The black town flocked to the depot, with a little of the white at the edges, — a happy throng, with "good

Mawnings;" and "Howdys", and laughing and joking and jostling. Mother sat yonder in the window watching; but Sister Jenny stood on the platform, nervously fingering her dress,— tall and lithe with soft brown skin and loving eyes peering from out tangled a wilderness of hair. John rose gloomily as the train stopped, for he was thinking of the Jim Crow car; he stepped to the platform, and paused. a little dingy station, a ~~jostling~~ black crowd gaudy and dirty, a half-mile of dilapidated ~~streets~~ shanties along a struggling ditch of mud. An overwhelming sense of the sordidness and narrowness of it all seized him; he looked in vain for his mother, kissed coldly the tall strange girl who called him brother, spoke a short day word here and there; then, lingering neither for handshaking nor gossip, started silently up the street, raising his hat merely to the last eager old aunty, and her open-mouthed astonishment. The people were distinctly

41-6-48

bewildered. This silent, cold man, — was this John? Where was his smile and hearty hand-grasp? "'Peared kind o' down in the mouf," said the Methodist preacher thoughtfully. "Seemed monstus stuck up," complained a Baptist sister. But the white postmaster from the edge of the crowd expressed the opinion of his folks plainly: "That dam nigger," said he, as he shouldered the mail and arranged his tobacco, "has gone north and got plum full o' fool ~~notts~~ notions;" but they won't work in Altamaha." And the crowd melted away.

The meeting of welcome at the Baptist Church was a failure. Rain spoiled the barecue, and thunder turned the milk in the ice-cream. When the speaking came at night, the house was crowded & overflowing. The three preachers had especially prepared themselves, but somehow John's manner seemed & threw a blanket over

4-9-44

everything,— he seemed so cold and preoccupied, and had so strange an air of restraint that the Methodist brother could not warm up to his theme and elicited not a single Amen; the Presbyterian prayer was but feebly responded to, & even the Baptist preacher, though he awakened faint enthusiasm, got so mixed up in his favorite sentence that he had to close it by stopping fully fifteen minutes sooner than he meant. The people moved uneasily in their seats as John rose & reply. He spoke slowly and methodically. This age, he said, demanded new ideas; we were far different from those men of the 17th & 18th centuries,— with broader ideas of human brotherhood and destiny. Then he spoke of the rise of charity and popular education, and particularly of the spread of wealth and work. The question was, then, he added, reflectively, looking at the low discolored ceiling, what part the Negroes of

spell out

11-9-45

this land
~~Dream~~ would take in the striving of the
new century. He sketched in vague out-
line the new academy ~~college~~ that
might rise among these hills, of the
charitable and philanthropic work that
might be organized, of money raised
for banks and factories. Finally he
urged unity, deprecated especially religious
and denominational bickering. "To-day,"
he said, with a smile, "the world
cares little whether a man be Baptist
or Methodist, or indeed a church man
at all, so long as he is good and true.
What difference does it make whether a
man be baptized in river or wash-bowl,
or not at all? Let's leave all that little-
ness, and look higher." Then, thinking
of nothing else, he slowly sat down.
A painful hush seized that crowded
mass. Little had they understood of what
he said, for he spoke an unknown tongue,
— save the last word about baptism; that

41-9-451

they knew, and they sat very still while the clock ticked (then) at last a low suppressed snarl came from the Amen corner, and an old bent man arose, walked over the seats and climbed straight up into the pulpit. He was wrinkled and black, with scant gray (and) tufted hair; his voice & hands shook as with palsy; but on his face lay the intense rapt look of the religious fanatic. He seized the bible with his rough huge hands; twice he raised it inarticulate, and then fairly burst into words, with rude & awful eloquence. He grieved, swayed, & bent; then rose aloft in perfect majesty, till the people moaned and wept, ~~swayed~~ wailed & shouted, and a wild shrieking arose from the corners where all the pent-up feeling of the hour gathered itself and rushed into the air. John never knew clearly what the old man said; he only felt himself held

254-6-11

up & scorn and seathing denunciation for trampling on the true Religion, and he realized with amazement that all unknowingly he had put rough rude hands on something this little world held sacred. He arose silently, and passed out into the night. Down toward the sea, ^ he went, in the pitiful star-light, half-conscious of the girl who followed timidly after him. When at last he stood upon the bluff, he turned & his little sister and looked upon her sorrowfully, remembering ~~half~~ ~~with sudden pain~~ ~~he shame~~, ^ how little thought he had ^ given her. He put his arm about her and let her passion of tears spend itself on his shoulder.

Long they stood together, peering over the gray grim water.

"John," She said, "does it make everyone — unhappy, when they study and know lots of things?"

He paused and smiled. "I am afraid it does," he said.

"And, John, are you glad you studied?"

41-9-453

"Yes," came the answer, slowly but positively. She watched the flickering lights upon the sea, and said thoughtfully:

"I wish I was unhappy, — and — and," putting both arms about his neck, "I think I am, a little, John."

It was several days later that John walked up to the Judge's house to ask for the privilege of teaching the Negro school. The Judge himself met him at the front door, and stared a little hard at him, and said brusquely, "Go 'round to the kitchen door, John, and wait." Sitting on the kitchen steps, John stared at the corn thoroughly perplexed. What on earth had come over him? Every step he made offended someone. He had come to save his people, and before he left the depot he had hurt them. He sought to teach them at the church, and had outraged their deepest feelings. He had schooled himself to be respectful to the Judge, and then blundered into his front door.

11-9-454

And all the time he had meant right, — and yet, and yet, somehow he found it so hard & strange & fit his old surroundings again, & to find his place in the world about him. And yet the could not remember that he used to have any difficulty in the past, when life was glad and gay. The world seemed smooth and easy then. Perhaps, — but his sister came to the kitchen door just then and said the judge awaited him.

The judge sat in the dining-room amid his morning's mail, and he did not ask John to sit down. He plunged squarely into the business. "You've come for the school, I suppose. Well, John, I want to speak to you plainly. You know I'm a friend to your people. I've helped you and your family, and would have done more if you had'nt got the notion of going off. Now I like the Colored people, and sympathize with all their reasonable aspirations; but

41-9-455

you and I both know, John, that in this country the Negro must remain subordinate, and can never expect & be the equal of White men. In their place, your people can be honest and respectful; and God knows, I'll do what I can & help them. But when they want & reverse nature, and rule White men, and marry white women, and sit in my parlor, then, by God! we'll hold them under if we have & lynch every Nigger in the land. Now, John, the question is, are you, with your education and Northern notions, going & accept the situation and teach the darkies & be faithful servants and laborers as your fathers were, — I knew your father, John, he belonged & my brother, and he was a good Nigger. Well — well, are you going & be like him, or are you going & try & put fool ideas of rising and equality into these folks head, and make them discontented and unhappy?"

41-9-454

Hal 65

"I am going & accept the situation, Judge Henderson,"

answered John, with a brevity that did not escape the keen old man. He hesitated a moment, and then said shortly, "Very well, — will try you a while. Good morning."

It was a full month after the opening of the Negro school that the other John came home, tall, frank and headstrong. A proud man was the judge, and it was a goodly sight to see the two swinging down Main Street together. And yet all did not go smoothly between them, for the younger man could not and did not veil his contempt for the little town, and plainly had his heart set on New York. Now the one cherished ambition of the Judge was to see his son mayor of Altamaha, representative to the legislature, and — who could say? — Governor of Georgia. So the argument often waxed hot between them. "Good heavens, father," the younger man would say, after dinner, as he lighted a cigar and stood by the fireplace; "you surely don't

41-9-457

The mother wept, the sisters sang. The whole white town was glad.

expect a young fellow like me to settle down permanently in this — this God-forgotten town with nothing but mud and Negroes?"
"I did," the Judge would answer, laconically; and on this particular day it seemed from the gathering crowd that he was about to add something more emphatic; but neighbors had already begun to drop in to admire his son, and the conversation drifted.

41-9-458

"Heah that John is livenin' things up at the darky school," volunteered the postmaster, after a pause.

"What now?" asked the Judge, sharply.

"Oh, nothin' in particular, — just his almighty air and uppish ways. B'lieve I did heah something about his givin' talks on the French Revolution, equality and such like. He's what I call a dangerous nigger."

"Have you heard him say anything out of the way?"

"Why, no, — but Sally, our girl, told my wife a lot of wt. Then, too, I don't need to hear: a nigger

what wont say Sir to a white man, or — "

¶ "Who is this John?" interrupted the son.

¶ "Why, its little black John, Peggy's son, — your old playfellow."

¶ The young man's ~~fa~~ face flushed angrily, and then he laughed.

¶ "Oh," said he, "it's the darky that tried to force himself into a seat beside the lady I was escorting — "

¶ But Judge Henderson wanted to hear no more. He had been nettled all day, and now at this he rose with a half-smothered oath, took his hat and cane and walked straight to the school-house

¶ For John, it had been a long hard pull to get things started in the rickety old shanty that sheltered his school. The Negroes were rent into factions for and against him, the parents were careless, the children irregular and dirty, and books pencils and slates largely missing. Nevertheless he struggled hopefully on, and seemed to see at last some glimmering of dawn. The attendance was larger and the children were a

11-6-15

shade cleaner this week. Even the booby class in reading showed a little comforting progress. So John settled himself with renewed patience this ~~morning~~ afternoon.

"Now, Mandy," he said, cheerfully, "that's better; but you must'nt chop your words up so: — 'If - the - man — goes.' Why, your little brother even wouldn't tell a story that way, now would he?"

"Naw, suh, he caint talk."

"All right; now let's try again: 'If the man —'"

"John!"

The whole school started in surprise, and the teacher half= arose, as the red angry face of the Judge appeared in the open doorway.

"John, this school is closed. You children can go home and get to work. The white people of Altamaha are not spending their money on black folks, to have their heads crammed with impudence and lies. Clear out! I'll lock the door myself."

41-9-460

~~The~~ Up at the great pillared house the tall young son wandered aimlessly about after his father's abrupt departure. In the house there was little to interest him; the books were old & stale, — the local newspaper flat, and the women had retired with headaches and sewing. He tried a nap; but it was too warm. So he ~~wandered~~ sauntered out into the fields, complaining disconsolately, "Good Lord! how long will this imprisonment last!" He was not a bad fellow, — just a little spoiled and self-indulgent, and as headstrong as his proud father. He seemed, a young man pleasant to look upon, ~~too debonair, I guess~~ as he sat on the stile that led from the fields & the pines idly swinging his legs (and smoking). "Why, there is'nt even a girl worth getting up a respectable flirtation with," he growled. ~~And~~ Just then his eye caught a tall willowy ~~little~~ figure hurrying toward him on the narrow path. He looked with interest at

41-9-461

41-9-462

At first, & then Aunt Ant a laugh as he said, "Well, I declare if it isn't Jenny, the little brown kitchen-maid! Why, I never noticed before what a trim little body she is before. Hello, Jenny! Why, you haven't kissed me since I came home," he said gaily. The young girl stared at him in surprise and confusion, ~~amazement~~ faltered something inarticulate, and attempted to pass. But a mischievous mood had seized the young idler, and he caught at her arm ~~again~~. Frightened, she slipped by; and half angry he turned and ran after her through the tall pines.

Yonder, toward the sea, at the end of the path, came John slowly, with his head down. He had turned wearily homeward from the school house; then, thinking to shield his mother from the blow, started to meet his sister as she came from work and break the news of his dismissal to her. "I'll go away," he said slowly;

...white city below.

And if you will notice, night after night, there is one dark form that ever hurries last and late toward the twinkling lights of Swain Hall, - for Jones is never on time. A long, straggling fellow he is, brown and hard-haired, who seems to be growing straight out of his clothes, and walks with a half-apologetic roll. He used perpetually to set the quiet dining-room into waves of merriment, as he stole to his place after the bell had tapped for prayers; he seemed so perfectly awkward. And yet one glance at his face made one forgive him much, - that broad good-natured smile in which lay no bit of art or artifice, but seemed just bubbling good-nature and genuine satisfaction with the world.

41-9-403

He came to us from Altamaha, away down there beneath the gnarled oaks of South-eastern Georgia, where the sea sings to the sands and the sands listen till they sink half-drowned beneath the waters, rising only here and there in long low islands. The white folk of Altamaha voted John a good boy, - fine plough-hand, hood in the rice-fields, handy everywhere, and always good-natured and respectful. But they shook their heads when his mother wanted to send him off to school. "It'll spoil him - ruin him," they sais; and they talked as though they knew. But full half the Black folk followed him proudly to the station, and carried his queer little trunk and many bundles. And there they shook and shook hands, and the girls kissed him shyly and the boys clapped him on the back. So the train came, and he pinched his little sister lovingly, and put his great arms about his mother's neck, and then was away with a puff and a roar into the great yellow world that flamed and flared about the doubtful pilgrim. Up the coast they hurried, past the squares and palmettos of

of Savannah, through the cotton-fields and through the weary night, to Millville, and came with the morning to the noise and bustle of Johnstown.

And they that stood behind, that morning in Darien, and watched the train as it noisily bore playmate and brother and son away to the world, had thereafter one ever-recurring word, -"When John comes." Then what parties there were to be, and what speakings in the churches; what new furniture in the front room, -perhaps a new front room; and there would be a new school-house, with John as teacher; and then perhaps a big wedding; all this and more - when John comes. But the white people shook their heads.

At first he was coming at Christmas-time,- but the vacation proved too short; and then, next summer,- but times were hard and schooling costly, and so, instead, he worked in Johnstown. And so it drifted to the next summer, and the next, - till playmates scattered, and mother grew gray, and sister went up to the Judge's kitchen to work. And still the legend lingered, - "when John comes."

Up at the Judge's they rather liked this refrain; for they too had a John - a fair-haired frank-faced boy, who had played many a long summer's day to its close with his darker name sake. "Yes,sir! John is at Princeton, sir," said the broad-shouldered gray-haired Judge every morning as he marched down to the post-office. "Showing the yankees what a Southern gentleman can do," he added; and strode home again with his letters and papers. Up at the great pillared house they lingered long over the Princeton letter, - the Judge and his frail wife, his sister and growing daughters. "It'll make a man of him," said the Judge. "College is the place." and then he asked the shy little waitress, "Well, Jennie, how's you John?" and added reflectively "Too bad, too bad your mother sent him off, - it will spoil him." And the waitress wondered.

1896-6-14

Thus in the far-away Southern village the world lay waiting, half-consciously, the coming of two young men, and dreamed in an inarticulate way of new things that would be done and new thoughts that all would think. And yet it was singular that noone thought of two Johns, - for the black folk thought of one John, and he was black; and the white folk thought of another John, and he was white. And neither world thought the other world's thought, save with a vague unrest.

Up in Johnstown, at the Institute, we were long puzzled at the case of John Jones. For a long time the clay seemed unfit for any sort of molding. He was loud and boisterous, always laughing and singing, and never able to work consecutively at anything. He did not know how to study; he had no idea of thoroughness; and with his tardiness, carelessness, and appalling good humor, we were sore perplexed. One night we sat in faculty-meeting, worried and serious; for John Jones was in trouble again. This last escapade wass too much, and so we solemnly voted, "That Jones, on account of repeated disorder and inattention to work, be suspended for the rest of the t erm"

It seemed to us that the first time life ever struck Jones as a really serious thing was when the Dean told him he must leave school. He stared at the grey-haired man blankly, with great eyes. "Why,- why," he faltered; "but - I haven't graduated!" Then the Dean slowly and clearly explained, reminding him of the tardiness and the carelessness, of the poor lessons and neglected work, of the noise and disorder, until the fellow hung his head in confusion. Then he said quickly, "But you won't tell mammy and sister, - you won't write mammy now, will you? For if you won't I'll go out into the city and work, and come back next term and show you something." So the dean promised faithfully, and John shouldered his little trunk, giving neither word nor look to the giggling boys, and walked down Carlisle

Street to the great city, with sober eyes and a set and serious face.

Perhaps we imagined it, but someway it seemed to us that the serious look that crept over his boyish face that afternoon never left it again. When he came back to us he went to work with all his rugged strength. It was a hard struggle, for things did not come easily to him,- few crowding memories of early life and teaching came to help him on his new way; but all the world toward which he strove was of his own building, and he builded slow and hard. As the light dawned lingeringly on his new creations, he sat rapt and silent before the vision, or wandered alone over the green campus peering through and beyond the world of men into a world of thought. And the thoughts at times puzzled him sorely; he could not see just why the circle was not square, and carried it out five-six decimal places one midnight, - would have gone further, indeed, had not the matron rapped for lights out. He caught terrible colds lying on his back in the meadows nights trying to think out the solar system; he had grave doubts as to the ethics of the Fall of Rome, and strongly suspected the Germans of being theives and rascals despite his text-books; he pondered long over every new Greek work, and wondered why this meant that and why it couldn't mean something else, and how it must have felt to think all things in Greek. So he thought and puzzled along for himself, - pausing perplexed where others skipped merrily, and walking steadily through the difficulties where the rest stopped and surrendered.

41-9-469

Thus he grew in body and soul, and with him his clothes seemed to grow and arrange themselves; coat sleeves got longer, cuffs appeared, and collars got less soiled. Now and then his boots shone, and a new dignity crept into his walk. And we who saw daily a new thoughtfulness growing in his eyes, began to expect something of this plodding boy, Thus he passed out of the preparatory school into college, and we who watched him felt four more years of change, which almost transformed the tal

most transformed the tall grave man who bowed to us commencement morning. He had left his queer thought-world and come back to a world of motion and of men. He looked now for the first time sharply about him, and wondered how he had seen so little before. He grew slowly to feel almost for the first the Veil that lay between him and the white world; he first noticed now the oppression that had not seemed oppression before, differences that erstwhile seemed natural, restraints and slights that in his boyhood days had gone unnoticed or been greeted with a laugh. He felt angry now when men did not call him Mister, he clenched his hands at the "Jim Crow"cars and chafed at the color line that hemmed in him and his. A tinge of sarcasm crept into his speech, and a vague bitterness into his life; and he sat long hours wondering and planning a way around these crooked things. Daily he found himself shrinking from the choked and narrow life of his native town and yet he always planned to go back to Altamaha, always planned to work there. Still, more and more as the day approached he hesitated with a nameless dread; and even to the day after graduation he seized with eagerness the offer of the Dean to send him North with the quartette during the summer vacation, to sing for the Institute. A breath of air before the plunge, he said to himself in half apology.

It was a bright September afternoon; and the streets of New York were brillian with moving men. They reminded John of the sea, as he sat in the square and watched them, so changelessly changing, so bright and dark, so grave and gay, He scanned their rich and faultless clothes, the way they carried their hands, the shape of their hats; he peered into the hurrying carriages. Then, leaning back with a sign, he said, "This is the World." The notion suddenly seized him to see wher the world was going; so many of the richer and brighter seemed hurrying all one way. So when a tall light-haired young man and a

little talkative lady came by, he rose half-hesitatingly and followed them. Up the street they went, past stores and gay shops, across a broad square, until with a hundred others they entered the high portal of a vast building.

He was pushed towared the ticket-office with the others, and felt in his pocket for the new five-dollar bill he had hoarded. There seemed realy no time for hesitation, so he drew it bravely out, passed it to the busy clerk, and received simply a ticket but no change. When he at last realized that he had paid five dollars to enter he knew not what, he stood stock-still amazed. "Be careful," said a low voice behind him; "you must not lynch the Colored gentlemean simply because he's in your way," and a girl looked up roguishly into the eyes of her fair-haired escory. A shade of annoyance passed over the escort's face. "You will not understand us in the South," he said, half impatiently, as if continuing an argument. "With all your professions, one never sees in the North so cordial and intimate relations between white and black as are every-day occurrences with us. Why, I remember my closest play-fellow in boyhood was a little Negro named after me and surely no two, - well!" The man stopped short and flushed to the roots of his hair, for there directly beside his reserved orchestra chairs sat the Negro he had stumbled over in the hall-way. He hesitated, and grew pale with anger, called th usher and gave him his card, with a few peremptory words, and slowly sat down. The lady deftly changed the subject.

All this John did not see for he sat in

...and if he had called what right had he to call when a world like this lay open before men?

Then the movement changed, and fuller, mightier harmony swelled away. He looked thoughtfully across the hall, and wondered why the

41-9-468

the beautiful gray-haired woman looked so listless, and what the little man could be whispering about. He would not like to be listless and idle, he thought, for he felt with the music the movement of power within him. If he but had some master-work, some life-service,- aye, bitter hard, but without the cringeing and sickening servility, without the cruel hurt that hardened his heart and soul. When a last a soft sorrow crept across the violins, their came to him the vision of a far-off home,- the great eyes of his sister, and the dark, drawn face of his mother. And his heart sank below the waters, even as the sea-sand sinks by the shores of Altamaha, only to be lifted aloft again with that last ethereal wail of the swan that quivered and faded away into the sky.

It left John sitting so silent and rapt that he did not for sometime notice the usher tapping him lightly on the shoulder and saying politely, "Will you step this way, please, Sir?" A little surprised, he arose quickly at the last tap, and turning to leave his seat looked full into the face of the fair-haired playmate, and John knew that it was the Judge's son. The white John started, lifted his hand, and then froze inot his chair; the black John smiled lightly, then grimly, and followed the usher down the aisle. The manager was sorry, very, very sorry,- but he explained that some mistake had been made in selling the gentleman a seat already disposed of; he would refund the money of course, and indeed felt the matter keenly, and so forth, and - before he had finished John was gone, walking hurriedly across the square and sown the broad streets, and as he passed the park he buttoned his coat and said, "John Jones, you're a natural-born fool." Then he went to his lodgings and wrote a letter, and tore it up; he wrote another, and threw it in the fire. Then he seized a scrap of paper and wrote;

41-9-469

"Dear Mother and Sister - I am coming - John."

"Perhaps," said John, as he settled himself on the train, "perhaps I am to blame myself in struggling against my manifest destiny simply because it looks hard and unpleasant. Here is my duty to Altamaha plain before me; perhaps they'll let me help settle the Negro problems there,- perhaps they Won't. I will go unto the King which is not according to the law, and if I perish, I perish." And then he mused and dreamed, and planned a life-work; and the train flew south.

Down in Altahama, after seven long years, all the world knew John was coming. The homes were scrubbed and scoured, - above all, one; the gardens and yards had an unwonted trimness, and Jenny bought a new gingham. With some finesse and negotiation, all the dark Methodists and Presbyterians were induced to join in a monster welcome at the Baptist church; and as the day drew near, warm discussions arose on ev ry corner as to the exact extent and nature od John's accomplishments. It was noontide on a gray and cloudy day when he came. The black town flocked to the depot, with a little of the white at the edges,- a happy throng, with a"good mawnings," and "Howdy", and laughing and joking and jostling. Mother sat yonder in the window watching; but sister Jenny stood on the platform, nervously fingering her dress,- tall and lithe with soft brown skin and loving eyes peering from out of a tangled wilderness of hair. John rose gloomily as the train stopped, for he was thinking of the Jim Crow car; he stepped to the platform, and paused; a little dingy station, a black crowd gaudy and dirty, a half-mile of dilapedated shanties along a straggling ditch of mud. An overwhelming sense of the sordidness and narrowness of it all seized him; he looked in vain for his mother, kissed coldly the tall strange girl who called him brother, spoke a short dry work here and there; then lingering neith r for hand-shaking nor gossip, started silently up the street, raising his hat merely to the last

4-9-4h

eager old aunty, to her open-mouthed astonishment. The peoples were distinctly bewildered. This silent, cold man, - was this John? Where was his smile and hearty hand-grasp? "'Peared kind o'down in the mouf," said the Methodist preacher thoughtfully. "Seemed monstrus stuck up,"complained a Baptist sister. But the white postmaster from the edge of the crowd expressed the opinion of his folks plainly; "That dam nigger," said he, "as he shouldered the mail and arranged his tobacco, "ha s gone north and hot plum full o' fool notions; but they won't work in Altamaha." And the crowd melted away.

The meeting of welcome at the Baptist Church was a failure. Rain spoiled the barbecue, and thunder turned the milk in the ice-cream. When the speaking came at night, the house was crowded to overflowing. The three preachers had especially prepared themselves, but somehow John's manner seemed to throw a blanket over everything,- he seemed so cold and preoccupied, and had so strange an air of restraint that the Methodist brother could not warm up to his theme and elicitednot a single Amen; the Presbyterian prayer was but feebly responded to, and even the Baptist preacher, though he wakened faint enthusiasm, got so mixed up in his favorite sentence that he had to close it by stopping fully fifteen minutes sooner than he meant. The people moved uneasily in their seats as John rose to reply. He spoke slowly and methodically. The age, he said, demanded new ideas; we were far different from those men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, - with broader ideas of human brotherhood and destiny. Then he spoke of the rise of charity and popular education, and particularly of the spread of wealth and work The question was, then, he added, reflectively, looking at the low discolored ceiling, what part the Negroes of the land would take in the striving of the new century. He sketched in vague outling the new academy that might rise among these pones, of the charitiale and philanthropic work that might be organized, of money saved for banks and

business. Finally he urged unity, deprecated especially religious and denominational bickerings. "Today," he said, with a smile, "the world cares little whether a man be Baptist or Methodist, or indeed a church man at all, so long as he is good and true. What difference does it make whether a man be baptized in river or wash-bowl, or not at all? Let's leave all that littleness, and look higher." Then, thinking of nothing else, he slowly sat down. A painful hush seized that crowded mass. Little had they understood of what he said,- for he spoke an unknown tongue,- save the last word about baptism; that they knew, and they sat very still while the clock ticked. Then at last a low suppressed snarl came from the Amen corner, and an old bent man arose, walked over the seats and climbed straight up into the pulpit. He was wrinkled and black, with scant, gray and trifled hair; his voice and hands shook as with palsy; but on his face lay the intense rapt look of the religious fanatic. He seized the Bible with his rough, huge hands; twice he raised it inarticulate, and fairly burst into words with rude and awful eloquence. He quivered, swayed, and bent; then rose aloft in perfect majesty, till the people moaned and wept, wailed and shouted, and a wild shreiking arose from the corners where the pent-up feeling of the hours gathered itself and rushed into the air. John never knew clearly what the old man said; he only felt himself held up to scorn and scathing denunciation for trampling on the true Religion, and he realized with amazement that all unknowingly he had put rough rude hands on something this little world held sacred. He arose silently, and passed out into the night. Down toward the sea hewent in the fitful star-light, half-conscious of the girl who followed timidly after hom. When at last he stood upon the bluff, he turned to his little sister and looked upon her sorrowfully, remembering with sudden pain how little thought he had given her. He put his arm about her and let her passion of tears spend itself on his shoulders.

41-9-472

Long they stood together, peering over the grey, grim water.

"John," she said, "Does it make everyone unhappy when they study and know lots of things?"

He paused and smiled, "I am afraid it does," he said.

"And, John, are you glad tou studied?"

"Yes," came the answer, slowly but positively.

She watched the flickering lights upon the sea, and said thoughtfully; "I wish I was unhappy - and - and," putting both arms about his neck, "I think I am a little, John."

It was several days later that John walked up to the Judge's house to ask for the priviledge of teaching the Negro school. The Judge himself met him at the front door, stared a little hard at him and said brusquely, "Go 'round to the kitchen door, John, and wait." Sitting on the kitchen steps, John stared at the corn, thoroughly perplexed. What on earth had come over him? Every step he made offended someone. He had come to save his people, and before he left the depot he had hurt them. He sought to teach them at the church, and had outraged their deepest feelings. He had schooled himself to be respectful to the Judge, and then blundered into his front door. And all the time he had meant right, - and yet, and yet, somehow he found it so hard and strange to fit his old surroundings again, to find his place inthe world about him. He could not remember that he used to have any difficulty in the past, when life was glad and gay. The world seemed smooth and easy then. Perhaps,- but his sister came to the kitchen door just then and said the Judge wanted him.

41-9-473

The Judge sat in the dining-room amid his mornings's mail, and he did not ask John to sit down. He plunged squarely into the business. "You've come for the school, I suppose. Well, John, I want to speak to you plainly. You know I'm a friend to your people. I've helped you and your family, and would have done more if you hadn't got the notion of

going off. Now I like the Colored people, and sympathize with all their reasonable aspirationa; but you and I both know, John, that in this country the Negro must remain subordinate, and can never expect to be the equal of white men. In their place, your people can be honest and respectful; and God knows, I'll do what I can to help them. But when they want to reverse nature, and rule white men, and marry white women, and sit in my parlor, then, by God! We'll hold them under if we have to lynch every nigger in the land. Now, John, the question is, are you, with your education and northern notions, going to accept the situation and teach the darkies to be faithful servants and laborers as your father were,- I knew your father, John, he belonged to my brother, and he was a good nigger. Well-Well, are you going to be like him, or are you going to try to put fool ideas of rising and equality into these folks head, and make them discontented and unhappy?"

"I am going to accept the situation, Judge Henderson," answered John, with a brevity that did not escape the keen old man. He hesitated a moment, and then said shortly, "Very well,- we'll try you awhile. Good morning."

It was a full month after the opening of the Negro school that the other John came home, tall, frank, and head-strong. The mother wept, the sisters sang. The whole white town was glad. A proud man was the Judge, and it was a goodly sight to see the two swinging down Main Street together. And yet all did not go smoothly between them, for the younger man could not and did not veil his contempt for the little town, and plainly had his heart set on New York. Now the one cherished ambition of the Judge was to see his son, Mayor of Altamaha, representative to the legislature, and - who could say? - Governor of Georgia. So the argument often waxed hot between them. "Good heavens, father," the younger man would say, after dinner, as he lighted a cigar and stood by

the fireplace; "You surely don't expect a young fellow, like me, to settle down permanently in this - God-forsaken town with nothing but mud and Negroes?" "I did," the Judge would answer, laconically; and on this particular day it seemed from the gathering scowl that he was about to add something more emphatic; but neighbors had already begun to drop in to admire his son, and the conversation drifted.

"Heah that John is livenin' things up at the darky school," volunteered the postmaster, after a pause.

41-9-475

"What now?" asked the Judge sharply.

"Oh, nothin' in particular, - just his almighty air and uppish ways. B'lieve I did heah something about his givin' talks on the French Revolution, - equality, and such like. He's what I call a dangerous nigger."

"Have you heard him say anything out of the way?"

"Why no,- but Sally ,our girl, told my wife a lot of rot. Then, too, I don't need to hear; a nigger what won't say Sir to a white man, or-"

"Who is this John?" interrupted the son.

"Why its little black John, Peggy's son, - your old play-fellow."

The young man's face flushed angrily, and then he laughed.
"Oh,"said he, "Its the darky that tried to force himself into a seat beside the lady I was escorting -"

But Judge Henderson waited to hear no more. He had been nettled all day, and now at this he rose with a half-smothered oath, took his hat and cane and walked straight to the school house.

For John, it had been a long, hard pull to get things started in the rickety old shanty that sheltered his school. The Negroes were ren into factions for and against him, the parents were careless, the children irregular and dirty, and books, pencils, and slates largely missing. Nevertheless he struggled hopefully on, and seemed to see at last some glimmering of dawn. The attendance was larger and the children were a shade cleaner this week.

Even the booby class in reading showed a little comforting progress. So John settled himself with renewed patience this afternoon.

"Now," Mandy, " he said, cheerfully, "that's better; but you mustn't chop your words up so; - If- the- man- goes. Why your little brother even wouldn't tell a story that way, now would he?"

"Naw, suh, he caint talk."

"All right; now let's try again; If the man -".

"John!"

The whole school started in surprise, and the teacher half-arose, as the red angry face of the Judge appeared in the open doorway.

"John, this school is closed. You children can go home and get to work. The white people of Altamaha are not spending their money on black folds to have their heads crammed with impudence and lies. Clear out! I'll lock the door myself."

Up at the great pillared house the tall young son wandered aimlessly about after his father's abrupt departure. In the house there was little to interest him; the books were old and stale, - the local newspaper flat, and the women had retired with headaches and sewing. He tried a nap; but it was too warm. So he sauntered out into the fields, complaining disconsolately, "Good Lord! how long will this imprisonment last!" He was not a bad fellow, just a little spoiled and self-indulgent, and as headstrong as his proud father. He seemed a young man pleasant to ll look upon, as he sat on the stile that lead from the fields to the pines idly swinging his legs and somking. "Why, there isn't even a girl worth getting up a respectable flirtation with," he growled. Just then his eyes caught a tall willowy figure hurrying toward him on the narrow path. He looked with interest at first, then burst into a laugh as he said, "Well, I declare if it isn't Jenny, the little brown kitchen-maid! Why I never noticed before what a trim little body she is. Hello, Jenny! Why, you haven't kissed me since I came home," he said gaily. The young

41-9-476

girl stared at him in surprise and confusion, - faltered something inarticulate, and attempted to pass. But a mischievous mood had seized the young idler, and he caught at her arm. Frightened, she slipped by and half angr he turned and ran after her through the tall pines.

Yonder, toward the sea, at the end of the path, came John slowly, with his head down. He had turned wearily homeward from the schoolhouse; then, thinking to shield his mother from the blow, started to meet his sister as she came from work and break the news of his dismissal to her. "I'll go away," he said slow.y;

41-6-47

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

Handwritten draft manuscript of "Of the Sorrow Songs"

Incomplete

The Sorrow Songs

"I walk through the church yard
"To lay this body down
"I know moon-rise, I know star-rise;
"I walk in the moonlight, I walk in the star-light;
"I'll lie in the grave and stretch out my arms,
"I'll go to judgment in the evening of the day
"And my soul and thy soul shall meet that day
"When I lay this body down."

Negro Song.

They that walked in darkness sang songs in the olden days — Sorrow Songs — for they were weary at heart. And so before each [illegible] that I have written I have set a phrase, a haunting echo of these weird old songs in which the souls of the black slave spoke to men. Ever since I was a child these songs have stirred me strangely. They came to me out of the South unknown to me, one by one, and yet at once I knew them as of me and of mine. Then in after years when I came to Nashville I saw the great temple builded of these songs towering over the pale city. To me

49-14-1

Jubilee Hall seemed ever made of the songs themselves and its bricks were red with the blood and dust of toil. Out of them rose for me morning noon and night bursts of wonderful melody, full of the voices of my brothers and sisters, full of the voices of the past.

Little of beauty has America given the world save rude grandeur God himself stamped on her bosom; but the human spirit in this new world has expressed itself in vigor and ingenuity as well as in beauty. And so by fateful chance the Negro folk song — the rhythmic cry of the slave — stands today not simply as the sole American music but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas. It has been neglected it has been and is half-despised, and above all it has been persistently mistaken and misunderstood, but nevertheless it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people.

49-14-2

Away back in the Thirties the ~~echo~~ melody of these slave songs first stirred the nation; but the melodies were soon half forgotten; Some passed into common songs. And then ~~origin~~ some was forgotten; others were caricatured on the "minstrel" stage and their memory died away. There came in war time came that singular Port Royal experiment after the capture of Hilton Head and perhaps for the first time ~~in many generations~~ the North met the southern slave face to face and hand to hand. The Sea Islands of the Carolinas, where they met, were filled with a black folk of ~~singularly~~ primitive type, touched and moulded less by the the world about them than any others outside the black belt. Their appearance was uncouth, their language funny and their singing stirred men with a singularly power. ~~A few~~ Thomas Wentworth Higginson hastened to tell of these songs in the pages of the Atlantic, and Miss McKim and others sang upon the world their ~~broader~~ rare beauty of these songs. But the world

Title "Near the lake where drooped the willow"

49-14-3

72	72	72	72
51	57	54	46
21	15	18	

listened only half credulously. until the Fisk Jubilee Singers sang the slave songs so deeply into the world's heart that they can never forget them again.

There was once a blacksmith's son born at Castor, New York, who in the changes of time taught school in Ohio and helped defend Cincinnati from Kirby Smith. Then he fought at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg and finally served in the Freedmen's Bureau at Nashville. Here he formed a Sunday school class of black children in 1866 and sang with them and taught them to sing. And then they begged him to sing & when once the glory of the Jubilee songs passed into the soul of George L. White he knew his life work was set. These Negroes sang to world as they had sung to him. So in 1871 the pilgrimage of the Fisk Jubilee singers began North & Cincinnati they rode. - 4 half clothed black boys & 5 girls (women), led by a man with a cane & a pistol. They stopped at Wilberforce, the oldest of Negro schools, where a black bishop blessed them. When they went, frozen cold & starving

shut out of hotels, and cheerfully cheered at, ever northward, and ever ~~and yet~~ the magic of their wonderful Melody, ~~yet~~ thrilling hearts until ~~was~~ a burst of applause in the congregational council at Oberlin revealed them to the world ~~whose voices the continent~~. They came to New York and Henry Ward Beecher danced and other and metropolitan dailies & welcome them, even through the Herald, cheered at his "Nigger minstrels". So their Songs conquered till they ~~any~~ across the land and across the sea, ~~many~~ before the Queen and Scotland and Ireland, Kaiser, in Holland and Cumberland. Seven years they sang and ~~they~~ brought back a hundred and fifty thousands of dollars to found Fisk University

Since that day they have been imitated — sometimes well as by the singers of Hampton and Atlanta, sometimes ill by struggling quartets. Caricature has swept against & shut the ground of the genuine identity, ~~of~~ and has filled the air with many debased melodies which vulgar ears cannot know from the real. But the true Negro folk song still lives in the hearts of those who have truly ~~they~~ sung, and in the heart of the Negro folk

49-14-5

What are these songs and what do they mean? I know little of music and can say nothing in technical phrase, but I know something of men & know how I know that these songs are the articulate message of the slave to the world. They tell in no uncertain days that life was joyous to the black slave, careless and happy, I can easily easily believe this of some, of many. But not all the past could though it rose from the dead can gainsay the heart-touching witness of these songs. They are the music of a an unhappy people, of the children of disappointment; they tell of death and suffering and unvoiced longing toward a truer world, of weird wanderings and hidden ways. The songs are indeed the siftings of centuries; and the music is, for more ancient than. The words and in it we can trace the dark and there the signs of development.

49-14-6

My grandfather's grandmother was served by an evil the black Dutch trader two centuries ago. And coming to the valleys of the Hudson and Housatonic, Black little, & lithe, she shimmered and shrank in the trivial with minds, and crooned a heathen melody to her child, thus:

(looked longingly at the hills and often)

1700
1730
170

Leave half page

Do bana coba, gene me; Do bana

coba gene me, gene me; ben d'mule

ben d'le.

49-14-7

The child sang it to his children and they to their children, and so two hundred years it has travelled down to us and we sing to our children knowing as little as our fathers what it words mean but know well the meaning of its music.

This was primitive African music, and it may be seen in larger form in ~~and~~ the strange chant in which ~~I hear a voice before~~ the coming of John ~~Herald's~~ "I walked through the Valley" — "you may bury me in the East, you may bury me in the West but I'll hear the Trumpet sound in that morning" — the voice of exile.

49-14-10

Ten master songs, more or less, one may black

Ten more songs more or less on my block
from this forest of melody — songs of undoubted
Negro origin and wide popular currency, and
songs peculiarly characteristic of the slave. One
of these I have just mentioned. Another whose
strains begin this book is: "Nobody knows the
trouble I've seen." When struck with a sudden
poverty the United States refused to fulfil its promises
of land to the ~~Sea-Islanders~~ freedmen, a brigadier-
general went down to the Sea Islands to carry the
news. An old woman on the outskirts of the
throng began singing this song; all the mass
joined with her, swaying. And the soldier wept.

The third song is the cradle song which
all men know — "Swing low, sweet chariot," whose
bars begin the "Passing of the First Born". Then there
is the song of the waters, "Roll, Jordan, Roll" — a mighty
chorus with minor cadences, which prefaces the
"Faith of the Fathers". There were many songs of
the fugitive, like that which opens The Wings of
Atalanta and like the familiar "Been a listening". The
seventh is a song of the End and the Beginning —
"My Lord what a morning, when the stars begin
to fall. A strain of this is placed before the Dawn of Free-

4-14-9

of death

The third song is the cradle song, which all men know — "Swing low, sweet chariot" — whose bars begin the life story of Alexander Cummell. Then there is the song of many waters — "Roll Jordan Roll", a mighty chorus with minor cadences. There were many songs of the fugitive like that which opens the Wings of Atalanta and the more familiar "Dear a' listening" The seventh is the the song of the End and the beginning — "My Lord what a morning! when the stars begin to fall"; a strain of this is placed before the Dawn of Freedom. The song of groping "My way's cloudy begins the Meaning of Progress; The ninth is the song of this chapter — "Wrestlin Jacob, the day is a-breaking" — a dream of hopeful strife. The last master song is the song of songs, "Steal away" — springing from the Faith of the Fathers

~~There are many~~

49-14-8

The song of groping, "My way's cloudy" begins the Meaning of Prayers; the ninth is the song of this chapter, "Wrestlin' Jacob, the day is a-breakin'" — a paean of hopeful strife. The last master song is the Song of songs: "Steal away."

There are many other of the Negro folk songs as sinking and characteristic as these, and as for instance the three elegies on the fourth eighth & ninth Chapters others I am sure could easily make a more representative selection on more scientific principles. There are two still other songs which seem to me a step removed from the more primitive types: these is the mare-like medley "Bright Sparkles", the phrase of which hails the Black Belt; the Easter carol: "Dust, Dust and Ashes"; the dirge, "My Mother's took her flight and gone home" and that burst of melody Bursting over the Passing of the 7th Born: "I hope my Mother will be there in that beautiful world on high." These represents a third step in the development of the slave song of which "You may bury me in the East" (Chapter XIII) is the finest, and songs like "March on", and "steal away" are the second. The first is African music, the second Afro-american, while the third is a blending of Negro music with the music heard in

4-9-14-11

the foster-land. The result is still distinctly Negro and the method of blending original, but the elements are both Negro and caucasian. One might go further and find a fourth step in this development where the songs of white Americans have been distinctly influenced by the slave songs or have incorporated whole phrases of Negro melody. Side by side, two growth this development has gone the debasements and imitations — the ~~assorted~~ Negro "minstrel" songs, many of the "gospel" hymns, and some of the contemporary "coon" songs — a mass of music in which the novice may easily lose himself and never find the real Negro melodies

49-14-12

In these songs, I have said, the slave spoke to the world. The message left us however is not clear and articulate. Words and music have lost each other and new and cant phrases of a deeply ~~undistinct~~ theology have displaced the older sentiment. Once in a while we catch a strange word of an unknown tongue as the "Mighty Myo" — which figures as a river of death More often slight words or mere doggerel are joined to music of singular sweetness. Purely secular

songs are few in number partly because many of them were turned into hymns by a change of words, partly because the frolics were ~~[illegible]~~ more seldom heard by the stranger and the music less often caught. Of all the songs however the music is drolmelly sorrowful. ~~Taken into their moods~~ The ten masterssongs I have mentioned tell in word and music of trouble and exile of strife and sorrow; they grope toward some unseen power and sigh for rest in the End

The words that are left to us are not without interest and cleaned of accident dross they conceal much of real poetry and meaning beneath conventional ideology and mannerism that sadly. Like all primitive folk the slave stood near to nature's heart. Life was a "rough and rolling sea" like the brown Atlantic of the sea islands; the "Wilderness" was the home of the ~~Unseen~~ God, and the "lonesome valley" led to the way of life. "Winter will soon be over" was the picture of life and death to a tropical imagination and about all the sombre weird thunder storms of the South awed and impressed the Negro; at times the melody seemed to them "mournful"; at

49-14-131

Comes imperious:

"My Lord calls me
"He calls me by the thunder
"The trumpet sounds it in my soul"

The monotonous toil and exposure is painted in these words: One sees the plowmen in the hot mid-furrow singing:

"Dere's no rain to wet you
"Dere's no sun to burn you
"O push along believer
"I want to go home"

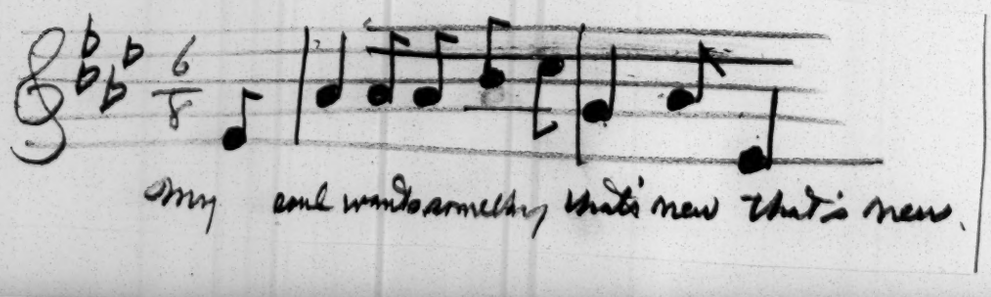
The bowed and bent old man cries, with thrice repeated wail:

"O Lord, keep me from sinking down"

And he rebukes the devil of doubt who can whisper:

"Jesus is dead and God's gone away"

~~And~~ Yet the soul-hunger is there, the restlessness of the savage, the wail of the wanderer and the plaint is put in one little phrase:



49-14-14

Over their inner thoughts and their relations of the slaves
one with another the shadow of a veil of
fear ever hung so that we get but glimpses here
and there and also with them eloquent omissions
and silence. Mother and child are sung but
seldom Father; fugitive and weary wanderer
call for pity and affection but there is little
of wooing and wedding; the rocks and the mountains
are well known, but Home is unknown. Strange
blending of love and selflessness sings through the
refrain:

"Yonder's my ole Mudder
"Been waggin' at de hill so long
"Bout time she cross over
"Git home home-by"

49-14-15

Else where comes the cry of the "motherless" and
the "Farewell farewell my only child".

Love songs are scarce and fall with two
categories - the frivolous and light and the sad
Of deep successful love there is ominous silence
and in one of the oldest of the these there
is a depth of hushed and moaning:

a black woman sang of this song: "It can't be sung without a full heart and a troubled spirit." The same voice sings these thots sings in the German folk-song:

"Jetz Geh' i' ans brunele, trink' aber net"

Of death the Negro showed little fear but talk of it familiarly and even fondly and simply a crossing of the waters, perhaps – who knows? – back to his ancient forests again. Later days transformed his fatalism and amid the dust and dirt the hated song

Dust dust and ashes fly over my grave
But the Lord shall bear my spirit home

49-14-16

The things evidently borrowed from the surrounding world undergo characteristic change when they enter the mouth of the slave. Especially is this true of bible phrases. "Weep, O captive Daughter of Zion" is grimly turned into "Zion, weep-a-low" and the wheels of ~~the~~ Ezekiel are turned always in the negro dreamy of the slave, ~~and~~ and he says:

"There's a little wheel a'turning in-a-my heart"

As in olden time the words of these hymns were improvised by some leader musical of the religious band. The circumstances of the galley-slave forever, and the limitations of allowable the rythm of the songs

Thompson confined the poetry for the most part to simple ~~lines~~ or double lines and they seldom were expanded to quatrains or longer tales, although there are some few examples of sustained efforts, chiefly paraphrases of the bible.—

~~Dr Moses~~. Three short verses of verses ~~Scripture~~ have always attracted me — the one that heads this chapter: one line of which Thomas Wentworth Higginson has ~~pathetically~~ said: "Never it seems to me, since man first knew all suffered was his infinite longing for ~~rest~~ home uttered more plaintively" The second and third are descriptions of the Last Judgment: the one a late reformation with traces of ancient influence:

" O the stars in the elements are falling
" And the moon drips away into blood
" And the ransomed of the Lord are returning unto God
" Blessed be the name of the Lord"

and the other earlier & more barbaric picture from the Low countries:

" Michael haul the boat ashore
" Then you'll hear the horn they blow
" Then you'll hear the trumpet sound
" Trumpet sound the world around
" Trumpet sound for rich & poor
" Trumpet sound the Jubilee
" Trumpet sound for you & me."

49-14-14

Through all the sorrow of the Sorrow Songs there breathes a hope — a faith in the ultimate justice of the things. The minor cadences of despair ~~rise to not~~ change to ~~gradually~~ even to triumph and calm confidence. Sometimes it is faith in life, sometimes a faith in death, sometimes assurance of boundless justice in some fair world beyond ~~death~~. But whichever it is the meaning is always clear: that sometime somewhere men will judge men by their ~~souls~~ and not by their ~~skins~~, ~~and~~ Is such a hope justified? Do the Sorrow-songs sing true?

The silently growing assumption of this age is that the probation of races is past and that the backward races of today are of proven worthlessness and not worth the saving. Such an assumption is the arrogance of ~~our~~ a people unlearned in the humanity and ignorant of the deeds of men. A thousand years ago such an assumption, easily possible, would have made it difficult for the Teuton to have his right to life; two thousand years ago such dogmatism, readily welcome, would have scouted the idea of blond races ever leading

49-14-18

civilization. So woefully ~~slow~~ unlearned is sociological knowledge that the meaning of progress, the meaning of swift and slow drive human doing, and the limits of human perfectability are veiled unanswered question on the shores of science. Why should Aeschylus have sung 2000 years before Shakespeare was born? Why has civilization flourished in Europe and flickered flamed and died in Africa? So long as the world stands meekly dumb before such questions shall ~~a~~ this nation preclude its ignorance and unhallowed prejudices by denying freedom of opportunity ~~to~~ to those who brought the Sorrow Songs to the Seats of the Mighty?

Your country? How came it yours? Before the pilgrims landed we were here. Hear we have brought our three gifts and mingled them with yours: a gift of story and song — soft sorrow melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of swart and brawn to beat back the wilderness, conquer the soil and lay the foundations of this vast economy empire 500 years earlier than your weak hands

49-14-64

could have done it; the Hand a gift of the Spirit:
around us the history of this land has centred
for three a hundred years; out of the nations
heart we have called all that was ~~worst~~ least to Whittle
and outdone
^ all that was ~~best~~ worst; fire and blood, prayer and
sacrifice have hallowed over this people and they
have found peace only on the altars of the God
of Right. Nor has our gift of the Spirit been merely
passive. Actively we have women ourselves
with the very mark and sway of this nation; we
fought these battles, shared these sorrows, mingled
our blood
^ with theirs ~~blood~~, and ^ generation after generation have pleaded with a headstrong 49-14-20
careless people & despise not Justice, Mercy and
Truth lest the nation be smitten with a
curse. Our song our toil, our cheer and warning
have been given to this nation in blood-brotherhood.
Does not these gifts worth the giving? Is ~~that~~ not
this work and glory?

as was this human life and song? Would America have been America with out her Negro people?

Even so is the hope that sang in the songs of my fathers well sung. If somewhere in this whirl and chaos of things there dwells Eternal Good, powerful yet masterful, then anon in this good time America shall rend the Veil and the prisoned shall go free Free, free as the sunshine trickles down the morning with those huge rondures of space, free as yonder fresh young voices that come welling up to me from the caverns of buried centuries — swelling with song, instant with life, tremulous treble and darkening bass. My children, my little children are singing to the sunshine & thus they sing:

Let us cheer the weary traveller
Cheer the weary traveller, God
Let us cheer the weary sinner
Along the heavenly way.

[Leave 21 lines]

49-14-21

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

Handwritten draft manuscript of "The After-Thought"

The After-Thought

Hear my cry, O God the Reader; vouchsafe that this my book fall not still-born into the world-wilderness. O Let these spring. Gentle One, from out its leaves ~~[illegible]~~ vigor of ~~thought~~ and thoughtful deed & reap the harvest wonderful. O Let the ears of a guilty people tingle with truth, and seventy millions sigh for the righteousness which exalteth nations, in this drear day when human brotherhood is [illegible] mockery and a snare. O Thus in Thy good time may infinite reason turn the tangle straight, and ~~[illegible]~~ these crooked marks on a fragile leaf be not indeed

The End.

49-15-1

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

Notes, possibly for this work

~~Sentimentals~~ Hampton

Dere my little soul is agwine to stand

I wonder where my Mother is gone?

My Lord what a morning when the stars
begin to fall.

My brethren don't get weary, Angels brought the
tidings down; don't get weary, I'm hunting
for a home.

Nobody knows the trouble I have seen
Way over Jordan, view the land
If you want to see Jesus go in the Wilderness.
Fare ye the East & fare ye the west – I know
the Other world's not like this.

Every low chariot to the East
Let God's children have some peace
West
Rest
North
Gib me the gold without the dross
South
sing & shout

When ye hear how mourner, when ye hear so
sorry – hear low down in the valley
for to pray

30-22-6

My Lord delivered Daniel why can't he deliver me.

The good old chariot passing by did jar the
Earth & shake the sky
— the Fore-wheel run by Love
the Hind wheel run by Faith
Slow back the powers of Hell
I heard such a Lumbering in the Sky
John saw the Holy Number
Setting on the golden altar

Ole sheep done know de road
De young lambs must find de way
Bright sparkles in the church yard give light
unto the Tomb
Bright summer spring's over Sweet flowers in their
bloom.

My mother once my mother twice, my mother
shall rejoice
In the heaven once in the heaven twice, my mother shall rejoice

O mother don't you love your darling child
I rock me in the cradle all the day
you may lay me down & sleep my mother dear

30-22-4

Judgement, Judgment, Judgment day is a rolling round

Dar's no more slave in the Kingdom Lord!

Here the lambs a crying — O shepherd feed my sheep.

Rise & shine & give God the Glory

My mother's in the word — most done travelling

I hope my mother will be there in that beautiful world on high

Heaven is shining, shining, Lord, heaven is shining full of love.

O walk together Children, don't you get weary.

There's a great camp Meeting in the Promised

O clap your hands children

O but your feet children

Good news: the Chariots a coming

Don't you view dat ship come sailin'
Dat ship is heavy loaded
She neither reels nor tollers
She's loaded with bright angels.
O how do you know they are angels
I know dem by der mourning

36-22-4

O Lamb — comes my Jesus
O how do you know it's Jesus
I know him by his shining
Hallelujah.

—

Going to Join the Holy number

—

Zion Meek-a-lon

—

[a picture of Judgment]
of the great gittin' up morning H 65

—

Sweet turtle dove, she cry so sweet
Muddy the water so deep, & me had
a little meeky in the morning
for to hear Gabriel's trumpet sound.

—

Winter winter winter'll soon be over children

—

O Lord, O my Lord, O my good Lord
Keep me from sinking down.

—

Been listening all the night long

—

Pine alley - Babylon a falling & see no more

—

Dust dust & ashes fly over on my grave
But the Lord shall bear my spirit home

36-22-3

I'm a rolling thro' an unfriendly world.

—

O when my way's cloudy
Go send them angels down.

—

We see all you do & hears all you say
my lord's a-riding all the time

—

There a little wheel a turning in my heart.

—

Seek & ye shall find, knock & the door shall be
opened, ask & it shall be given & the Love
come trickling down.

12-22-95

30-22-1 6

I'll be there in the morning, when the general
roll is called.

—

See four & twenty elders ~~bowing~~ on their knees
& will all rise together & wave the palm
tree
O Lord have mercy of you please.

—

There a wheel in a wheel

Yell Jesus done – done all I can
" " " " " "
" " " " " "
an' I can't do no mo'.

—

If you don't like your neighbor
Don't carry his name abroad
But take it in your forehead
And carry it to the Lord.

—

Sun don't set in the morning
Light shine round the world

—

Let the heaven light shine on me
For low is the way & the rubber bright world
O brother you must bow so low

—

Humble humble humble yourselves
gwine & live a-humble & the Lord.

—

Now is your time,
what yo' gwine & do when the Lamb burns
down

—

I've been toting de the hill so long.

30-22-10

O wrestlin Jacob, Jesus day is abreakin'
I will not let thee go.
(repeat)
O I hold my brother with a tremblin' hand
I would not let him go
I hold my sister &c
O Jacob do hang from a tremblin limb,
He would not let him go.
&c
De lord will bless my soul
O wrestling Jacob Jacob &c.

He has been with us Jesus
He is still with us Jesus
He will be with us Jesus,
Be with us to the end

Atlantic
1/x 685

Massa Jesus give me a little broom
for to sweep my heart clean

" We utter no new truth when we affirm
that whatever of nationality there is in the music
of America she owes to her dusky children
Century V 411

God got plenty a room
De foxes have a hole & dee birdes have a nest

Dew low May bow low Martha
For Jesus come & lock de door
& carry de keys away
Sail sail over yonder & view de promised land
For Jesus &c
Weep O may bow low Martha.
For Jesus
Sail sail my true believer
" " over yonder
May bow low, Martha bow low
For Jesus come & lock de door
And carry de keys away

I know moon-rise, I know star-rise
lay dis body down
I walk in the moonlyt I walk in the starlyt
& lay this body down
I'll lie in the grave & stretch out my arms
lay this &c
I go & the Judgment in the evening of the day
when I lay &c
& my soul & your soul will meet in the day
when I lay &c

22-2-0

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

Draft prefaces and revisions for 1953 edition

To Prague 4

Book

PREFACE (To Souls of Black Folk

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

This book is not a Tract for the Times. It is a picture of conditions in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century; as they affected ~~xx~~ American Negroes, descendants of African slaves brought to America in the 16th Century and after.

I was born and educated in the United States, going through the public schools and Harvard University. I had had a glimpse of Europe, studying three semesters at the University of Berlin where I was a member of seminars under Adolph Wagner and Gustav Schmoller. I travelled in Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy and England.

I had seen in Europe the activities of the Socialist Party and so had come to know something of Socialism. I knew of Karl Marx but had not read the "Communist Manifesto."

The world to which I returned to take up work was to an extent narrow and provincial. My life as I conceived it was to settle the so-called Negro Problem, that is, to find a place in American life for persons of Negro descent, without slavery or caste.

The essays which form the different chapters were written at different times and places between 1896 and 1903 but were finally brought together and put into book form while I was teaching at Atlanta University. This was a private institution carried on for the benefit of Negro students and taught mostly by white Americans from the North, with two or three colored teachers of which I was one. I was head of the Department of Economics and History and most of my time went to making a systematic study of American Negroes, taking up different aspects of the problem from time to time and then repeating study of the same subject in

1/30/16

ten year cycles.

Immersed, therefore, in this particular problem largely peculiar to the United States, I had as yet no broad vision of the development of the world at large. That was to come later as I began to see the connection between the problem of the black worker in America and of all workers of all parts of the world.

There are certain points of view expressed in this book which should be explained: for instance, in chapter 7, Jews are mentioned several times and some have got an impression of anti-Semitism. This at the time I stoutly denied; but as I read the passages again in the light of subsequent history, I see how I laid myself open to this possible misapprehension. What, of course, I meant to condemn was exploitation of black labor, [redacted] that it was in this country and at that time in part a matter of immigrant Jews, was incidental and not essential. [redacted] But this illustrates how easily one slips into unconscious condemnation of a whole group. So too, I had at the time no clear conception of the fundamental relations of Capitalism and Socialism.

The republication of this book a half century after it first appeared is of interest, then, to the world as showing how American slavery developed into serfdom, and what had been accomplished a generation after the slaves had been nominally emancipated by Abraham Lincoln . It is, then, from this historical and biographical point of view that the book may be of interest to readers in 1963.

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York, April 23, 1953

Howard Fast - not read

FIFTY YEARS AFTER (Souls)

My first two books were the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade," my doctor's thesis, which in 1896 became the first volume of the Harvard Historical ~~Series~~ Studies, then came three years later "The Philadelphia Negro," published by the University of Pennsylvania. Both of these were attempted scientific studies with no great popular appeal, but they led to some magazine articles and McClure's magazine asked me for a study of the Black Belt, ~~which~~ This I made but ~~which~~ they did not accept it. Then from Chicago in 1901 came an inquiry for a book.

It was the time when the mid-west was seeking to become a literary and publishing center. The Dial had begun publishing poetry and other literature, and the Brownes, father and son, editors of A.C. McClurg & Co., asked me for a manuscript on some phase of the Negro Problem. I told them that I had nothing but outlined a plan for a major social study of the South along the line of the work I ~~was beginning~~ had begun at Atlanta University in 1898.

They intimated that they sought a more popular work along literary lines and inquired if I could not get together a sufficient number of essays to make a book. With some hesitation I assembled several articles I had already published, some unpublished essays and some which I had in mind. Re-writing and adapting these, I sent them to Chicago with some trepidation, being sure they did not measure up to what I wanted to do and could do with time. They were accepted and appeared as "The Souls of Black Folk" in 1903. I presume at least 100,000 copies were sold slowly in the twenty editions of the book issued up to 1940.

Reading them again a half century later, I think they fairly present my thought at the time and I am better satisfied with them on the whole than I was at first. Naturally they do not reflect entirely my present thought; but they outline a phase of my spiritual development. My social and economic

philosophy was then as I now see it immature, and my outlook on race provincial.

One matter illustrates this. At the time when I had made the study for McClure in South Georgia, I came across a considerable number of immigrants from Russia who had settled in the Black Belt and who together with southern and northern whites were exploiting the Negro workers with little mercy. I referred to these Jews and to the poor whites and Yankees several times in what became the fourth chapter of my book. Jacob Schiff, whom I knew slightly, wrote me later pointing out that my words conveyed an impression of anti-Semitism, as I seemed to be blaming religion or race for the deeds which these men were doing. I resented this strongly, denying that any race prejudice could possibly enter my thinking. Later Rabbi Stephen Wise repeated this charge and I promised to review my words and correct them in future editions if they seemed in error.

1/30/12

I never did this because as I re-read the bare facts which I had chronicled they were true. I could not conscientiously change them. Moreover, I certainly had no conscious desire to malign Jews, knowing only too well myself what race prejudice could do. I therefore continued to let the words stand as I had written them, and did not realize until the horrible massacre of German Jews, ~~proved~~ how even unconscious repetition of ~~the~~ folklore such as the current concept of Jews as more guilty of exploitation than others, had helped the Hitlers of the world.

In planning this reprint, therefore, my first impulse was to eliminate all these references to Jews. But this I finally realized would be historically inaccurate. I have therefore with some regret let the passages ~~re~~ stand as written, believing that other references to Jews in this very book and my evident personal indebtedness to Jewish culture will absolve me from

intentional
blame of unfairness. If it does not, the case but illustrates how easy it is inadvertently to give a totally wrong impression.

especially in race relations

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York, May 1953

1/30/13

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

Late in the Nineteenth Century, there developed in Chicago, a movement to build a literary and publishing center in the Mid-West. The Brownes, father and son, editors for A.C.Clurg and Company, began looking about for young and unknown authors. I had just published my two first books: a history of the Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America, which was published as the first volume of the new Harvard Historical Studies in 1896. My Philadelphia Negro was published by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899. I had also written a few essays which had been accepted by the Atlantic Monthly, the Dial and some other periodicals.

The McClurg editors wrote me about 1900, asking if I did not have material for a book which they could consider. I was at the time just embarking at Atlanta University, on what I hoped to make my life work; it was to be a broad and exhaustive study of the Negro Problem in the United States. I outlined this project to the editors, but they wanted naturally something more limited and aimed at a popular audience. I therefor undertook to assemble some of my published and unpublished essays, adding a few new ones.

They liked the proposed book and offered publication. I hesitated, because I was sure that with more time and thought I could do a better job; it was in so many respects incomplete and unsatisfactory. But finally I plucked up courage and sent the manuscript off, and fifty years ago, the Souls of Black Folk appeared. It was well received and for next generation ran into a number of small editions.

SEVERAL TIMES I planned to revise the book and bring it abreast of my own thought and answer criticisms. But I hesitated and finally decided to leave the book as first printed, as monument to what I thought and felt in 1903. I hoped in other books to set down changes of fact and reaction. In the present Jubilee edition, I have clung to this decision, and my thoughts of fifty years ago appear again as then written. Only in a few cases, have I made less than a half dozen alterations in word or phrase and then not to change my thought as previously set down, but to avoid any possible misunderstanding today of what I meant to say yesterday.

As I re-read ~~today~~ these messages of a half century ago, I sense two matters which are not so much omissions on my part as indications of what I then did not know or did not realize: one is the influence of Freud and his co-workers in their study of psychology; the other is the tremendous impact on the modern world of Karl Marx.

As a student of James,

Santayana and Royce, I was not unprepared for the revolution in psychology which the Twentieth Century has brought; but the Souls of Black Folk does not adequately allow for unconscious thought and the cake of custom in the growth and influence of race prejudice.

My college training did not altogether omit Karl Marx. He was mentioned at Harvard and taken into account at Berlin. It was not omission but lack of proper emphasis or comprehension among my teachers, of the revolution in thought and action which Marx meant. So perhaps I might end this retrospect simply by saying: I still think today as yesterday that the color line is a great problem of this century. But today I see more clearly than yesterday that back of the problem of race and color, lies a greater problem which both obscures and implements it: and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is the poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellowmen; that to maintain this privilege, men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous and the excuse for this war continues largely to be color and race

1/30/15

Fifty Years After

LATE in the Nineteenth Century, there developed in Chicago a movement to build a literary and publishing center in the Mid-West. The Brownes, father and son, editors for A. C. McClurg & Company, began looking about for young and unknown authors. I had just published my first two books: a history of the *Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America,* which appeared as the first volume of the new Harvard Historical Studies in 1896. My *Philadelphia Negro* was published by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899. I had also written a few essays which had been accepted by the *Atlantic Monthly,* the *Dial* and some other periodicals.

The McClurg editors wrote me about 1900, asking if I did not have material for a book which they could consider. I was at the time just embarking at Atlanta University on what I hoped to make my life work; it was to be a broad and exhaustive study of the Negro Problem in the United States. I outlined this project to the editors, but they naturally wanted something more limited and aimed at a popular audience. I therefore undertook to assemble some of my published and unpublished essays, adding a few new ones.

They liked the proposed book and offered publi-

cation. I hesitated because I
more time and thought I could
so many respects this was inco
factory. But finally I plucked
the manuscript off, and fifty yea
OF BLACK FOLK appeared.
and for the next generation it r
editions.

Several times I planned to
bring it abreast of my own tho
criticism. But I hesitated and
leave the book as first printed,
what I thought and felt in 190
books to set down changes of
In the present Jubilee Edition
decision, and my thoughts of fif
again as then written. Only i
I made less than a half-dozen
or phrase and then not to cha
previously set down but to avo
understanding today of what I
terday.

As I re-read these messages of
I sense two matters which are n
on my part as indications of w
know or did not realize: one
Freud and his co-workers in t
chology; the other is the tremen
modern world of Karl Marx.

As a student of James, Santa
was not unprepared for the revo
which the Twentieth Century ha
SOULS OF BLACK FOLK d

allow for unconscious thought and the cake of custom in the growth and influence of race prejudice.

My college training did not altogether omit Karl Marx. He was mentioned at Harvard and taken into account in Berlin. It was not omission but lack of proper emphasis or comprehension among my teachers of the revolution in thought and action which Marx meant. So perhaps I might end this retrospect simply by saying: I still think today as yesterday that the color line is a great problem of this century. But today I see more clearly than yesterday that back of the problem of race and color, lies a greater problem which both obscures and implements it: and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellowmen; that to maintain this privilege men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous, and the excuse for this war continues largely to be color and race.

W. E. B. DuBois

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

Late in the Nineteenth Century, there developed in Chicago, a movement to build a literary and publishing center in the Mid-West. The Brownes, father and son, editors for A.C. McClurg and Company, began looking about for young and unknown authors. I had just published my first two books: a history of the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America", which appeared as the first volume of the new Harvard Historical Studies in 1896. My Philadelphia Negro was published by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899. I had also written a few essays which had been accepted by the Atlantic Monthly, the Dial and some other periodicals.

The McClurg editors wrote me about 1900, asking if I did not have material for a book which they could consider. I was at the time just embarking at Atlanta University on what I hoped to make my life work; it was to be a broad and exhaustive study of the Negro Problem in the United States. I outlined this project to the editors, but they naturally wanted something more limited and aimed at a popular audience. I therefore undertook to assemble some of my published and unpublished essays, adding a few new ones.

They liked the proposed book and offered publication. I hesitated because I was sure that with more time and thought I could do a better job; in so many respects this was incomplete and unsatisfactory. But finally I plucked up courage and sent the manuscript off, and fifty years ago, the SOULS OF BLACK FOLK appeared. It was well received and for the next generation it ran into a number of editions.

Several times I planned to revise the book and bring it abreast of my own thought and to answer criticism. But I hesitated and finally decided to leave the book as first printed, as monument to what I thought and felt in 1903. I hoped

in other books to set down changes of fact and reaction.

In the present Jubilee Edition I have clung to this decision, and my thoughts of fifty years ago appear again as then written. Only in a few cases have I made less than a half dozen alterations in word or phrase and then not to change my thought as previously set down but to avoid any possible misunderstanding today of what I meant to say yesterday.

As I re-read these messages of half century ago, I sense two matters which are not so much omission on my part as indications of what I then did not know or did not realize: one is the influence of Freud and his co-workers in their study of psychology; the other is the tremendous impact on the modern world of Karl Marx.

As a student of James, Santayana and Royce, I was not unprepared for the revolution in psychology which the Twentieth Century has brought; but the SOULS OF BLACK FOLK does not adequately allow for unconscious thought and the cake of custom in the growth and influence of race prejudice.

My college training did not altogether omit Karl Marx. He was mentioned at Harvard and taken into account in Berlin. It was not omission but lack of proper emphasis or comprehension among my teachers of the revolution in thought and action which Marx meant. So perhaps I might end this retrospect simply by saying: I still think today as yesterday that the color line is a great problem of this century. But today I see more clearly than yesterday that back of the problem of race and color, lies a greater problem which both obscures and implements it: and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellowmen; that to maintain this privilege men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous and the excuse for this war continues largely to be color and race.

W.E.B. Du Bois

W. E. BURGHARDT Du BOIS
THIRTY-ONE GRACE COURT
BROOKLYN 2, N. Y.

THIS BOOK IS THE PROPERTY OF W.E.B. Du BOIS AND BELONGS TO A SPECIALLY-BOUND EDITION WHICH IS IRREPLACEABLE.

PLEASE HANDLE IT WITH CARE AND RETURN IT AT THE VERY FIRST OPPORTUNITY

126, line 7
9 migrants and heirs
line 14

Souls of Black Folk

most frankly and foreigners

127 - last 2 lines
a yankee or an immigrant
Line 19 - a foreigner

35-9-73

169 - line 23
and unscrupulous immigrants

170 line 27
enterprising Americans with

132 line 11, 12
[illegible] native rebellion and foreign
immigrants

204 - line 24
natural peasants of the

fence of the "stockade," as the county prison is called; the white folks say it is ever full of black criminals, - the black folks say that only colored boys are sent to jail, and they not because they are guilty, but because the State needs criminals to eke out its income by their forced labor.

Immigrants are heirs of the slave baron in Dougherty; and as we ride westward, by wide stretching corn-fields and stubby orchars of peach and pear, we see on all sides within the circle of dark forest a Land of Canaan. Here and there are tales of projects for money-getting, born in the swift days of Reconstruction, - "improvement" companies, wine companies, mills and factories; most failed, and foreigners fell heir. It is a beautiful land, this Dougherty, west of the Flint. The forests are wonderful, the solemn pines have disappeared, and this is the "Oakey Woods", with its wealth of hickories, beeches, oaks and palmettos. But a pall of debt hangs over the beautiful land; the merchants are in debt to the wholesalers, the planters are in debt to the merchants, the tenants owe the planters, and laborers bow and bend beneath the burden of it all. Here and there a man has raised his head above these murky waters. We pass one fenced stock-farm with grass and grazing cattle, that looked very homelike after endless corn and cotton. Here and there are black freeholders: there is the gaunt dull-black Jackson, with his hundred acres. "I says, 'Look up! If you don't look up and can't get up,'" remarks Jackson, Philosophically. And he's gotten up. Dark Carter's neat barns would do credit to New England. His master

35-9-75

helped him to get a start, but when the black man died last fall the master's sons immediately laid claim to the estate. "And them white folks will get it, too," said my yellow gossip.

I turn from these well-tended acres with a comfortable feeling that the Negro is rising. Even then, however, the fields, as we proceed, begin to redden and the trees disappear. Rows of old cabins appear filled with renters and laborers, - cheerless, bare, and dirty, for the most part, although here and there the very age and decay makes the scene picturesque. A young black fellow greets us. He is twenty-two, and just married. Until last year he had good luck renting; then cotton fell, and the sheriff seized and sold all he had. So he moved here, where the rent is higher, the land poorer, and the owner inflexible; he rents a forty-dollar mule for twenty dollars a year. Poor lad! - a slave at twenty-two. This plantation, owned now by a foreigner, was a part of the famous Bolton estate. After the war it was for many years worked by gangs of Negro convicts, - and black convicts then were even more plentiful than now; it was a way of making Negroes work, and the question of guilt was a minor one. Hard tales of cruelty and mistreatment of the chained freemen are told, but the county authorities were deaf until the free-labor market was nearly ruined by wholesale migration. Then they took the convicts from the plantations, but not until one of the fairest regions of the "Oakey Woods" had been ruined and ravished into a red waste, out of which only a Yankee or an immigrant could squeeze more blood from debt-cursed tenants.

35-9-76

tropical luxuriance of the southwest. Then, too, there are fewer signs of a romantic past, and more of systematic modern land-grabbing and money-getting. White people are more in evidence here, and farmer and hired labor replace to some extent the absentee landlord and rack-rented tenant. The crops have neither the luxuriance of the richer land nor the signs of neglect so often seen, and there were fences and meadows here and there. Most of this land was poor, and beneath the notice of the slave-baron, before the war. Since then his poor relations and foreign immigrants have seised it. The returns of the farmer are too small to allow much for wages, and yet he will not sell off small farms. There is the Negro Sanford; he has worked fourteen years as overseer on the Ladson place, and "paid out enough for fertilizers to have bought a farm," but the owner will not sell off a few acres.

Two children - a boy and a girl - are hoeing sturdily in the fields on the farm where Corliss works. He is smoothOfaced and brown, and is fencing up his pigs. He used to run a successful contton-gin, but the Cotton Seed Oil Trust has forced the price of ginning so low that he says it hardly pays him. He points out a stately old house over the way as the home of "Pa Willis." We eagerly ride over, for "Pa Willis" was the tall and powerful black Moses who led the Negroes for a generation, and led them well. He was a Baptist preacher, and when he died two thousand black people followed him to the grave; and now they preach his funeral sermon each year. His widow lives here, - a weasened, sharp-featured

35-9-77

to be thrown almost immediately into relentless and sharp competition with the best of modern workingmen under an economic system where every participant is fighting for himself, and too often utterly regardless of the rights or welfare of his neighbor.

For we must never forget that the economic system of the South to-day which has succeeded the old regime is not the same system as that of the old industrial North, of England, or of France, with their trades-unions, their restrictive laws, their written and unwritten commercial customs, and their long experience. It is, rather, a copy of that England of the early nineteenth century, before the factory acts, - the England that wrung pity from thinkers and fired the wrath of Carlyle. The rod of empire that passed from the hands of Southern gentlemen in 1865, partly by force, partly by their own petulance, has never returned to them. Rather it has passed to those men who have come to take charge of the industrial exploitation of the New South, - the sons of poor whites fired with a new thirst for wealth and power, thrifty and avaricious Yankees, and unscrupulous immigrants. Into the hands of these men the Southern laborers, white and black, have fallen; and this to their sorrow. For the laborers as such there is in these new captains of industry neither love nor hate, neither sympathy nor romance; it is a cold question of dollars and dividends. Under such a system all labor is bound to suffer. Even the white laborers are not yet intelligent, thrifty, and well trained enough to maintain themselves against the powerful inroads of organized

35-9-78

capital. The results among them, even, are long hours of toil, low wages, child labor, and lack of protection against usury and cheating. But among the black laborers all this is aggravated, first, by a race prejudice which varies from a doubt and distrust among the best element of whites to a frenzied hatred among the worst; and, secondly, it is aggravated, as I have said before, by the wretched economic heritage of the freedmen from slavery. With this training it is difficult for the freedman to learn to grasp the opportunities already opened to him, and the new opportunities are seldom given him, but go by favor to the whites.

Left by the best elements of the South with little protection or oversight, he has been made in law and custom the victim of the worst and most unscrupulous men in each community. The crop-lien system which is depopulating the fields of the South is not simply the result of shiftlessness on the part of Negroes, but is also the result of cunningly devised laws as to mortgages, liens, and misdemeanors, which can be made by conscienceless men to entrap and snare the unwary until escape is impossible, further toil a farce, and protest a crime. I have seen, in the Black Belt of Georgia, an ignorant, honest Negro buy and pay for a farm in installments three separate times, and then in the face of law and decency the enterprising American who sold it to him pocketed money and deed and left the black man landless, to labor on his own land at thirty cents a day. I have seen a black farmer fall in debt to a white storekeeper, and that storekeeper go to his farm and strip it of every single marketable article, - mules,

35-9-79

simple old servant who stood for the earlier religious age of submission and humility. With all his laziness and lack of many elements of true manhood, he was at least open-hearted, faithful, and sincere. Today he is gone, but who is to blame for his going? Is it not those very prsons who mourn for him? Is it not the tendency, born of Reconstruction and Reaction, to found a society on lawlessness and deception, to tamper with the moral fibre of a naturally honest and straightforward people until the whites threaten to become ungovernable tyrants and the blacks criminals and hypocrites? Deception is the natural defence of the weak against the strong, and the South used it for many years against its conquerors; to-day it must be prepared to see its black proletariat turn that same two-edged weapon against itself. And how natural this is! The death of Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner proved long since to the Negro the present hopelessness of physical defence. Political defence is becoming less and less available, and economic defence is still only partially effective. But there is a patent defence at hand, - the defence of deception and flattery, of cajoling and lying. It is the same defence which peasants of the Middle Age used and which left its stamp on their character for centuries. To-day the young Negro of the South who would succeed cannot be frank and outspoken, honest and self-assertive, but rather he is daily tempted to be silent and wary, politic and sly; he must flatter and be pleasant, endure petty insults with a smile, shut his eyes to wrong; in too many cases he sees positive personal advantage in deception

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

Miscellaneous material

The Souls of Black Folk

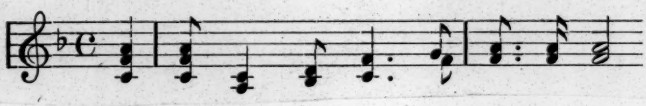
I

OF OUR SPIRITUAL STRIVINGS

O water, voice of my heart, crying in the sand,
All night long crying with a mournful cry,
As I lie and listen and cannot understand
The voice of my heart in my side or the voice of the sea;
O water crying for rest, is it I, is it I?
All night long the water is crying to me.

Unresting water, there shall never be rest
Till the last moon droop and the last tide fail,
And the fire of the end begin to burn in the west;
And the heart shall be weary, and wonder and cry like the sea,
All life long crying without avail,
As the water all night long is crying for me.

ARTHUR SYMONS.



49-31-3

II

OF THE DAWN OF FREEDOM

Careless seems the great Avenger;
History's lessons but record
One death-grapple in the darkness
'Twixt old systems and the Word;
Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch above his own.

LOWELL.

III

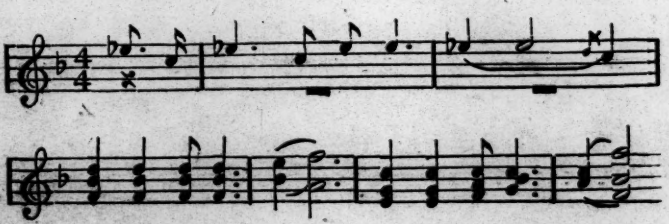
OF MR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND OTHERS

From birth till death enslaved; in word, in deed, unmanned!

. . . . . .

Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?

BYRON

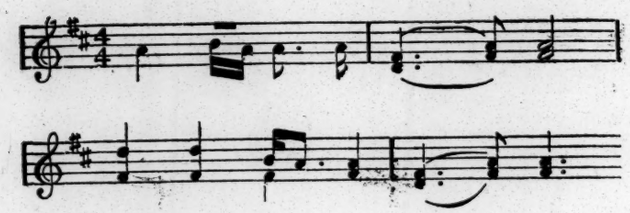


IV

OF THE MEANING OF PROGRESS

"Willst Du deine Macht verkünden,
"Wähle sie die frei von Sünden,
"Steh'n in Deinem ew'gen Haus!
"Deine Geister sende aus!
"Die Unsterblichen, die Reinen,
"Die nicht fühlen, die nicht weinen!
"Nicht die zarte Jungfrau wähle,
"Nicht der Hirtin weiche Seele!"

SCHILLER.

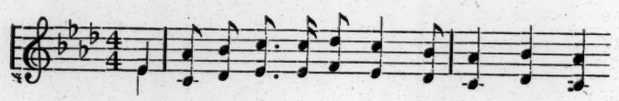


V

OF THE WINGS OF ATLANTA

O black boy of Atlanta!
But half was spoken;
The slave's chains and the master's
Alike are broken;
The one curse of the races
Held both in tether;
They are rising — all are rising —
The black and white together.

WHITTIER.

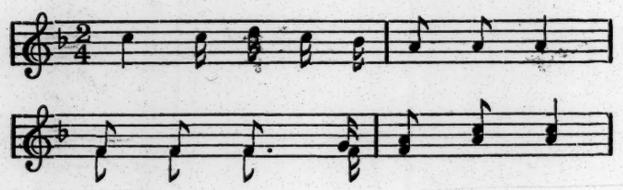


VI

OF THE TRAINING OF BLACK MEN

Why, if the Soul can fling the Dust aside,
And naked on the Air of Heaven ride,
Were 't not a Shame — were 't not a Shame for him
In this clay carcase crippled to abide?

OMAR KHAYYAM (FITZGERALD).

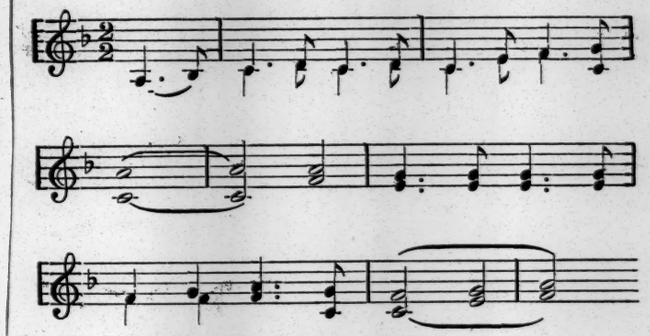


VII

OF THE BLACK BELT

I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem,
As the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon.
Look not upon me because I am black,
Because the sun hath looked upon me:
My mother's children were angry with me;
They made me the keeper of the vineyards;
But mine own vineyard have I not kept.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON.



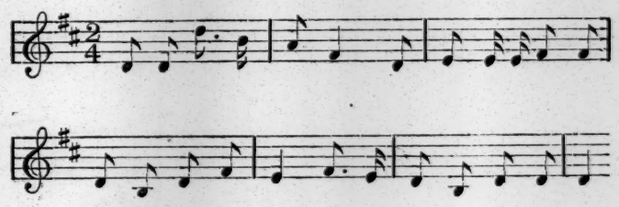
VIII

OF THE QUEST OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE

But the Brute said in his breast, "Till the mills I grind have ceased,
The riches shall be dust of dust, dry ashes be the feast!

"On the strong and cunning few
Cynic favors I will strew;
I will stuff their maw with overplus until their spirit dies;
From the patient and the low
I will take the joys they know;
They shall hunger after vanities and still an-hungered go.
Madness shall be on the people, ghastly jealousies arise;
Brother's blood shall cry on brother up the dead and empty skies.

WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY.

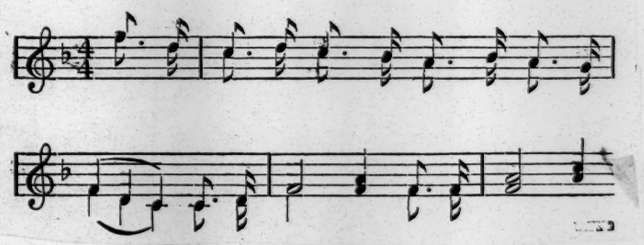


IX

OF THE SONS OF MASTER AND MAN

Life treads on life, and heart on heart;
We press too close in church and mart
To keep a dream or grave apart.

MRS. BROWNING.



49-31-2

X

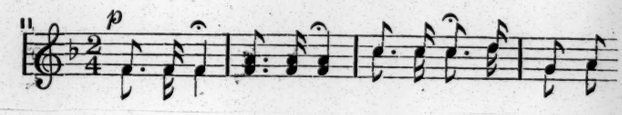
OF THE FAITH OF THE FATHERS

Dim face of Beauty haunting all the world,
Fair face of Beauty all too fair to see,
Where the lost stars adown the heavens are hurled, —
There, there alone for thee
May white peace be.

. . . . . .

Beauty, sad face of Beauty, Mystery, Wonder,
What are these dreams to foolish babbling men
Who cry with little noises 'neath the thunder
Of Ages ground to sand,
To a little sand.

FIONA MACLEOD.

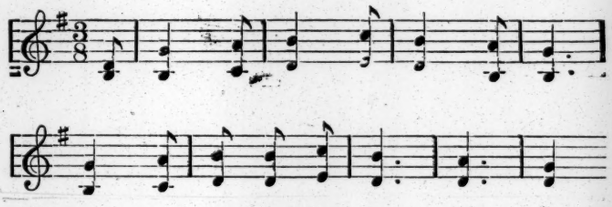


XI

OF THE PASSING OF THE FIRST-BORN

'O sister, sister, thy first-begotten,
The hands that cling and the feet that follow,
The voice of the child's blood crying yet,
Who hath remembered me? whohathforgotten?
Thou has forgotten, O summer swallow,
But the world shall end when I forget.

SWINBURNE.

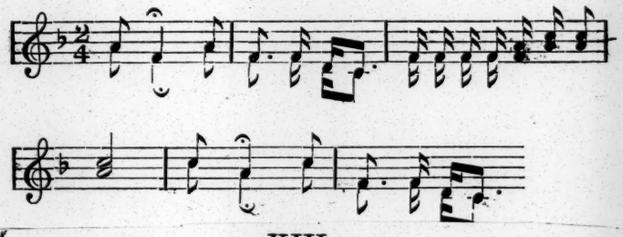


XII

OF ALEXANDER CRUMMELK

Then from the Dawn it seemed there came, but faint
As from beyond the limit of the world,
Like the last echo born of a great cry,
Sounds, as if some fair city were one voice
Around a king returning from his wars.

TENNYSON.

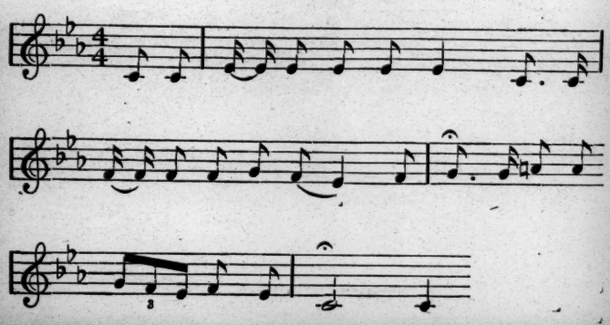


XIII

OF THE COMING OF JOHN

What bring they 'neath the midnight,
Beside the River-sea?
They bring the human heart wherein
No nightly calm can be;
That droppeth never with the wind,
Nor drieth with the dew;
O calm it, God; Thy calm is broad
To cover spirits too.
The river floweth on.

MRS. BROWNING.



XIV

The Sorrow Songs

"Wrestlin' Jacob"

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE TO THE UNITED STATES, 1638-1870

Manuscript pages from this work ??

*

~~Insert~~ 81a

[Insert in p 79]

This ship sailed from Holland to Africa, got slaves for their goods, carried the slaves to Brazyl and returned home laden with sugar.' ~~In the~~ In 1614 the West India company planted the colony of New Netherland in America by virtue of their Charter. Here in 1625 or 1626 they brought a few Africans captured at sea.[2] June 7, 1629, in their "Freedoms and Exemptions given by the West India Company to all Patroons, Masters or Private Persons who will plant Colonies in New Netherland," they promise, ~~to~~ as follows: "The Company will use their endeavors to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can."[3] Not many Negroes were however imported. Although the United continued to pursue the trade in Southern

'Southey's Brazil N.V.

[Insert in p 79]

2 O Callaghan's Voyages p xiii

Freedoms 1st 30 Laws N.Y. (1868) p 10

[3] This pledge was renewed in 1640 see Bancroft I 312

to provide effectual regulations to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States; occasioned considerable debate. The gentlemen who opposed it, stated, that if the amendment could have any effect to abolish the African trade, they should, by no means, object to it being recommended; but they contended that the Constitution itself expressly provided against any alteration or amendment of this clause +++++. On the other hand, it was urged, that a traffic in the human species was so wicked in its nature and so inconsistent with the spirit of free government, that if the proposed amendment could not take place, it was proper for the Convention to recommend it as evincing their sense respecting so infamous a traffic." It was

'This may be the debate spoken of before or another.

30-1-9

THIS AFRICA: HOW IT AROSE, WHITHER IT GOES

Draft manuscript

U A. (1)

THIS AFRICA

HOW IT AROSE, WHITHER IT GOES

BY W.E.B.Du BOIS

49-1-1

B I 2

FOREWORD

Since the glory of the West Indian Sugar Empire and the rule of the Cotton Kingdome, there has been consistent effort to rationalize Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history; so that today it is almost universally assumed that history can be written without particular reference to Negroid peoples. I believe this to be scientifically unsound and also dangerous for logical social conclusions. Therefore I am seeking in this book to remind readers in this crisis of civilization, of how critical a part Africa has played in human history, past and present, and how impossible it is to forget this and rightly explain the present plight of mankind.

I feel now as though I were addressing a crowd of friends and enemies, who ask a bit breathlessly, whose and when is the testimony on which I rely for something that even resembles Authority? To which I return two answers: I am challenging Authority -- even Maspero, Sayce, Reisner, Breasted, and hundreds of other men of highest respectability, who did not attack but studiously ignored the Negro on the Nile and in the world and talked as though black folk were nonexistent, unimportant. They are part of the herd of writers of modern history who declare with Guernier "Seule de tous les continents L'Afrique n'a pas d' histoire!"

49-1-2

In fine, I have done in this book the sort of thing at which every scholar shudders. With meager preparation and all too general background of learning, I have essayed a task, which, to be adequate and complete, should be based upon the research of a lifetime! But I am faced with the dilemma, that either I do this now or leave it for others who have not had the tragedy of life which I have, forcing me to face a task for which they may have small stomach and little encouragement from the world round about. If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issue -- that black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow Asiatics, and that history can easily prove this -- then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work.

Indeed, I strongly suspect that more and more history instead of pretending to be exact science will be developed as careful guess, laudable wish and "lies agreed upon". Thus only in part will our knowledge of the past be admittedly based on sound scientific evidence.

The bulk of this work was published in 1946 under the title: The World and Africa. In this edition the contents have been rearranged, to some extend rewritten, and certain recent matter added.

SUB-TITLES - THIS AFRICA (1)

No.	Name	Page
1.	Physical Africa	3
2.	Animal Africa	5
3.	The Great Apes	6
4.	Homo Sapiens	7
5.	Cultural Development	8
6.	The Negro Race	9
7.	The People of Africa	11
8.	The Nile Valley	15
9.	The Egyptians	20
10.	Ethiopia	24
11.	Egypt Returns to Ethiopia	33
12.	The Hebrews and Ethiopia	35
13.	Taharqa Rules the World	38
14.	Asia Attacks Africa	39
15.	Greece Invades Africa	40
16.	Europe and Africa	42
17.	Africa in Asia	46
18.	The Asiatic Africans	48
19.	The Arabs	49
20.	Islam	50
21.	Negroes in Spain	51
22.	Renaissance in Europe	53
23.	America	54
24.	The Slave Trade From Africa to Europe	55
25.	The African Slave Trade Spreads	56
26.	The British Slave Trade	57
27.	Cromwell the Slave Trader	59
28.	The Assiento	61
29.	The Struggle for India	61
30.	Karl Marx Explains	63
31.	England Fattens on Slavery	64
32.	Slave Revolt and Revolution	66
33.	The American Revolution	67
34.	The French Revolution	68
35.	Abolition of the Slave Trade	70
36.	The New Capitalism	72
37.	Ivory	73
38.	Exploration and Discovery in Africa	76
39.	The New British Conscience	78
40.	British Colonial Imperialism in Africa	80
41.	Cultural Clash in Africa	81
42.	Europe as Master of the World	85
43.	West Africa	86
44.	Iron	89
45.	Art	90
46.	Cloth	92
47.	Religion	93
48.	The Art of Memory	94
49.	Notable States	95
50.	Changes in West Africa	96
51.	The Paris Exposition of 1900	99
52.	The Races Congress	101
53.	Germany and Wilhelm II	102
54.	World War I	103

49 - 1 - 3

No.	Name	Page
55.	Pan-Africa	104
56.	First Pan-African Congress	106
57.	Between Wars	112
58.	Collapse of Europe	114
59.	Democracy Fails	115
60.	Peace Movement	115
61.	Negro Slavery	116
62.	The Word "Negro"	117
63.	History is Distorted	118
64.	Slavery Displaces Free Labor	119
65.	A Gracious Culture	120
66.	The Superior Race	121
67.	Sex	122
68.	Europe	123
69.	White People	124
70.	The Cape of Good Hope	125
71.	Britain in Africa	126
72.	Missionaries	127
73.	Leopold of Belgium	128
74.	Death of Cultures	129
75.	Fanti Federation	131
76.	Morals of Europe	132
77.	The Rise of Africa	134
78.	Africa In America	135
79.	Products of Africa	135
80.	Profits from Colonies	137
81.	Investment	138
82.	Second Pan-African Congress	139
83.	Garvey Movement	140
84.	Second Pan-African Congress-Brussels	140
85.	Second Pan-African Congress-Paris	140
86.	League of Nations	143
87.	Pan-African Congress in Lisbon	144
88.	The Pan-African Idea Spreads	145
89.	The War of African Liberation	147
90.	Black African Unions	147
91.	Fifth Pan African Congress	148
92.	Africa Changes	148½
93.	Fabian Society	149
94.	Cocoa	149
95.	The Labor Government	152
96.	Distribution	155
97.	Universities	158
98.	House Servants	159
99.	Democracy	160
100.	Asia and Africa in America	163
101.	Black French Africa	164
102.	Congo	165
103.	The United States	166
104.	Present Unrest	167
105.	West Indies, South America	168

49-1-4

pp. 81-97

1. PHYSICAL AFRICA

Seers say that for full two thousand million years this world out of fiery mist has whirled about the sun in molten metal and viscous crusted ball. That crust, congealing and separating the solids from the liquids, rose and fell in bulging ridges above the boiling sea. Five times the mass of land called Africa emerged and disappeared beneath the oceans. At last, at least a thousand million years ago, a mass of rigid rock lifted its crystal back above the waters and remained. Primeval Africa stretched from the ramparts of Ethiopia to where the copper, diamonds, and gold of South Africa eventually were found. More land arose, and perhaps three hundred million years ago Africa was connected with South America, India, and Australia. As the ocean basins dropped, the eastern half of Africa was slowly raised into a broad, flat arch.

49-1-5

The eastern side of this arch gave way, forming the Indian Ocean, and when the roof of the arch fell in there appeared the great Rift valley. This enormous crack, extending six thousand miles from the Zambesi to Ethiopia and Syria, is said to be the only thing that Martians can descry as they look earthward of a starry night. All the great East African lakes lie in the main rift, and doubtless the Red Sea and the Sea of Galilee are also part of this vast phenomenon. Later, about ten million years ago, a second rift occurred, and rifting and tilting kept on until perhaps a hundred thousand years before our era.

Recurrent change came in geography and climate. Europe and Africa were united by land and separated. Lower Egypt was submerged, and the Mediterranean extended to Persia. Finally, what the geologists call the modern world emerged. In Egypt great rivers poured down the hills between the Red Sea, and the Nile found old and new valleys. The Sahara was crossed by a network of rivers, pouring into a vaster Lake Chad and uniting the Niger, the Congo, and the Nile.

pp. 81-97

1. PHYSICAL AFRICA

Seers say that for full two thousand million years this world out of fiery mist has whirled about the sun in molten metal and viscous crusted ball. That crust, congealing and separating the solids from the liquids, rose and fell in bulging ridges above the boiling sea. Five times the mass of land called Africa emerged and disappeared beneath the oceans. At last, at least a thousand million years ago, a mass of rigid rock lifted its crystal back above the waters and remained. Primeval Africa stretched from the ramparts of Ethiopia to where the copper, diamonds, and gold of South Africa eventually were found. More land arose, and perhaps three hundred million years ago Africa was connected with South America, India, and Australia. As the ocean basins dropped, the eastern half of Africa was slowly raised into a broad, flat arch.

The eastern side of this arch gave way, forming the Indian Ocean, and when the roof of the arch fell in there appeared the great Rift valley. This enormous crack, extending six thousand miles from the Zambesi to Ethiopia and Syria, is said to be the only thing that Martians can descry as they look earthward of a starry night. All the great East African lakes lie in the main rift, and doubtless the Red Sea and the Sea of Galilee are also part of this vast phenomenon. Later, about ten million years ago, a second rift occurred, and rifting and tilting kept on until perhaps a hundred thousand years before our era.

Recurrent change came in geography and climate. Europe and Africa were united by land and separated. Lower Egypt was submerged, and the Mediterranean extended to Persia. Finally, what the geologists call the modern world emerged. In Egypt great rivers poured down the hills between the Red Sea, and the Nile found old and new valleys. The Sahara was crossed by a network of rivers, pouring into a vaster Lake Chad and uniting the Niger, the Congo, and the Nile.

49-1-5

Gondwanaland, the ancient united continent of Africa, South America, and Asia, was divided into three parts by the new changes which caused the rift valleys. The radioactivity of the inner earth made the crust break apart. We can see by the map how Africa broke from South America and Europe from North America. Changes in climate were caused by the sun, the earth's inner heat, and by two main glacial periods in Africa. The rainfall varied, bringing periods of flood between the glaciers.

The continent of Africa in its final modern form has been described as a question mark, as an inverted saucer, as the center of the world's continents. Including Madagascar, it is three times the size of Europe, four times the size of the United States; and the whole of Europe, India, China, and the United States could be held within its borders. In actual measurement it is nearly square: five thousand miles long by fourthousand six hundred miles wide. But its northern half is by far the larger, with the southern half tapering off. In the middle the equator cuts across Africa, and the whole continent lies mainly within the tropics.

Of the physical aspects of Africa, its relatively unbroken coastline has had the greatest effect upon its history. Although Africa is about three times larger than Europe in area, the coastline of Europe is four thousand miles longer than that of Africa. In other words, Africa has almost no peninsulas, deep bays, or natural harbors. Its low and narrow coast, almost level, rises rapidly to a central plateau with a depression in the center. Thus the great rivers fall suddenly to the ocean, and their navigation is impeded by rapids and falls.

Its five areas include the original Great Plateau with an average elevation of over thirty-five hundred feet, where mountains crowned with snow rise from thirteen to twenty thousand feet. Over these open spaces have always roamed herds of wild animals -- elephants, rhinoceroses, and buffaloes.

49-1-6

The second area is the Great Depression, the basin of the Congo River draining nearly a million and a half square miles. Its average altitude is a thousand feet and it is the bed of a former inland sea. As Stanley described it: "Imagine the whole of France and the Iberian peninsula closely packed with trees varying from twenty to a hundred and eighty feet in height, whose crowns of foliage interlace and prevent any view of sky and sun, and each tree from a few inches to four feet in diameter." In this area lies the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa, Liberia and the British West African colonies.

The fourth area is the Sahara, extending from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. It covers three and a half million square miles and is divided into desert and fertile islands. In the past the Sahara was fertile and had a large population. Its surface today is often a hundred feet below sea level. In the east is Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan. North Africa lies on the Mediterranean with Algeria and Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. There are sense in which it is true that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," and also that "Europe ends at the borders of the Sahara."

49-1-4

2. ANIMAL AFRICA

Sixty million years ago vast reptiles and dinosaurs wandered over this continent. It became, as the years passed, a zoological garden with wild animals of all sorts. Finally there came domesticated cattle, sheep, and goats, and a tremendous development of insects. As Sir Harry Johnston well remarks, "Africa is the chief stronghold of the real Devil -- the reactionary forces of Nature hostile to the uprise of Humanity. Here Beelzebub, King of the Flies, marshals his vermiform and arthropod hosts -- insects, ticks, and nematode worms -- which more than in other continents (excepting Negroid Asia) convey to the skin, veins, intestines, and spinal marrow of men and other vertebrates the microorganisms which cause deadly, disfiguring, or debilitating diseases, or themselves create the morbid condition of the persecuted human being, beasts, bird, reptile, frog, or fish."

Africa is a beautiful land; not merely comely and pleasant, but haunted with swamp and jungle; sternly beautiful in its loveliness of terror, its depth of gloom, and fullness of color; its heaven-tearing peaks, its selver of endless sand, the might, width, and breadth of its rivers, depth of its lakes and height of its hot, blue heaven. There are myriads of living things, the voice of storm, the kiss of pestilence and pain, old and ever new, new and incredibly ancient.

3. The Great Apes

The anthropoid ape with the great brain who walked erect and used his hands as tools developed upon earth not less than half a million years ago. Traces of him have been found in Africa, Asia, and Europe and in the islands of the sea. Many types which developed have doubtless been lost, but one species has survived, driven hither and yon by cold and hunger, segregated from time by earthquake and glacier and united for defense against hunger and wild beasts.

49-1-8

Groups of this species must have inbred and developed sub-types over periods of tens of thousands of years. Of the sub-species thus developed, scientists have usually distinguished at least three, all of which were fertile in their cross-breeding with one another. In course of time they have given rise to many transitional groups and intermediary types, so that less than two-thirds of the living peoples of today can be decisively allotted to one or the other of the definite subspecies. These subspecies include the long-headed dark people with more or less crinkled hair whom we know as Negroids; the broad-headed yellow people with straight and wiry hair whom we call Mongoloids; and a type between these, possibly formed by their union, with bleached skins and intermediate hair, known as the Caucasoids.

No sooner had these variant types appeared in Central Africa, on the steppes of Asia, and in Europe than they merged again. The importance of these

types was not so much their physical differences and likenesses as their cultural development. As Frobenius says: "With vast and growing weight there begins to emerge today out of the microscopic spectacles of blind eyes, a new conception among living men of the unity of human culture." Inquiring search has made clear "here Greek, there old Mexican spirituality; here European economic development, there pictures of the glacial age; here Negro sculpture, there shamanism; here philosophy, there machines; here fairy tale, there politics."

4. HOMO SAPIENS

Was Africa the cradle of the human race? Did it witness man's first evolution from the anthropoid ape to Homo sapiens? We do not know. Charles Darwin thought that "it is somewhat more probable that our early progenitors lived on the African continent than elsewhere." Sir G. E. Smith agrees with this and says that Africa "may have been the area of characterization, or, to use a more homely phrase, the cradle, both of the anthropoid apes and the human family." From Africa, Negroids may have entered Asia and Europe. On the other hand, the human race originating in Asia or even in Europe may have invaded Africa and become Negroid by long segregation in a tropical climate. But all this is conjecture. Of the origin of the Negro race or of other human races, we know nothing. But we do know that human beings inhabited Africa during the Pleistocene period, which may have been half a million years ago.

"There was once an 'uninterrupted belt' of Negro culture from Central Europe to South Africa. 'These people,' says Griffith Taylor, 'must have been quite abundant in Europe toward the close of the Paleolithic Age. Boule quotes their skeletons from Brittany, Switzerland, Liguria, Lombardy, Illyria, and Bulgaria. They are universal through Africa and through Melanesia, while the Botocudos and the Lagoa Santa skulls of East Brazil show where similar folk penetrated to the New World.' Massey says: 'The one sole race that can be traced among the aborigines all over the earth or below it is the dark race of a dwarf, Negrito type.'"

49-1-9

It seems reasonable to suppose that Negroids originating in Africa or Asia appeared first as Negrillos. The Sahara at that time was probably covered with rivers and verdure and North Africa was in close touch with Mediterranean Europe. There came upon the Negrillos a wave of Negroids who were hunters and fishermen and used stone implements. The remains of an African stone age are scattered over a wide area with amazing abundance, and there is such a resemblance between implements found in Africa and those in Europe that we can apply, with a few differences, the same names. The sequence in culture in Europe resembles the sequence in Africa although they may not have been contemporary.

The most primitive type of stone implement was found in Uganda and is known as the pebble tool. The same pebble industry extended to Tanganyika and the Transvaal. This gave way to the hand-ax culture, which extended over North Africa, the Sahara, Equatorial Africa, West and South Africa. Superb hand axes and other tools are the evidence. Then the middle Paleolithic flake-tool culture spread over wide areas of Africa and is shown by perfect implements in South Africa and other places. The remains indicate a cave-dwelling people with a great variety of tools as well as beads and pottery.

49-1-10

During the Pleistocene period came a new Stone Age, with agriculture, domestic animals, pottery, and the grinding and polishing of stone tools. Evidence of this culture is found in Egypt and North Africa, the Sahara in West Africa, East and South Africa.

The Neolithic culture is of great significance. In Egypt it is found five thousand years before Christ. A thousand years later it changed from flint to copper. The Predynastic Egyptians who represented this culture were settled folk; they hunted and fished, and cultivated grain; made clothes and baskets, used copper, and were distinctly Negroid in physique. Probably they came from the

south, from what is now Nubia. Later there came to Egypt other people of the type corresponding to the modern Beja, who lived in settled communities and used copper and gold. This brown Negroid people, like the modern Beja, Galla, and Somali, mixed increasingly with Asiatic blood, but their culture was African and extended by unbroken thread up the Nile and beyond the Somali peninsula.

The first wave of Negroes were hunters and fishermen and used stone implements. They gradually became sedentary and cultivated the soil and must have developed early artistic aptitudes and strong religious feeling. They built the stone monuments discovered in Negro Africa and the raised stones and carved rocks of Gambia. They did not mix with the Negrillos nor did they dispossess them, but recognized their ancestral land rights and seized unoccupied land. Thousands of years after this first wave of Negro immigrants there came another Negroid migration. The newcomers pushed north and west, dispossessed the Negrillos, and drove them toward the central forests and the deserts. They mixed more with the Negrillos, developed agriculture, the use of cattle and domestic fowl. They invented the working of iron and the making of pottery. Also, those who advanced farthest toward the north mixed with the Mediterranean race in varying degrees, so that sometimes the resulting population seemed white mixed with Negro blood and in other cases blacks mixed with white blood. The languages were mixed in various ways. Thus we had the various Libyan and Egyptian populations. All this migration and mixture took place long before the epoch of the first Egyptian dynasty.

6. THE NEGRO RACE

The name "Negro" originally embraced a clear conception of ethnology -- the African with dark skin, so-called "woolly" hair, thick lips and nose; but it is one of the achievements of modern science to confine this type to a small district even in Africa. Gallas, Nubians, Hottentots, the Congo races, and the Bantus are not "genuine" Negroes from this view, and thus we find that the continent of Africa is peopled by races other than the "geniune" Negro.

49-1-11

Nothing then remains for the Negro in the "pure" sense of the word save, as Waitz says, "a tract of country extending over not more than ten or twelve degrees of latitude, which may be traced from the mouth of the Senegal River to Timbuktu." If we ask what justifies so narrow a limitation, "we find that the hideous Negro-type, which the fancy of observers once saw all over Africa, but which, as Livingstone says, is really to be seen only as a sign in front of tobacco-shops, has on closer inspection evaporated from almost all parts of Africa, to settle no one knows how in just this region. If we understand that an extreme case may have been taken for the genuine and pure form, even so we do not comprehend the ground of its geographical limitation and location. We are here in presence of a refinement of science which to an unprejudiced eye will hardly hold water."

Palgrave says: "As to faces, the peculiarities of the Negro countenance are well known in caricature; but a truer pattern may be seen by those who wish to study it any day among the statues of the Egyptian rooms in the British Museum: the large gentle eye, the full but not overprotruding lips, the rounded contour, and the good-natured, easy, sensuous expression. This is the genuine African model; one not often to be met with in European or American thoroughfares, where the plastic African too readily acquires the careful look and even the irregularity of the features that surrounded him; but which is common enough in the villages and fields where he dwells after his own fashion among his own people; most common of all in the tranquil seclusion and congenial climate of Surinam plantation. There you may find, also, a type neither Asiatic nor European, but distinctly African; with much of independence and vigour in the male physiognomy and something that approaches, if it does not quite reach, beauty in the female. Rameses and his queen were cast in no other mould."

What are the peoples who from vague prehistory emerged as the Africans of today? The answer has been bedeviled by the assumption that there was in Africa a "true" Negro and that this pure aboriginal race was mixed with a mythical "Hamitic race"

49-1-12

which came apparently from neither Europe, Asia, nor Africa, but constituted itself as a "white element" in Negro Africa. We may dismiss this "Hamitic" race as a quite unnecessary assumption and describe the present African somewhat as follows:

5. THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA

At period as early as three thousand years before Christ the people of the North African coastal plains were practically identical with the early Egyptians and present two types: long-headed Negroid people and broad-headed Asiatics. Among the Berber types today are tall and medium long-headed people with broad faces, swarthy skin, and dark eyes. They have many Negroid characteristics, especially toward the south. Beside these there are short, broad-headed people.

These Berbers are the ones who correspond to the ancient Egyptians and who have close relationship to the Neolithic inhabitants of France. Among them today the Negro element is widely represented. It is in every part of Mauritania, where the reigning family itself is clearly of Negro descent. A large strain of Negro blood may also be found in Algeria.

In East Africa we have the Massai, Nandi, Suk, and others, tall, slender, and long-headed. In the case of the Massai the nose is thinner and the color tinged with reddish-brown. The Bari people are tall and the Lutoko very tall. Then there are the Nilotics in the Nile valley, extending south of Khartoum to Lake Kioga. Physically, as in the case of the Shilluk and Dinka, they are tall, very black, long-headed people, often with well-shaped features, thin lips, and high-bridged noses. The Nuba, tall, long-headed men, live in the hills of Kordofan. East of Kordofan are the Fung, with many tribes and with much Asiatic blood; and also broad-headed tribes like the Bongo and the Asande, a mixed people of reddish color with long heads.

On the other side of Africa, the lower and middle portion of the Senegal River forms a dividing line between West African types of Negroes and the Negroes of the Sudan. South of the river are the Jolofs and the Serers. With these are the

49-1-120

Senegalese, including the Tukolor and Mandingo tribes. They are dolichocephalic with broad and narrow noses. They are rather tall, some of them very tall, and their skin is very dark. The Mandingo, or Mandi, are among the most important groups of French Senegal and live between the Atlantic and Upper Niger. They are tall and slender with fine features, beards, and rather lighter skin than that of neighboring Negroes.

Among the most interesting of the West African people south of the Sudan are the Fulani, stretching from the Upper Niger to the Senegal River. They are Negroids, perhaps with Asiatic blood. They are straight-haired, straight-nosed, thin-lipped and long-headed, with slender physiques and reddish-brown color. The Songhay are tall and long-headed with well-formed noses and coppery-brown color. The people of Kanem and the Bagirmi cluster around Lake Chad. They are broad-nosed and dolichocephalic and resemble the Negroes on the Nile. In the east and South Africa are the Wachagga and the Fang and especially the Swahili, mixed people whose language dominates East Africa. They have all possible degrees of physical characteristics from Arabic to Negro. In South Africa there are the Bushmen, short, yellow, with closely-curled hair. Beside them live the Hottentots, probably Bushmen with Bantu admixture and later with white Dutch admixture which gave rise to the so-called "coloured" people.

The Negroes in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Guinea can be differentiated at present chiefly by their languages, which have been called Sudanic. Three great stocks prevail: the Twi, Ga, and Ewe. Belonging to these are the Ashanti, moderately tall men, long-headed with some broad heads; the Dahomey, tall, long-headed, and black; the Yoruba, including the peoples of Benin and Ibo, dark brown or black, closely curled hair, moderate dolichocephaly, and broad-nosed. Their lips are thick and sometimes everted, and there is a considerable amount of prognathism. The Kru, hereditary sailors, are typically Negroid with fine physiques. The Haussa of the Central Sudan are very black and long-headed but not prognathic and with thin noses.

46-1-13

Finally there are the Bantu, who are a congeries of peoples, belonging predominantly to Central and South Africa and occupying the southern two-thirds of black Africa. The Bantu are defined on purely linguistic criteria. The term "Bantu" primarily implies that the tribes included speak languages characterized by a division of nouns into classes distinguished by their prefixes (usually twelve to fifteen), absence of sex-gender in the grammar, and the existence of alliterative concord, the prefix of each class (noun-class) being repeated in some form or another in all words agreeing with any noun of that class in the sentence. It is the reappearance of the prefix in every word in agreement with the noun that gives the alliterative effect.

The southern Bantu outnumber all other groups of South Africa and are about four times as numerous as the Whites. They are divided into a large number of tribal units, each with its own distinctive name. In social organization and religious system they show broad resemblances to one another, but in details of history there are a number of important differences which permit of their being classified into four groups:

1. The Shona peoples of Southern Rhodesia and of Portuguese East Africa.
2. The Zulu-Xosa, chiefly in the coastal region south and east of the Drakensberg Mountains.
3. The Suto-Chwana occupy the greater portion of the high plateau north of the Orange River.
4. The Herero-Ovambo, in the northern half of Southwest Africa and in southern Angola.

In skin color the range is from the black of the Amaswazi to the yellowish-brown of some of the Bechuana. The prevalent color is a dark chocolate, with a reddish ground tint. The hair is uniformly short and woolly. The head is generally low and broad with a well-formed bridge and narrow nostrils. The face is moderately prognathous, the forehead prominent, cheekbones high, lips fleshy. The Negro facial type predominates in all groups, but side by side with it in the Zulu and

49-1-14

the Thonga sections are relatively long, narrow faces, thin lips, and high noses.

The inhabitants of Natal and Zululand, divided originally into more than a hundred small separate tribes, are all now collectively known as "Zulus," a name derived from one of the tribes which, under the domination of Chaka, absorbed and conquered most of the others and so formed the Zulu nation which played so important a part in the political history of South Africa during the nineteenth century.

Tribes vary in size, some having from a few hundred to a couple of thousand members. Others are much larger, for example, the Bakwena, 11,000; the Batawana, 17,500; the Bamagwato, 60,000; the Ovandonga, 65,000; the Ovakwanyama, 55,000; the Amaswazi, again, number 110,000; while the Basuto, by far the largest of all and might be called a nation, number nearly half a million.

The area of the western Bantu includes the Cameroons (French), Rio Muni (Spanish), the Gaboon (French), French Equatoria, the Congo (Belgian), Angola (Portuguese), and Rhodesia, with the fraction of Portuguese East Africa north of Zambesi. This vast area is the true "Heart of Africa," the tropical rain forest of the Congo. Johnston enumerated over one hundred and fifty tribes in this area who spoke Bantu or semi-Bantu tongues. The southern limit of the western Bantu is vague; the formation of the Lunda empire, the Yagga raids, and the subsequent encroachments of the Bajokwe (Kioko) have played havoc with tribal organization. The Bateke occupy a vast region on the right bank of the Congo which is now largely peopled by the Fang, who in their various expeditions and conquests have left their mark on most tribes north of the Ogowe River. Finally, in the midst of Africa are the Negrillos or pygmies, small men with reddish-brown or dark skin and brachicepahalic heads.

49-1-15

pp. 98 - 114

Civilization has flowed down to man along the valley of great rivers where the soil was fertile and man need not fear hunger, and where the waters carried him to other peoples who were thinking of problems of human life and solving them in varied ways. Some say that human culture started in the valley of the Yangtze and of the Hoang Ho. Some say it came up from Black Africa; some that it came west from the Euphrates; but it had begun more than four thousand years before Christ.

The development in Mesopotamia in the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates, which flows into the Persian Gulf and thence to the Indian Ocean, is striking. Before the year four thousand B.C. there is evidence that Negroid Davidians and Mongoloid Sumerians ruled in southern Asia, in Asia Minor, and in the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates. Negroids followed them under Sargon, and Sargon boasted that "he commanded the black heads and ruled them."

49-1-16

§ 1. THE NILE VALLEY

But it was in the valley of the Nile that the most significant continuous human culture arose, significant not necessarily because it was absolutely the oldest or the best, but because it led to that European civilization of which the world boasts today and regards in many ways as the greatest and last word in human culture.

Despite this, it is one of the astonishing results of the written history of Africa, that almost unanimously in the nineteenth century Egypt was not regarded as part of Africa. Its history and culture was separated from that of the other inhabitants of Africa; it was even asserted that Egypt was in reality Asiatic, and indeed Arnold Toynbee's Study of History definitely regarded Egyptian civilization as "white," or European! The Egyptians, however, regarded themselves as African. The Greeks looked upon Egypt as part of Africa not only

geographically but culturally, and every fact of history and anthropology proves that the Egyptians were an African people varying no more from other African peoples than groups like the Scandinavians vary from other Europeans, or groups like the Japanses from other Asiatics. There can be but one adequate explanation of this vagary of nineteenth-century science: it was due to the slave trade and Negro slavery. It was due to the fact that the rise and support of capitalism called for rationalization based upon degrading and discrediting the Negroid peoples. It is especially significant that the science of Egyptology arose and flourished at the very time that the cotton kingdom reached its greatest power on the foundation of American Negro slavery. We may then without further ado ignore this verdict of history, widespread as it is, and treat Egyptian history as an integral part of African history.

The Negroids came as hunters and fishermen. Probably they came up from Nubia. They began to settle down and till the soil. They were the Tasians, five thousand and more years ago; the people of the Fayum and the Marimde, the Badarians, settled folk, who hunted and fished but also cultivated crops. They made cloth from flax and skins, wove baskets, fashioned pottery, and ground ax heads and vessels. They had copper and varied tools of flint capable of working timber. Ivory was used for tools.

The Nile valley may be said to have invented agriculture. It was so obvious a way to make an easy living under pleasant conditions. Fresh rich soil rolled in each year, and the waters that brought it kept it moist and fertile. Irrigation became a prime necessity, and flood control. The use of near-by building materials -- wood, brick, and stone -- became natural; fibers were woven into cloth; architecture followed in the attempt to honor the dead with buildings which the dry climate preserved.

Tools were invented. The first tools were stone, the eolith and the stone ax. Then came metals; copper, especially from Nubia, and then iron. Boats and ships

49-1-14

sailed the river and the seas. The list of things which Egypt learned and handed down to us from that far day is enormous: the art of shaving, the use of wigs, the wearing of kilts and sandals, the invention of musical instruments, chairs, beds, cushions, and jewelry. The burial customs discovered in Europe came without reasonable doubt from Africa, brought by African invaders. Later the improvements made by the Egyptians were imitated in Sicily and Italy. Egyptian culture was in this way the forerunner of Greece.

In the meantime, other people, Mongoloids, filtered in from Asia. As the years passed a fixed type of Egyptian began to develop. In Egypt were all the requirements for the first long experiement in civilization in ancient times: a well-watered valley, deserts and mountains on the outskirts to keep back the enemy and the beast; a favorable warm climate and a chance for contact with foreigners which could be regulated so as to keep out the invader and trade with him in goods and ideas. The civilization of Egypt began with their invention of fixing a calendar, 4241 B.C.

The predynastic Egyptian was short, scarcely over sixty-four inches, dolichocephalic, with a nasal index of about 50, all characteristics of a group of people known as Beja, a black people who inhabit the eastern desert of Egypt, the Red Sea province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and extend through the Italian colony of Eritrea to Abyssinia. The Beja are divisible into four groups, one of which is the "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" of the British soldier. They are the least modified of the Beja tribes and are the modern representatives of the old predynastic Egyptian stock.

In Egypt there is evidence of a gradual modification in the population from the beginning of dynastic times, so that by the Pyramid period Egyptians were of heavier build, with broader skulls and faces and heavier jaws. These are the people portrayed in such magnificent works of art of the Pyramid period as the sphinxes of Gizeh and the Louvre, and they are no doubt representative of a considerable part of

49-1-18

the population of the Ancient Kingdom. They were the creators of the finest statuary, wall paintings, and sculptures in low relief to which Egypt attained, and the consciously archaistic Egyptians of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty endeavored to imitate their work as representing the highest development of national art. This applies to Upper Egypt. We have no knowledge of what was happening in the delta through dynastic and predynastic times; the remains are hidden under great masses of alluvial deposits.

The type described persisted and probably increased in number through dynastic times, and it is that of the fellahin of the present day. The modern Egyptian, with a stature of about sixty-six inches, shows no great variation between Upper and Lower Egypt. He is long-headed. Moreover, in passing southward, it has been pointed out that the eye and skin color darken, that the proportion of unusually broad noses increases, and spiral and crisp hair become more frequent.

The history of civilization which began in Egypt was not so much a matter of dynasties and dates. It was an attempt to settle certain problems of living together -- of government, defense, religion, family, property, science, and art. What we must remember is that in these seven lines of human endeavor, it was African Egypt that made the beginning and set the pace.

In some respects what they did has not been greatly improved upon even down to the twentieth century. In a primitive tribe, government was the family. But the valley of the Nile had to expand, rebuild, and implement this. It devised a ruler, a ruling family, and a ruling caste. It put them permanently upon a throne which became so old and stable that no man remembered when there was not an Egypt, and when there had been another world worth knowing. This government had to be built up from the family and clan, and this was accomplished through religion.

The Egyptian religion came naturally from the primitive animism of the African forest and progressed to the worship of Ra, the sun god, giver of life and beauty to the Nile valley which was the world. Opposite Ra was Osiris, god of waters and

49-1-19

fertility, and his sister and wife Isis, the black woman. Thus from earliest times women in Egypt had singular prominence and power. The gods reflected the physical facts of the valley. The Greeks called the Egyptians "the most religious of men." There developed an oligarchy of gods and a priesthood which became a center of scientific knowledge; the laws of nature were studied and mathematical formulas devised.

The work of the nation had to be organized, the toil of planting and reaping, irrigation, burden-bearing. Work was organized so that the great mass of the laborers toiled under the whip but toiled according to plan. From their toil arose the concept of property, of wealth to be used by king and priest and noble. Power became concentrated in the hands of the Pharaoh, who headed the clans and nomes. There was a long prehistoric period when many kings fought for supremacy in the valley, but at last there came concentration and unity which existed for an extraordinary length of time.

49-1-20

Egypt did not remain a tyranny; an oligarchy of priests and nobles eventually took power from the Pharaoh. Then in time a popular revolution emancipated the masses. The people of Egypt were not enslaved. They have been described as a "submissive lighthearted race content with little, singing at their toil, working with taste and patience." This was the result of an unusually favorable economic organization. There was no need of starvation, exposure, or want. There was plenty in the valley if the river flow was controlled.

The first duty of government was this control of the river, which led to the power of the king, to the science of the priest, to the independence of the laborer. Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1500 B.C., has been called the first human example of state socialism, which was developed to an astonishing degree. Nor was the Egyptian formal and conventionalized. From a stiff traditional art in the earliest days, he developed individuality in expression. His spirit inquired into fresh

knowledge in this land where knowledge as "old as the world." The art of hieroglyphic writing was complete at the dawn of history, 3500 B.C., and it lasted three millenniums, until in the fourth century B.C., it was replaced by Coptic and Greek.

It would be interesting to know what the Egyptians, earliest of civilized men, thought of the matter of race and color. Of race in the modern sesne they seemed to have had no conception. On their monuments they depicted peoples by the color of their skin and their hair. The hair was treated in many ways: sometimes it was straight and Mongoloid; perhaps more often it was curled and Negroid. Now and then it was curly and hidden by wigs. The Egyptians painted themselves usually as brown, sometimes dark brown, sometimes reddish-brown. Other folk, both Egyptians and non-Egyptians, were painted as yellow. Often brown Egyptians were coupled with yellow women, either signifying less exposure to the sun or intermarriage with Mongoloids and whites. A few were painted as white, referring to some parts of North Africa and Europe.

49-1-21

9r. THE EGYPTIANS

Gradually, of course, the Egyptians became a separate inbred people with characteristics quite different from their neighbors. They were brown in color and painted themselves as such, but they recognized other colors and sorts of men. They were in continuous contact with the blacks to the south. Now and then they enslaved the blacks as they did the whites to the west and the yellow people to the east. But in the main their intercourse with the blacks consisted of trading and fighting with a people against whom they must defend themselves fiercely, but upon whom they depended for trade and for immigrants. Continually, black faces appear as Egyptian citizens. Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. described the Egyptians as "black with curly hair." "The more we learn of Nubia and the Sudan," wrote Dr. D. Randall-MacIver, "the more evident does it appear that what was most characteristic in the predynastic culture of Egypt is due to intercourse with the interior of Africa and the immediate

influence of that permanent Negro element which has been present in the population of southern Egypt from remotest times to our own day."

Sir Flinders Petrie, in the same vein, wrote that it was remarkable how renewed vitality came to Egypt from the south.

For the period extending from the Sixth to the Eighteenth Dynasty, of the specimens studied about 20 percent of the males and 15 per cent of the females are grouped wiht the Negroes. For both periods there was a goodly per cent of specimens, the "intermediates," that show some Negroid traits, but in the "intermediates" the Negro features were not sufficiently numerous or distinct enough to warrant such skeletons being classed with the Negroes. In the United States all these would be legally Negroes.

Before the First Dynasty there must have been a long series of rulers who came out of the south, conquered the people, and consolidated their powers. Upper Egypt historically always had precedence over Lower Egypt, and the First Dynasty came from the direction of the heart of Africa. Eight kings are known in this dynasty, during which there was gradual advance in use of writing. Memphis was established as capital, and the eastern borders of the valley firmly conquered.

The First Dynasty appears to have moved up from Punt. The Third Dynasty, which led to the Fourth, shows a strongly Ethiopian face in Sa Nekht; the Twelfth Dynasty we can trace to a Galla origin; the Eighteenth Dynasty was Ethiopian paled by marriage; the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was from distant Meroe.

Among the Pharaohs of the earlier dynasties whose statues or recovered bones show them to have been deeply tinged with Negro blood are King Den of the First Dynasty, King Khasekhemui of the Second Dynasty.

In the Fourth Dynasty was erected the well-known statue of the Sphinx with the lion's body and Negro head entirely carved in native rock. It must have been carved

49-1-22

out of the rocky knoll of a hill. In this dynasty too there was the artistic attempt of man to rival nature. Vast buildings were placed before a background of hills or on a natural height. An artificial hill was built on which some great work of man was placed. Vast masses were used in construction. The sculptor sought to rival and even surpass nature. The painter used coloring and tints.

In the Fifth Dynasty the power of the priests was evidently growing, and religious foundations appear and with it a decline in the boldness of assertion of the earlier architecture. In the Sixth Dynasty came some of the great raids upon the Libyans to the east of Egypt. Tens of thousands of soldiers, Negroes particularly from the Sudan, beat this part of the land into subjection. Then the Pharaoh's army turned south and west and went through Nubia to force into subjection Negroes who were pressing northward upon the Egyptian state. Trading expeditions were sent to Punt. This was a time of active foreign conquest and exploration. One of the kings brought back to Egypt a dwarf from the Sudan.

The Seventh and Eighth Dynasties form an early intermediate period. The power of the kings at Memphis seems to have fallen into decay, perhaps through foreign invasion in the delta. During the Ninth and Tenth dynasties the invading race spread their rule over Upper Egypt. The Middle Kingdom began with the Eleventh Dynasty, when the Princes of Thebes became independent again. The ruler, Usertesen I, is pictured as triumphing over Asiatic and Negro. Evidently the defense of the kingdom from invaders became a serious problem when Egypt grew great and rich. A new vigor came into the administration with Amenemhat, who fought the Nubians and the Asiatics. The history of Sanehat (Sinuhi) is illustrative of the time. Because of the death of his father, he fled to Syria, where he became a ruler. "It gives a very curious view of the relation of Egypt to Syria at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. A fugitive Egyptian was superior to the Syrians, and by his education and ability might rise to high power, much like some English adventurer in Central Africa at the present time."

49-1-23

One king of the Twelfth Dynasty, Usertesen III, was especially triumphant over the Negroes who were threatening Egypt from the south, and this Pharaoh set up a boundary across which the Nubians must not come. To celebrate this clash between the Negroid Egyptian and the Central African, we have the first specimen of Egyptian poetry extant...

From the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Cynasties there comes a period which is obscure. During this time Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos kings, who were probably from the Arabian desert; but whether at the beginning or at the end of this period we are not certain. At the end of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty comes Ra-Nehesi, the king's eldest son, who is clearly called a Negro. This shows, of course, the development that had taken place in Egypt during two thousand years. There had grown up an Egyptian mulatto race differentiated in color and other physical characteristics from the Central Africans. So much so that the great triumph of Egypt was the conquest over these Africans.

The redemption of Egypt from the Hyksos came in the Eighteenth Dynasty through an Ethiopian power. The hyksos held Egypt perhaps five hundred years; then came Aahmes of the Thebaid. With Aahmes was associated the black Queen Nofritari, or Nefertari.

The stream of Egyptian history in the day of its proudest triumphs now merges into that of Ethiopia, the Land of the Blacks; in such wise that Ethiopian history is seen to be the main current of Negro culture, from the Mountains of the Moon to the Mediterranean, blossoming on the lower Nile, but never severed from the Great Lakes of Inner Africa.

49-1-24

pp. 115 - 147

ETHIOPIA

In Greek legend, Ethiopia, "land of the burnt faces," lay either side of the Red Sea in Africa and Asia and was inhabited by black folk. Eventually the blacks mixed with yellow Asiatics. After the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the term Ethiopia was used usually to designate regions in Africa corresponding to what we now know as Nubia or the Egyptian Sudan. The Sudan was known to the Egyptians and Hebrews as Kash or Cush. In Hebrew folklore the descendants of Ham "were Cush and Egypt."

If efforts have been made to separate the history of Egypt from Africa and the Negro race, a similar determination with regard to Ethiopia is even more contradictory. Science for years tried to separate men into great groups called races; at first the object was to explain human history by human differences. The scientific basis of race difference, however, appeared increasingly difficult as observation and measurement became more accurate. Three, five, twenty races were differentiated, until at last it was evident that mankind would not fit accurately into any scientific delimitation of racial categories; no matter what criteria were used, most men fell into intermediate classes or had individual peculiarities. The theory of absolutely definite racial groups was therefore abandoned, and "pure" racial types came to be regarded as merely theoretical abstractions which never or very rarely existed.

On the other hand, individual variations among men were extraordinary and intriguing; and group differences in physique and cultural habits were equally interesting. It would therefore be helpful to science if the broad hypothetical division of men into three or five great groups in accord with physique and culture were provisionally maintained to facilitate, but certainly not to obstruct, further study. This was the scientific status of the race theory early in the twentieth century, and in accord with this we spoke of three "races" -- Caucasoid, Negroid, and Mongoloid -- as comprising mankind, knowing well that no scientifically accurate definition of these races

could be made which would not leave most of mankind outside the limits.

There was, however, persistent exception to this general agreement; under Caucasoid were included men of widely different physique inhabiting Europe; the term Mongoloid was even more vague and indefinite and nearly fell into disuse. But the term "Negro," as a definite and scientific race designation, persisted, and its use was defended with bitter determination by men who otherwise ranked as leading scientists. Despite the fact that the number of human beings corresponding to the current definition of the word "Negro" was narrowed again and again in space and number to a small remnant even in Africa, nevertheless in the usage of many distinguished writers there really emerged from their thinking two groups of men: Human Beings and Negroes. And the thesis of this book is that this extraordinary result came from the African slave trade to America in the eighteenth century and the capitalistic industry built on it in the nineteenth. The facts referred to are illustrated by the treatment of Ethiopia in archaeology, anthropology, and history. The contradictions concerning this land and people would be ludicrous if the results were not so tragic.

49-1-26

If we follow inherent probability, ancient testimony, and legend, this would seem to have been the history of northeast Africa:

In Ethiopia the sunrise of human culture took place, spreading down into the Nile valley.

Ethiopia, land of the blacks, was thus the cradle of Egyptian civilization.

Beyond Ethiopia, in Central and South Africa, lay the gold of Ophir and the rich trade of Punt on which the prosperity of Egypt largely depended.

Egypt brought slaves from black Africa as she did from Europe and Asia. But she also brought citizens and leaders from black Africa.

When Egypt conquered Asia, she used black soldiers to a wide extent.

When Asia overwhelmed Egypt, Egypt sought refuge in Ethiopia as a child returns to its mother, and Ethiopia then for centuries dominated Egypt and successfully invaded Asia.

Neither Greece, Rome, nor Islam succeeded in conquering Ethiopia, although they pushed her back and shut her up in East and Central Africa, and hindered all contact between her peoples and the world until the day of colonial imperialism.

But this interpretation of Negro history contradicts the theory of the natural and eternal inferiority of black folk, which rendered them natural slaves and a cheap la bor force for nineteenth-century industry. Those who depended on slavery and colonialism for living and luxury naturally, and often without conscious intent, sought eagerly for a science and history which would deny this interpretation of African history. They came gradually to declare vehemently that Egypt began her culture in the delta region, and Ethiopia was a far-off frontier and slave mart; that Punt and Ophir were in extreme East Africa or Asia; that the Asiatic conquest of Egypt marked her decline and the feeble efforts of Ethiopia showed an era of decadence; that even if Ethiopia showed some imitative culture, this was not due to black folk, since the Ethiopians were not Negroes!

The attitude of scientists toward these questions has thus been colored almost entirely by their attitude toward modern Negro slavery. The Frenchman Volney called the civilization of the Nile valley Negro after his visit. But such a barrage of denial from later men met him that he withdrew his earlier conclusions, not because of further investigation, but because of scientific public opinion in the nineteenth century. Reisner unearthed a civilization of black folk in Ethiopia, but hastened to declare that they were not Negroes! Reisner was born in sight of Negro slavery in America and never forgot it. Flora Shaw wrote of the blackest men of the Sudan and their brilliant civilization, but warned her readers that they were not Negroes!

So here in Ethiopia, "Land of the Blacks," country of the "Burnt Faces," we are continually faced with the silly paradox that these black folk were not Negroes. What then are Negroes? Who are Africans? Why has the whole history of Ethiopia been

49-1-27

neglected or ascribed to white "Hamites"? And why does every historian and encyclopedist, whenever he writes of the civilization of the upper Nile, feel compelled to reiterate that these black people were "not Negroes"?

Again, the mixture of blood among the three races is always referred to as an explanation of the advance among Negroes and the retrogression among whites. Is this scientific? A "white" or Asiatic aristocracy is repeatedly adduced as accounting for the rise of the Sudan, the government of Uganda, the industry of the Bushongo, and even the art of the Ashanti. Nothing is ever said of the influence of Negro blood in Europe and Asia, yet distinct Negroid features can be seen today all over Europe. When a black Jew boasts to his fellow religionists "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem," he is supposed to be tanned; when Syria and Arabia show in hair and color their Negro blood, this is completely ignored and their culture called "white." When Buddha appears all over Asia portrayed as black and curly-haired, science makes little effort to investigate or explain.

There was and is wide mingling of the blood of all races in Africa, but this is consistent with the general thesis that Africa is predominantly the land of Negroes and Negroid peoples, just as Europe is a land of Caucasoids and Asia of Mongoloids. We may give up entirely, if we wish, the whole attempt to delimit races, but we cannot, if we are sane, divide the world into whites, yellows, and blacks, and then call blacks white.

As in the case of Egypt, I shall hereafter assume that the Ethiopians were Negroids and shall try to let the facts prove their contribution to civilization.

In the eyes of the Greeks a thousand years B.C. and even in the age of Pericles, black Africans were considered equal to though different from Greeks, and superior to European and Asiatic barbarians. Significant indeed was the attitude of the early Greeks toward Africa. It was to them a land of ideals. Here in legend their gods retired to rest and recuperate. In the dawn of Greek literature, in the Illiad, we

49-1-28

hear of the gods feasting among the "blameless Ethiopians."

According to mythology, the Greek people themselves came into being as the result of miscegenation. Zeus, the father of the Gods, mates with the fair Greek maiden Io, and has a mulatto son, Epaphus, who is born in Egypt. Aeschylus says of this union, "And thou shall bring forth black Epaphus, thus named from the manner of Zeus' engendering. . . . Fifth in descent from him fifty maidens shall return to Argos [Greece], not of their choice but fleeing marriage with their cousin kin. Also, "Call this the work of Zeus, and that his race sprang from Epaphus, and thou shalt hit the truth."

Two of the most illustrious writers of Greece were called Negroes -- Aesop and Sappho. Planudes asserts this; Zundel, Champfleury, and others think that the woolly-haired Negro" on the coins of Delphos was Aesop. Ovid makes it clear that the ancients did not consider Sappho white. She is compared with Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, black king of Ethiopia. Ovid says: "Andromede patriae fusca colore suae." In Epistle XV of the Heroides of Ovid (translated by Ridley), Sappho says to Phaon, "I am small of stature but I have a name that fills all lands. I myself have produced this extended renown for my name. If I am not fair, Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, was swarthy though the complexion of her country was pleasing to Perseus. White pigeons, too, are often mated with spotted ones and the black turtledove is often beloved by a bird that is green."

49-1-29

Paul Lacroix says of Sappho: "Although Plato graces her with the epithet of beautiful and although Athenaeus is persuaded of her beauty on the authority of Plato, it is more probable that Maximus of Tyre who paints her for us as little and black is in conformity with more authentic tradition."

Pope's translation of Ovid reads: "Brown as I am, an Ethiopian dame."

Another Negro is mentioned in the Homeric legends, Eurybiates. Homer speaks of his "woolly hair" and "sable skin" and compares him with Ulysses, greatest of the heroes:

" Eurybiates in whose large soul alone
Ulysses viewed an image of his own."

The Ethiopian Tithonus of Greek legend has been identified with Dedun, the Negro god of the Second Cataract.

"Of all the classical countries Ethiopia was the most romantic and the most remote. It was situated, according to the Greeks, on the extreme limits of the world; its inhabitants were the most just of men, and Jupiter dined with them twice a year. They bathed in the waters of a violet-scented spring, which endowed them with long life, noble bodies, and glossy skins. They chained their prisoners with golden fetters; they had bows which none but themselves could bend. It is certain that Ethiopia took its place among the powers of the ancient world. It is mentioned in the Jewish records and in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions."

In Africa were great and powerful kingdoms. When Greek poets enumerated the kingdoms of the earth, it was not only natural but inevitable to mention Memnon, King of Ethiopia, as leader of one of the great armies that besieged Troy. When a writer like Herodotus, father of history, wanted to visit the world, he went as naturally to Egypt as Americans go to London and Paris. Nor was he surprised to find the Egyptians, as he described them, "black and curly-haired."

49-1-30

Herodotus says that the names of nearly all the Greek gods are derived from Egypt, and certainly the Greeks continually turned toward Egypt for cultural inspiration and scientific information. Homer openly borrowed from Egypt his story of Ulysses, and the islands of forgetfulness were based on Egyptian stories.

The Ethiopians are closely linked with the rising and setting of the sun. Memnon, the son of Eos, says Hesiod, is their king. Aeschylus describes the Ethiopians as dark and living near the springs of the sun. Arctinus of Melitus writes of Memnon celebrating his participation on the side of the Trojans and his victory over Antilochus, the son of Nestor, and his eventual death at the hands of Achilles. In a myth of the fifth century B.C., Andromeda was pictured as the black daughter of Cepheus and Cassiopeia, rulers of Ethiopia. She was bound to a rock and saved by Perseus on

his return from his battle with the Medusa. Both Sophocles and Euripides wrote plays Andromeda, and Perseus, Memnon, and Andromeda were worshiped as heroes in Africa and Ethiopia.

The culture of Egypt went out across the Mediterranean, lighting fires in Crete, inspiring Asia from southern Arabia to Syria and western Asia Minor. In Cretan art Negro heads appeared, and in the late Minoan Age, at the time of the expansion overseas, a black Minoan captain led Negro troops. Doubtless Minoans made use of black regiments in their final conquest of Greece, and from vases dated the latter part of the sixth century B.C. it seems clear that Ethiopians entered Greece even before the time of Xerxes. Herodotus tells that in the army of Xerxes there were Ethiopians clothed in leopard and lion skins and armed with bows and arrows. He distinguishes between oriental Ethiopians and western Ethiopians; both were black, but the hair of the former was straighter than the close curled-hair of the latter and they spoke different languages.

Herodotus reduced the races of Ethiopia to four: two native and two foreign; the native were the Ethiopians and the Libyans, and the foreign, the Phoenicians and the Greeks. Among the Libyans, Herodotus and the Egyptians distinguished between Negroids and the Mongoloids: the Negroids came from the south and the Mongoloids from the east. They had mingled in various ways so that one reads of black Getuli and white Ethiopians. The Periplus of Scilex records four Libyan populations, and Diodorus Siculus speaks of three Libyan tribes of which one is Negroid. Thus the Negroid peoples of Africa were represented in neighboring Asia and in North Africa, as well as in the valley of the Nile and Central and West Africa.

Greek culture affected Africa at an early period, and Africa in turn affected Europe. According to Frazer: "It is no longer possible to regard the rule of succession to the priesthood of Diana at Aricia as exceptional; it clearly exemplifies a widespread institution, of which the most numerous and the most similar cases have thus far been found in Africa. How far the facts point to an early influence of Africa

49 - 1 - 31

on Italy, or even to the existence of an African population in southern Europe, I do not presume to say."

It is admitted today that pre-Greek peoples assembled a considerable body of notable scientific knowledge. Individuals approached their problems with logical powers of deduction and methods of systematization. Two thousand years before Christ an Egyptian physician had made the heart the center of the human system, measured the pulse, and had written down his observations and advice.

In art no race was so interesting to the artists of Greece and Rome as the black man. Other races in the classical world were pictured far less often in Hellenistic and Roman times; the Negro was rendered with fidelity during the most idealistic period of Greek art and with full appreciation of his type of beauty. Appearing at the earliest time, the Negro type continued to be popular throughout the whole period of Greek classical art. The myths of Hercules and of Busirus are painted on a vase dating from the sixth century B.C. Hercules is represented as black and curly haired; the Egyptians of Busirus are represented as both black and yellow, and a bodyguard of five Ethiopians are marching to the defense of Busirus.

49-1-32

There was close and fairly frequent connection between Europe and Africa. In prehistoric times the continents were connected by land. They were separated by no obstacles which hinder migration. The large number of islands scattered through the Mediterranean served as bridges, and peninsulas stretched out from Europe toward Africa. African colonists passed over to Greece by way of the islands beginning with Crete. From Numidia they crossed into Sicily, Italy, and southern France; by Gibraltar into Spain. There is evidence of Negro blood in Asia Minor as far as the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains.

The history of early Egypt was that of a duel between Ethiopia and Egypt, that is, between the ancient African cultures of the Upper Nile and the settled Egyptian

culture entrenched in the Nile valley. Over this long stretch of Egyptian history, biological as well as cultural differences appeared. The Egyptians became a settled race-type, brown and yellow in color, with a splendidly developed civilization.

The Ethiopians, on the other hand, were more purely Negroid, brown and black of skin and curly-haired. They were divided into various kingdoms and tribes and were continually raiding Egypt or defending themselves from Egypt, chiefly for the advantages of trade. They eventually became traders and middlemen between Egypt and Central and South-central Africa, and indirectly between Egypt and India. Their own development was in a way changed and directed by the fact that their leaders of ambition and ability were continually drawn off into the Egyptian civilization and rose in many cases to be leaders in Egypt. As Egypt expanded the Ethiopians were pushed back from the First to the Second, Third, and Fourth Cataracts.

49-1-33

During the middle kingdom of Egypt an independent Ethiopian culture developed, centered at Napata and Meroe, which carried on widespread trade in gold, ivory, precious stones, wood, and handicrafts. When at the end of this time the Asiatic Hyksos overthrew Egypt, Ethiopia became a refuge for the conquered Egyptians both physically and culturally. Noble Egyptian families migrated to Ethiopia and intermarried, and one such family formed the great Eighteenth Dynasty which rescued Egypt, and the son of a Pharaoh took the title of Royal Son of Kush. When, however, the Libyans in the Twenty-first Dynasty overthrew Egypt, the Ethiopians organized independently, and from 750 B.C. to A.D. 355 there are records of seventy-six rulers of Ethiopia.

With the Eighteenth Dynasty came the New Empire, and we are on firm historical grounds as to dates. It came to power in 1580 B.C. and lasted until 1345. Its center of power was Thebes, three hundred miles from Memphis and four hundred miles south of the Mediterranean. It was less than one hundred miles from the First Cataract, the legendary southern boundary of Egypt. The power of Aahmes was probably reinforced by his marriage with an Ethiopian princess, Nefertari, or Nofritari, who was invariably

painted black in Egyptian art and yet who was, as Petrie says, "the most venerated figure of Egyptian history."

Her statue in the Turin Museum represents her as having black skin. She is also painted black standing before Amenothes in the Deir el Medineh tomb, now in the Berlin Museum. This queen with a black skin has therefore been regarded as a Negress, the daughter of an Ethiopian Pharaoh, or at any rate the daughter of a chief of some Nubian tribe; it was thought that Aahmes must have married her to secure the help of the Negro tribes in his wars, and that it was owing to this alliance that he succeeded in expelling the Hyksos.

Naturally the legend of this black queen has caused heart-failure among white Egyptologists; they have called her "Libyan"; and Libya was certainly partly Negroid in race; but since the Libyans have usually been counted "white," why was the Libyan Nofritari black?

Nofritari reigned for a time conjointed with Amenothes, and we know that her rule was a prosperous one and that she was revered by her subjects. The remembrance of Nofritari always remained distinct in their minds, and her cult spread until it became a kind of popular religion.

49-1-34

118. EGYPT RETURNS TO ETHIOPIA

Aahmes reigned from 1580 B.C. to 1577 B.C., and his son, Amenophis I, from 1577 B.C. to 1536 B.C. Amenophis I finally conquered an Ethiopian Kingdom named Kerma, which had been threatening Egypt since the Twelfth Dynasty, or about 1785 B.C. Then came by marriage Tuthmosis I, the conqueror of Syria and the valley of the Euphrates, where the Egyptians probably for the first time in their history saw mountains covered with snow. Tuthmosis I pushed Egyptian domination beyond the Third Cataract. After Tuthmosis I came his son Tuthmosis II, who reigned conjointly with his half-sister Hatshepsut for two or three years, then associated upon the throne a son by a concubine, Tuthmosis III. After the death of Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut assumed full power and was the acknowledged ruler of Egypt. The temple of Deir el Bahri, "Sublime of

the Sublime," designed by Tuthmosis II was completed by her in 1500 B.C., and it represented her expedition to Punt. The king and queen of Punt are represented as of the modern Hottentot type, and the queen with the characteristic steatopygia. After Hatshepsut's death Tuthmosis III came into full power.

His granite head in the British Museum has distinct Negro features. He extended Egyptian power east and south. He conquered Syria in seventeen campaigns and crossed the Euphrates. He fought in Libya and in Ethiopia. His reign was without doubt, as Petrie said, "one of the grandest and most eventful in Egyptian history." He repressed robbery and injustice, did much building and adorning of temples with the labor of his captives; and by taking the children of subdued kings in Asia as hostages to Egypt, established his empire on a sound basis perhaps for the first time in history. His empire extended from Napata to the Euphrates. The Assyrians and Babylonians sent their daughters to him in marriage, and the descendants of Syrian rulers, conquered by his father and educated in Egypt, rules as slaves of the Pharaoh. Tribute poured into Egypt. He reigned thirty-six years until the Hittites from the north and the Khabiri from the east began to press down upon Syria. His son Amenophis II, whom he had associated on his throne, reigned twenty-six years, leaving his throne to Tuthmosis IV.

This monarch married a black woman, Mutemua. Their son, Amenophis III, succeeded about 1400 B.C. He built the temple of Luxor at Karnak. He inherited his mother's Negroid features and married the brilliant Taia. It is possible that the Greeks derived the name of "Memnon, king of the Ethiopians," from this Pharaoh. J. G. Wilkinson says of Amenophis III: "The features of this monarch cannot fail to strike everyone who examines the portraits of Egyptian kings as having more in common with the Negro than those of any other Pharaoh." Anna Graves says: "Amenophis, or Amenhotep, III (1411-1375 B.C.) was evidently what, south of Mason and Dixon would be called a 'colored

49-1-34
49-1-35

man,' and his chief queen Taia must have had much more Negro blood than her husband. Indeed, judging from her portrait bust in the Berlin Gallery. . . she may have been very nearly pure Nubian. Their son, Amenophis, or Amenhotep, IV (1375-1358 B.C.), who later took the name Akhnaton, or Akhenaton, though less Negroid than his mother was more of the mulatto type than his father, and the portrait bust of his daughters show them all to be beautiful quadroons, though perhaps octoroons. And this mulatto Pharaoh, Akhenaton, was not only the most interesting Pharaoh in all the long lines of the many dynasties; but he was in many ways one of the most remarkable human beings who ever lived."

It was this ruler who brought profound revolution in the religion of Egypt, changed it to an imperial monotheism, and introduced a philosophical worship of the powers of nature.

The founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Rameses I, and his son, Seti I, became great builders of temples at Karnak and elsewhere. Then came the long reign of sixty-seven years of Rameses II, the Conqueror, who built monuments all over Egypt and Nubia and fought against the Libyans, Syrians, and Hittites. His conquests eventually exhausted the nation, which became prey to the Libyans and the peoples pressing down from the delta.

49-1-36

THE HEBREWS AND ETHIOPIA

It was around 2500 B.C. that the Hebrew nation had begun to arise. It became enslaved in Egypt, perhaps in the times of Rameses I. Its history touched Ethiopia at many points, and Jews showed the blacks the highest respect.

The writer of the Song of Solomon defended the color of the Ethiopians:

I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem!

Jewish writers pictured Ethiopia as one of the most powerful countries of their day, equal in strength to Egypt, Persia, Assyria, and Babylon:

struggle against Sennacherib. Repeatedly the Jews made alliance with the Ethiopians.

And he heard say concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, He is come forth to make war with thee. And when he heard it, he sent messengers to Hezekiah. . . .

He was assured that with this mighty ally the God of Israel would overthrow the Assyrians.

Taharqa joined battle against Sennacherib in accordance with the treaty made with Hezekiah. Sennacherib's army was destroyed miraculously, as the Jews believed, and Taharqa recovered the cities of Palestine which had formerly belonged to Egypt.

Rameses III represented the decadence of Egypt and concentration of land ownership in the hands of the priests. The end of this dynasty came in 1100 B.C., and from then on Egypt declined. First there were the Libyan dynasties in the delta from 1100 to 945. The Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties had rival princes fighting among themselves and seeking to re-establish their control over Egypt. But in the meantime Ethiopia arose, and the Ethiopian, Piankhi, became head of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, 712 B.C.

When the New Empire began to decline, a governor-general rebelled and the kingdom of Ethiopia was established. It was a dominion composed of brown men and black men, shepherds and savages, Egyptians and Negroes, ruled over by a king and a college of priests. It was enriched by annual excursions into the black country, and by the caravan trade in ivory, gold dust, and gum. It also received East Indian goods and Arabian produce through its ports on the Red Sea. Meroe, its capital, attained the reputation of a great city; it possessed temples and pyramids like those of Egypt, only on a smaller scale. The Ethiopian empire, in its best days, comprised the modern Egyptian provinces of Kordofan and Senaar, with the mountain kingdom of Abyssinia as it existed under Théodore.

49-1-37

The first capital of the Sudan was Napata. Here Amenophis II of the Eighteenth Dynasty brought one of the rebellious princes of northern Syria, and, after putting him to death, hung his body on the alls of the city as a warning to the Sudanese tribes. How much older than the Eighteenth Dynasty Napata may have been is uncertain.

As long as the Sudan continued as part of the Egyptian empire, it was ruled by Egyptian viceroys. The name and worship of Ammon, the god of Thebes, were carried southward, and it is possible that Napata, of which Ammon became the supreme divinty, was under Theban priests. When the Libyan Shishak usurped the throne of the Pharaohs in the tenth century B.C., the descendants of the Theban priets-kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty are believed to have retreated to Napata and there established a theocratic monarchy. The decline of the Bubastite dynasty enabled one of these, Pianhki, to assert once more the claim of his family to the throne of Egypt, and to overrun the valley of the Nile almost as far as the Mediterranean. He led the Ethiopians against the Libyans and overthrew them; and he made Egypt a dependency of Ethiopia. The heir to the throne was called "Prince of Egypt." At his death in 710 B.C., Shabaka became king of the two lands. Herodotus said that he abolished capital punishment in Egypt. Kashto, Sahbatok, Taharqa, and Tanut-Amon, succeeded Piankhi and founded the Ethiopian dynasty which goerned Egypt from 715 B.C. onward, until they were driven back to Ethiopia by the Assyrians.

49-1-38

The history of western Asia and Asia Minor during this period is difficult to summarize, but in earliest times we find Sumerians in the Tigris-Euphrates area, evidently Mongoloids. They attempted development there similar to the development in the Nile valley. Then out of Arabia began to stream a series of peoples. The Babylonians appeared more than three thousand years B.C. In the eighth century before Christ the Hittites moved eastward from Asia and threatened Egyptian power until Rameses II defeated them at Kadesh. Then from the mountain lands northeast of the Euphrates the

Assyrians came down, "like a wolf on the fold." They overthrew Nineveh in 612 B.C. and themselves bowed before the Scythians and the Medes. A new Babylonian imperialism followed, and then came Cyrus, the Persian. In the sixth century B.C. Sardis fell, and soon the cry "Babylon is fallen, is fallen," went throughout the East.

Asia precipitated itself upon Africa. Egyptian civilization fell before the Mongoloid intruder. The Nile valley was swept by vast forces just as the renewed Ethiopian kingdom came to power. It was the heyday of Negro imperialism. Black Africa was still pressing up from the center of the continent, as it had for thousands of years. Yellow Asia was bearing down on Egypt in flood after flood of differing oncoming peoples. Phoenicia was inspiring Carthage and beginning North African development, which pressed on western Egypt. In the center of these forces the Egyptian empire, incredibly ancient, had fallen, first before the Hyksos, and then later before other eastern Asiatic tribes. Ethiopia had restored her, but the situation in the closed valley of the Nile did not invite or encourage expansion in face of the increased might of armed enemies. Ethiopian imperialism, therefore, while striking and effective, lasted but two centuries. 13

TAHARQA RULES THE WORLD

The Assyrians defeated the forces of Egypt and drove back the Ethiopians until at last, from 688 B.C. to 663 B.C., came the greatest of the Ethiopian kings, Taharqa.

His reign was an era of prosperity and cultural advancement. Weigall called his reign "that astonishing epoch of nigger domination"; and Randall-MacIver said: "It seems amazing that an African Negro should have been able with any sort of justification to style himself Emperor of the World." Taharqa ascended the throne in 688 B.C. at the age of about forty-two. For fifteen years he fostered the economic, cultural, and religious life of Ethiopia and Egypt. The trade of the country increased, and there was money to repair the ancient temples and build new ones. Taharqa established friendly alliances with western Asia and Assyria. The Hebrew Bible chronicles this in

49-1-39

the downfall of Sennacherib, and notes Ethiopia's trade.

Taharqa's building at Karnak was planned as one of the most striking in the ancient world. The temple built at Thebes had a relief representing the four courts of the four quarters of the Nilotic world: Dedun, the great God of Ethiopia, represents the south; Sopd, the eastern desert; Sedek, the western desert; and Horus, the north. According to Petrie: "This shows how southern was the center of thought when the whole of Egypt is reckoned as the north. Some writers say that Taharqa led expeditions as far as the Strait of Gibraltar."

Eventually the Assyrians were too strong for Taharqa and he had to give up Egypt and retire into Ethiopia and the "night of death." Tanutamen, his successor, held back the Assyrian storm for awhile, but Ethiopian and Egyptian strength were eventually dashed to pieces. Egyptian temples were wrecked, and the conqueror, Ashurbanipal, declared: "I captured Thebes like a flood. . . ." 14 ASIA ATTACKS ~~INVADES~~ AFRICA

Aspeluta, a full-blooded Negro, ruled probably from 593 B.C. to 567 B.C. In 524 B.C. Cambyses, the Persian, having conquered Egypt, tried to invade Nubia, but was defeated and his fleet destroyed. Horsiatef (c. 372-361 B.C.) made nine expeditions against the warlike tribes south of Meroe, which was attacked unsuccessfully by the Rehrehsa under their chief Arua. One successor was Nastasen (c. 328-308 B.C.), who removed the capital from Mapata to Meroe, although Napata continued to be the religious capital and the Ethiopian kings were still crowned on its golden throne. Nastasen was saluted king by the priests of Ammon from both Meroe and Napata. He called himself king of To-Kenset (or Nubia, including Dongola), and of the city of Alut. Alut was an alternative name of Neroe.

Meroe, between the Atbara River and the Blue Nile, was founded later than Napata, probably around the eighth century B.C. The site of the town was well chosen. It stood on the bank of the Nile, between the Fifth and Sixth Cataracts, and at the end of a valley which extended for many miles into the interior. During the rainy season

49-1-40

the valley afforded an easy road for caravans coming across the Atbara from the Red Sea. The city of Meroe was the natural outlet on the Nile of the more northern prehistoric trade route from the East. Immediately to the north of it were hills containing the extensive quarries where stones used in the construction of its buildings were worked. Northward there was navigation down the Nile to Berber, where the desert road to Napata left the river.

This history of Ethiopia means that out of the south for many thousands of years migrations streamed northward for settlement and for trade, to furnish soldiers for the armies of the Pharaohs and to reach a better climate and opportunities for defense. Down toward the hot center of Africa human culture had to fight the insects and disease and found no natural barriers to protect them against oncomers. There were probably movements south and west from the Great Lakes, but the lure of Egypt attracted the larger streams, and, as Chamberlain has said, this migration was at once advantageous and detrimental to Central Africa. It continually siphoned off the able and the adventurous into the great opportunities of Egypt. Egypt profited and grew on these new resources of inspiration. Individual Negroes became Egyptians and occupied high places, but left their own southern brethren the poorer from this continuous loss of ability and strength.

Books were written about Ethiopia by Dalion, Aristocreon, Basilis, Bion, and Simonides the Younger, the last of whom resided for five years in Meroe. As early as rel B.C. the trade of Egypt was well known in Athens. Sails and papyrus rolls came from Egypt and ivory from Libya. The slaves were usually not from Africa but from Asia.

15 ~~17~~. GREECE INVADES AFRICA

It was natural that Alexander, seeking to conquer the world, should bring his conquest to a triumphant end by overthrowing Egypt and establishing there his capital, Alexandria. Alexander had Negroes in his armies. One of the most illustrious was Clitus, his best beloved, whome he made King of Bactria and commander of his cavalry. Clitus' mother, Dropsica, was Alexander's nurse, and Clitus is mentioned by Plutarch and others as Clitus Niger, that is, "Clitus the Negro."

49-1-41

In Rome the spread of the ~~spread of the~~ plantation system after the Second Punic War led to the wide use of slaves, but these slaves were from Greece and from Spain.

There are legends of the visit of Alexander the Great to Candace, Queen of of Meroe. Fabulous perhaps, but they show her fame. It is said that Candace would not let Alexander enter Ethiopia and warned him not scorn her people because they were black, for they were whiter in soul than his white folk. "She sent him gold, maidens, parrots, sphinxes, and crowns of emeralds and pearls. She ruled eighty tribes, who were ready to punish those who attacked her." The Ptolemies were in contact with the Abyssinians. The earliest Ptolemies were white; but as time went on they changed more and more toward the Negroid. "The Negro strain in Alexander II is apparent, and still more so in Ptolemy XIII, the flute-playing father of the most celebrated of the Cleopatras. Ptolemy's mother was a slave. Cleopatra herself is known through tradition as having been of a tawny, or mulatto color."

49-1-42

~~14~~ 15. EUROPE AND AFRICA

The duel between Europe and Africa came with the Punic Wars: the first from 264 to 241 B.C.; the second from 218 to 201 B.C.; and the final one from 149 to 146 B.C. These years started as efforts to defend Italy against migration and conquest from Africa, where Mongoloids and Negroids with some infiltrating of Europeans had built the city of Carthage. Within this city all races were represented, and Carthage secured a stronghold in Sicily which the first Punic War was fought to break.

The Second Punic War began with the invasion of Spain by Carthage and the eruption of the Carthaginian army into Italy. Hannibal and his African troops must have brought a strong Negro strain into the Roman population. For thirteen years they dominated the Italina penisula from Naples to the Alps. Quite possibly this was the first world fight across the color line although, naturally, the world was not then conscious of mere skin color and did not emphasize it.

Among the Carthaginian troops were the dark Numidians streaming down across the desert which then had only begun to separate Central from North Africa. Curiously enough, on at least some of the coins, minted while Hannibal ruled in Italy, was the figure of what we call a full-blooded Negro king on the obverse and an African elephant on the reverse. Was this a picture of Hannibal himself which would be according to Roman custom, or was it a picture of the character of most of his troops? Do the dark features of modern Italy come from this and other infiltration of Negro blood? The mere fact that the color line is not specifically mentioned or emphasized in the history of the Punic Wars means nothing. The world did not then regard it of paramount importance as it does today.

49-1-43

It was during the next fifty years that the cry raised by Cato the Elder, "Carthage must be destroyed," spread through Rome, making common cause with the black rebel, Massinissa. The Romans attacked again and Carthage fell. Fifty thousand Carthaginians were sold into slavery. Massinissa died in 143 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Micipsa, and his grandson Jugurtha. It was Jugurtha who called Rome "a city for sale and doomed to perish as soon as it finds a purchaser." The war was renewed in Africa, but finally Fugurtha fell into an ambush and was carried as a prisoner to Rome. He and his two sons figured in the triumphs of Marius. He was murdered in prison beneath the capitol.

In Numidia, Rome found itself opposed by the Negroid king Cyphax. Under Diocletian, Numidia was separated from Afrida and became one of the seven provinces of the continent. It reached under Constantine a high degree of civilization, but was overthrown by the Vandals in A.D. 428 and again by the Arabs in the eighth century.

On the death of Cleopatra, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire and Augustus sent a prefect there. The power of Ethiopia had already declined before black invaders from the west. The prefect Gallus summoned these chiefs and granted them their independence under the power of Rome in A.D. 29. After his death the blacks revolted and advanced northward. The Romans sent a great army of ten thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry to suppress thirty thousand rebels. The Romans were victorious and advanced on the Ethiopians at Napata, where a Candace, "A masculine woman with one eye" was reigning. She is probably the "Candace" mentioned in Acts 8:27:...

In this era there was born in the Egypto-Syrian area, with its Mongoloid and Negroid elements, a social reformer called Jesus Christ. Nordics who have never accepted his doctrine of submission to evil, repudiation of riches, and love for mankind, have usually limned him as Caucasoid. He was probably a swarthy Syrian Jew, with hooked nose and curled hair; perhaps he even inherited Ethiopian blood. He probably looked like that Jew at whom Hitler stared in Vienna: "One day when I was walking through the

49-1-44

inner city, I suddenly came upon a being clad in a long caftan, with black curls." From that day dates his active anti-Semitism. Jesus tried to make men better, simpler, truer; he did not succeed. He was charged with blasphemy and treason, and hanged on nails until he was dead. Around legends of his person and ideals have been built creeds, churches, inquisitions, and dreams. Finally there arose the organized and institutionalized Christian Church.

In A.D. 330 the Eastern Roman Empire was established at Constantinople. It became Greek rather than Roman, and Christian even before Rome was Christian. This empire had strong connections with Africa: it traded not only with the valley of the Nile but even with the West Coast of Africa. As Mommsen said: "It was through Africa that Christianity became the religion of the world. Tertullian and Cyprian were from Carthage; Arnobius from Sicca Veneria; Lactantius, and probably in like manner Minucius Felix, in spite of their Latin names, were natives of Africa, and not less so, Augustine. In Africa the Church found its most zealous confessors of the faith and its most gifted defenders."

Origen, Athanasius, and Saint Cyril were from the Nile valley. At the head of the Catholic Hierarchy at Rome, three popes were African by birth: Victor I (187-198), who defended the Roman date for Easter; Miltiades (311-314), who was pope when the Emperor entered Rome as a Christian; and Gelasius I (492-496), who defended the rights of the papacy against the state.

The Africa here referred to was the Africa above the Sahara Desert; there, as we have seen, Negroid blood was widespread, and in the valley of the Nile the Coptic Church, representing black Africa more directly, was organized. The patriarchate had a hundred bishoprics in the fourth century. In 330 Saint Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, consecrated Fromentius as Bishop of Ethiopia.

On the highlands of Ethiopia, Negroid and Mongoloid peoples had united to found

49-1-45

a center of trade and government more than a thousand years before Christ. From this Axumite Kingdom came the legend of the Queen of Sheba. As early as 1800 B.C. the descendants of Jokdan, seafaring Arabs, had conquered the shores of the Red Sea opposite Abyssinia and founded Yemen. It was along this route that Pharaoh Necho's expedition went around Africa from east to west. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, dated from A.D. 60 to 80, shows the increasing commerce around this eastern horn to Africa.

Abyssinia for a time controlled both its own country and Yemen, and King Kaleb conquered Yemen in 525 and held it fifty years. Eventually the Abyssinians were expelled from Arabia and shut themselves up on their highlands where, as Gibbon said, "encompassed by the enemies of their religion, the Ethiopians slept for nearly a thousand years forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten." Throughout the Middle Ages the legend of this Christian kingdom under Prester John persisted. At one time the Abyssinians established themselves at Meroe, but were driven back by the Nubians who had made league with Rome.

Finally in A.D. 450 the Nubians under Silko embraced Christianity and made old Dongola their capital. This city replaced Napata and Meroe, and by the twelfth century had churches and brick dwellings.

In A.D. 525 there was considerable trade between Abyssinia and Central Africa. Spices and gold were imported in return for cattle, salt, and iron.

Thus the flood of Mohammedanism as it pressed up the Nile valley was held back for two centuries by a solid Christian phalanx in Abyssinia and Nubia. For years the dream of the Europeans was to make contact and alliance with the forces of Prester John and the other African Christians. It was not until 1270 that Saladin crushed the Nubians and annexed Nubia. The Christian kingdom of the Nubians finally fell in the sixteenth century.

49-1-46

17. AFRICA IN ASIA

The connection between Asia and Africa has always been close. There was probably actual land connection in prehistoric times, and the black race appears in both continentsiin the earliest records, making it doubtful which continent is the point of origin. Certainly the Negroid people of Asia have played a leading part in her history. The blacks of Melanesia have scoured the seas, and Charles Tauber makes them inventors of one of the world's first written languages: thus "this greatest of all human inventions was made by aborigines whose descendants today rank among the lowest, the proto-Australians."

The ethnic history of India would seem to be first a pre-historic substratum of Negrillos or black dwarfs; then the pre-Dravidians, a taller, larger type of Negro; then the Dravidians, Negroes with some mixture of Mongoloid and later of Caucasoid stocks. The Dravidian Negroes laid the bases of Indian culture thousands of years before the Christian era. On these descended through Afghanistan an Asiatic or Eastern Europaan element, usually called Aryan.

The culture of the black Dravidians underlies the whole culture of India, whose greatest religious leader is often limned as black and curly-haired. According to Massey: "It is certain that the Black Buddha of India was imaged in the Negroid type. In the black Negro God, whether called Buddha or SutNahsi, we have a datum. They carry their color in the proof of their origin. The people who first fashioned and worshipped the divine image in the Negroid mould of humanity must, according to all knowledge of human nature, have been Negroes themselves. For blackness is not merely mystical, the features and hair of Buddha belong to the black race and Nahsi is the Negro name. The genetrix represented as the Dea Multimammia, the Diana of Ephesus, is found as a black figure, nor is the hue mystical only, for the features are Negroid as were those of the black Isis in Egypt."

49-1-44

Of the thirty apostles who took Buddhism to China, ten are represented as yellow, ten borwn, and ten black. The Indian blacks, mingling with the straight-haired yellow Mongoloids, tended to have straighter hair long with their dark color than Africans, although this was not true in the case of the island Negroes.

According to Balfour: "Ethnologists are of the opinion that Africa has had an important influence in the colonization of Southern Asia, of India, and of the Easter Islands in time prior to authentic history or tradition. The marked African features of some of the people in the extreme south of the Peninsula of India, the Negro and Negrito riaces of the Andamans and Great Nicobar, the Semang, Bila, and Jakun of the Malay Peninsula, and the Negrito and Negro, Papuan and Malagasi races of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, Australia, and Polynesia, indicate the extent which characterizes their colonization.... The spiral-haired Negro race seem to have preceded the lank-haired brown race....When we consider the position if India between the two great Negro provinces, that on the west being still mainly Negro, even in most of its improved races, and that on the east preserving the ancient Negro basis in points so near India as the Andamans and Kedah, it becomes highly probable that the African element in the population of the Peninsula has been transmitted from an arbhaic period before the Semitic, Turanian, and Iranian races entered India and when the Indian Ocean had Negro tribes along its northern as well as its eastern and western shores....Perhaps all the original population of southern Arabia, and even of the Semitic lands, generally was once African."

Widney has said: "They (the Negroes) once occupied a much wider territory and wielded a vastly greatly influence upon earth than they do now. They are found chiefly in Africa, yet traces of them are to be found through the Islands of Malaysia, remnants, no doubt, of that more numerous black population which seems to have occupied tropical Asia before the days of the Semites, the Mongols, and the Brahminic Aryan. Back in the centuries which are scarcely historic, where history gives only vague hintings, are traces of a widespread, primitive civilization, crude, imperfect,

49-1-48

garish, barbaric, yet ruling the world from its seats of power in the valley of the Ganges, the Euphrates, and the Nile, and it was of the Black races. The first Babylon seems to have been of a Negroid race. It was in the days before the Semite was known in either land. The Black seems to have built up a great empire, such as it was, by the waters of the Ganges before Mongol or Aryan. Way down under the mud and slime of the beginnings.... is the Negroid contribution to the fair superstructure of modern civilization."

The Asiatic and African blacks were strewn along a straight path between tropical Asia and tropical Africa, and there was much racial intermingling between Africa and western Asia. In Arabia particularly the Mongoloids and Negroids mingled from earliest times. The Mongoloids invaded North Africa in prehistoric times, and their union with the Negroids formed the Libyans. Later there was considerable commerce and contact between the Phoenicians of North Africa, especially Carthage, and the black peoples of the Sudan.

49-1-49

18. ASIATIC AFRICANS ~~and THE SUSIANS~~

Speaking of the mixture that went on in this area between Elamite black and Aryan white, Dieulafoy has said: "The Greeks themselves seemed to have known these two Susian races, the Negroes of the plains and the Scythian whites of the mountains. Have not their old poets given to the direct descendants of the Susian, Memnon, the legendary hero who perished under the walls of Troy, a Negro father, Tithon, and a white, mountain woman as mother -- Kissia? Do they not also say that Memnon commanded an army of black and white regiments? 'Memnon went to the succor of Priam with ten thousand Susians and ten thousand Ethiopians.'. . . I shall attempt to show to what distant antiquity belongs the establishment of the Negritos upon the left bank of the Tigris and the elements constituting the Susian monarchy. . . .Towards 2300 B.C., the plains of the Tigris and AnzanSusinka were ruled by a dynasty of Negro kings.

"The coming of this dynasty of Medes corresponded perhaps to the arrival in the south of an immense Scythian invasion. Pushed back by the black Susians after having

taken possession of the mountains, the whites poured into the plains of the Tigris and remained master of the country until the time when Kudur Nakhunta subdued Chaldea and founded AnzanSusinka. He added to the territory of the blacks -- Nime, Jussi, Habardip -- all the mountainous districts once inhabited by the whites of the Scythian race."

Herodotus, who visited this region in the fifth century B. C., mentioned the dark skins of the people. He called them Ethiopians, but said their hair was straighter than those of the western Ethiopians, who had woolly hair. The Elamites, however, seemed rather to have belonged to the more Negroid stock of the west; their hair, as seen on the monuments, is short and woolly. " The Elamites," said Sir Harry Johnston, "appear to have been a Negroid people with kinky hair and to have transmitted this racial type to the Jews and Syrians. There is curliness of the hair, together with a Negro eye and full lips in the protraiture of Assyria which conveys the idea of an evident Negro element in Babylonia. Quite probably the very ancient Negro invasion of Mediterranean Europe (of which the skeletons of the Alpes Maritimes are vestiges) came from Syria and Asia Minor on its way to Central and Western Europe."

49-1-50

17. THE ARABS

Professor Toynbee also says, "The primitive Arabs who were the ruling element of the Omayyad Caliphate called themselves 'the swarthy people' with a connotation of racial superiority, and their Persian and Turkish subjects, 'the ruddy people,' with a connotation of racial inferiority, that is to say, they drew the distinction that we draw between blonds and brunets but reversed the value."

Carthage especially traded with the Sudan for gold dust, ostrich feathers, and ivory in exchange for textiles, cloth, copper, and beads. Often the Carthaginians settled among the Negroes and the Negroes among them. As a result the horse became known in the Sudan, textiles were made from cotton, and gold was gathered and worked. The glass industry was born and spread. The Libyans, or Berbers, were descendants from the populations of North Africa which consisted of an Asiatic element that came in prehistoric times and mixed with the Negroids. From these mixed races came the Sudan stone houses and the cemented wells and the spread of cattle-raising and gardening.

The whole population becomes darker and darker toward the south, until it merges into the blacks of the Sudan. The divisions, especially the political units -- Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco -- have no anthropological significance and do not correspond to any ethnic division. There are many striking groups: the Negroid Tuareg, or people of the Veil; the Tibu, or rock people, Negroids with mixed Mongoloid or Caucasoid blood; the dark Fulani, scattered all over North Africa from the Upper Niger to the Senegal and forming often the dominant political pwer in the lands toward the coast.

20 ~~18~~. ISLAM

Mohammedanism arose in the Arabian deserts, starting from Mecca which was in that part of the world which the Greeks called Ethiopia and regarded as part of the African Ethiopia. It must from earliest time have had a large population of Negroids.

The two greatest colored figures in the history of Islam are Bilai-Habesh (Bilal of Ethiopia) and Tarik-bin-Ziad: "Bilal-i-Habesh was Mohammed's liberated slave and closest friend to whom he gave precedence over himself in Paradise. The Prophet liberated all his slaves, and they were all well-known figures in the early Islamic history. He adopted as his own son another Negro, Zayd bin Harith, his third convert, who rose to be one of his greatest generals. Later, to show his regard for Zayd, he took one of Zayd's wives, the beautiful Zainab, as his own. But Bilal stands out in greatest relief. Apart from his services in the cause of Islam, it was through him that the Moslems decided to use the human voice instead of bells to call the Moslems to prayer. He had evidently a marvelous voice and was the first who called for prayers in Islam.

"Tarik-bin-Ziad also was a slave and became a great general in Islam and was the conqueror of Spain as the commander of the Moorish Army which invaded Spain. Jebel-u-Tarik (the mount of Tarik), that is Gibraltar, is named after him. One of the greatest Turkish classics is called 'Tarik-bin-Ziad' and has him as its hero. It was written by Abdul-Hak-Hamid, our greatest poet (alive though 84) and equals any tragedy of Corneille. I do hope that some time the biographies of these great figures will be written in English."

49-1-51

The Arabs brought the new religion of Mohammed into North Africa. During the seventh century they did not migrate in great numbers. Spain was conquered not by Arabs, but by armies of Berbers and Negroids led by Arabs. Later, in the eleventh century, another wave of Arabs came, but the number was never large and their prestige came from their religion and their language, which became a lingua franca for the peoples north and south of the Sahara. The total substitution of Arabian for Berber or Negro blood was small.

Anyone who has traveled in the Sudan knows that most of the "Arabs" he has met are dark-skinned, sometimes practically black, often have Negroid features, and hair that may be almost Negro in quality. It is then obvious that in Africa the term "Arab" is applied to any people professing Islam, however much race mixture has occurred, so that while the term has a cultural value it is of little ethnic significance and is often misleading.

The Arabs were too nearly akin to Negroes to draw an absolute color line. Antar, one of the great pre-Islamic poets of Arabia, was the son of a black woman; and one of the great poets at the court of Harun-al-Rashid was black. In the twelfth century a learned Negro poet resided at Seville.

49-1-52

NEGROES IN SPAIN

The Mohammedans crossed the Pyrenees in A.D. 719 and met Charles Martel at Poitiers; repulsed, the invaders turned back and settled in Spain. The conflict for the control of the Mohammedan world eventually left Spain in anarchy. A prince of the Omayyads arrived in 758. This Abdurahman, after thirty years of fighting, founded an independent government which became the Caliphate of Cordova. His power was based on his army of Negro and white Christian slaves. He established a magnificent court and restored order, and his son gave protection to writers and thinkers.

Eventually rule passed into the hands of a mulatto, Almanzor, who kept order with his army of Berbers and Negroes, making fifty invasions into Christian territory. He died in 1002, and in a few years the Caliphate declined and the Christians began to reconquer the country. The Mohammedans looked to Africa for refuge.

In the eleventh century there was quite a large Arab immigration. The Berbers and some Negroes by that time had adopted the Arab tonue and the Mohammedan religion, and Mohammedanism had spread slowly southward across the Sahara.

The invasions of the eleventh century were launched in 1048 by the Vizier of Egypt under the colored Caliph Mustansir. Each man was provided with a camel and given a gold piece, the only condition being that he must settle in the west. In two years they pillaged Cyrenaica and Tripoli and captured Kairwan. The invaders for the most part settled in Tripoli and Tunis, while their companions pressed on westward into Morocco. This exemplifieds the process of arabization in North Africa, and it was to a large extent a reflex from the invasion that had most to do with the arabization of the Nile valley. It is thus responsible for much of the present-day distribution of the "Arab" tribes of the Sudan.

We know that in 850 four hundred black East Africans had been enrolled in the army of Abu'l Abbas, ruler of Bagdad, and that they rose in revolt with a Negro, called "Lord of the Blacks," at their head. In 869 the Persian adventurer, Al Kabith, summoned the black slaves to revolt, and they flocked to his side in tens of thousands. In 871 they captured Basra and for fourteen years dominated the Euphrates delta. When Masudi visited this country fourteen years later, he was told that this conquest by famine and sword had killed at least a million people.

49-1-53

53

pp. 44 - 80

RENAISSANCE IN EUROPE

The rebirth of civilization in Europe began in the fifteenth century. At this time African and Asiatic civilizations far outstripped that of Europe. In the black Sudan nations, civilizations had risen and fallen even earlier. Melle, which flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, fell before the empire of the Songhay, which in the fifteenth century became a vast, organized government two-thirds the size of the United States, with trade and commerce and cultural connections, through its University of Sankoré, with Spain, Italy, and the Eastern Roman Empire. The city-states and Atlantic culture of the West Coast of Africa had fought back triple pressure from the Sudan, the Arabs in the Nile valley, and the emigrating Bantu sweeping down on the kingdoms of the Congo.

It was here that the rape of Africa began and transformed the world. There can be little doubt but that in the fourteenth century the level of culture in black Africa south of the Sudan was equal to that of Europe and was so recognized. There is even less doubt but that Negroid influence in the valley of the Nile was a main influence in Egypt's development from 2100 to 1600 B.C.; while in East, South, and West Africa human culture had from 1600 B.C. to A.D. 1500 its monuments of a vigorous past and a growing future. What changed all this? What killed the Sudanese empires, brought anarchy into the valley of the Nile, decimated the thick populations of East and Central Africa, and pressed the culture of West Africa beneath the ruthless heel of the rising European culture?

In Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there began to appear national integration of culture patterns, with no little inspiration from the East and from Africa. There followed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries increased freedom of thought and impatience with dogma; and in the seventeenth, came scientific inquiry and the beginning of a demand for democratic control of government.

44-1-54

But from 1400 to 1800 also came discovery, trade, and the beginnings of a new enslavement of labor. In the eighteenth century these developments leaped into opposition. The slavery of labor expanded enormously in the New World, concurrent with a new development of trade, industry, and wealth in the Old. These trends met head on with a revolutionary demand for democracy and social freedom in Europe. The clash of ideals was revealed in the nineteenth century by freedom for exploitation of slaves in America and a consequent reaction against the demands of European labor led by Napoleon and British Capital. Let us follow the details of this story.

23 ~~21~~. AMERICA

The importance of the discovery of America was not the treasure of precious metals it provided, but the new and widening market and source of supply it offered European manufacturers by the exchange of tobacco, sugar, and cotton for manufactured goods. Its first effect was to raise the mercantile system to glory and splendor. World trade increased enormously. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the centuries of trade, and eventually, by the rise of capitalism, the nineteenth century became the century of production.

49-1-55

During the Middle Ages there had been little direct commerce between Europe and West Africa. Arabs, Berbers, and eventually Negroids like the Mandingos became intermediaries for the trade between Europe and the Sudan. Rumors filtered through the Moroccan ports regarding the Kingdom of Ghana, the Niger, "the western Nile," and the black peoples round about. The Arabs bought gold from the Negroes and sold it to the Jewish merchants in Majorca.

The demand of Europe in the fifteenth century was for new and shorter paths to the East, to the spices, silks, and other luxurious articles of the East. In this quest Spain found silver in the New World, and Portugal triumphed when she found gold in Africa. The Portuguese trade monopoly with Africa and thence to India extended over half a century. She developed an empire of tremendous wealth.

Portugal

The object of Prince Henry (1394-1460) of Portugal was mainly trade to India. At the same time he hoped by union with Prester John of Ethiopia to evangelize the Negroes of all Africa and make common cause against the Mohammedans. Henry heard of the gold for which the Carthaginians had bartered at Timbuktu. Having seized Ceuta, he began to explore, and after nineteen years his seamen rounded Cape Bojador.

24. THE SLAVE TRADE FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE

In 1441 Goncalves brought to Lisbon the first cargo of slaves and gold. Very shortly a flourishing trade in gold, slaves, ostrich feathers, amber, and gum opened up between Portugal and black Africa. The Portuguese tried to conceal this trade from the rest of Europe. They did not actually find the black kingdom of Ghana, but they called the coast which did discover "Guinea," after mysterious Ghana. They heard of the empire of Melle at Timbuktu but did not actually reach it. They had commerce with the kingdom of the Jolofs and with other coast tribes. Eventually they reached the Gold Coast, or as they called it, "the Mine," where gold could be had in large quantities. They found that these Negroes were great traders who brought the gold from the interior when they could persuade the coast tribes who lived by fishing to let the gold bearers through. Eventually they came in contact with the kingdom of Benin and a mighty interior empire whose sovereign was the Ogani.

For fifty years, from 1480 to 1530, the Portuguese had a monopoly of the Guinea trade and reaped huge proftis, seldom less than 50 per cent and sometimes as high as 800 per cent. Between 1450 and 1458 ten or twelve ships a year were sent to Guinea, and the amount of gold dust reached a value of over two million dollars a year, and after 1471 rapidly exceeded this.

Next to the trade in gold came the highly important importation of labor into Portugal. By the middle of the fifteenth century nearly a thousand blacks had been imported. A century later a vast majority of the inhabitants of the southernmost province were Negroids, and even up as far as Lisbon, Negroes outnumbered the whites. The two races intermingled, resulting in the Negroid characteristics of the Portuguese nation even today.

95-1-56 49-64

~~16. THE SLAVE TRADE AND AFRICA~~

25. THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE SPREADS

The Guinea trade was at first mainly in gold, pepper, and other commodities, with some trading in slaves which went to Europe. In the sixteenth century, however, it began to change, and slaves began to be sent to South America. This was not at first a large trade and did not compete with legitimate commerce; but it grew, and by 1540 reached ten thousand slaves a year. The reason for this was not far to seek. Between 1480 and 1578 the peoples of Guinea enjoyed a vigorous life with economic independence based on foreign trade. Gold, ivory, and pepper were valuable as exports before the discovery of America and continued long afterward. But by the middle of the sixteenth century there was trouble in West Africa. A vast migration of black people, the Limbas, moved slowly westward from Central Africa. They were a part of the migration of the Bantu moving down from the Mohammedan invasion of the Nile Valley and the empire-building of the black kingdoms of the Sudan. They destroyed villages, massacred the inhabitants, and were soon in fierce competition with the Souzas, who possessed the most formidable native army in West Africa at that time. Migration and native wars lasted for a generation. This meant that the cheap labor of captives became available on the West Coast and opened the way for the beginning of the American slave trade. With this slave trade came trouble, not simply among native tribes but also between the Portuguese and the natives.

After 1530 the Portuguese empire in Guinea was a vast commercial enterprise, but the overhead charges, caused by difficulties with the natives and the beginning of European competition, equaled and began to exceed production. The first threat to Portuguese dominance in Guinea came from the French. By the Treaty of Crespy in 1544 the right of Frenchmen to trade in the Indies, east and west, was proposed but not ratified. French trade began to multiply after 1553; relations between Portugal and France became strained on account of the French pirates and privateers. The monopoly of the Portuguese in West Africa practically ended in 1553. The French Huguenots forced themselves into the Guinea trade after 1571, under the inspiration of Admiral

Coligny. British merchants during the reign of Queen Mary became interested. Queen Elizabeth fought the monopoly claims of Portugal and Spain and herself participated in the Guinea trade. 26 ~~24~~. THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE

Between 1559 and 1561 the British explorer, Martin Frobisher, took part in piracy and trade. From 1561 to 1571 the British trade increased over the French and there was direct traffic between England and Africa. "The first Englishman of note to engage in the traffic was the celebrated John Hawkins, afterwards knighted by Elizabeth and appointed Treasurer to the Navy. Froude calls him 'a peculiarly characteristic figure,' and he certainly presents that blending of piracy and piety, rascality and religion, so common in the days of Elizabeth and not altogether unknown in ours. Hawkins appears to have had his eye for a long time on the slave trade as a very lucrative business, and as the Spaniards claimed a practical monopoly, patriotic feeling -- the desire to bread down the Spanish claim -- went, as is again not unusual, with profit. At any rate, after a reconnoitering trip, Hawkins returned to England and fitted out an expedition of five vessels, to which were later added another three. In this venture, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Pembroke, and others took shares. So did Queen Elizabeth. She lent the ship Jesus, and Hawkins drew up rules for his men, the two first of which ran: 'Serve God daily,' and 'Love one another.' The piety of the expedition was beyond reproach. So was its practice, as we read that finding the natives of Cape Verde to be of 'a nature very gentle and loving,' and 'more civil than any others,' Hawkins prepared to kidnap a number of them. After sailing for some time, 'burning and spoiling,' he landed in the Spanish American settlements and compelled the colonists to purchase the slaves at his own price. Quite fittingly, Hawkins was granted a coat of arms consisting of 'a demi-Moor in his proper colours, bound and captive,' as a token of the new trade he had opened to Englishmen."

49-158

Meantime disaster overtook the Portuguese. King Sebastian attacked the Moors in North Africa and was killed. His death in 1578 changed the position of Guinea. Within two years Portugal had passed under the domination of Spain, and West Africa with some resistance submitted to Spain. Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) was able to defend to some extend his African empire, but eventually Spain was cut off from Africa by papal decree. Then came Portugal's annexation to Spain in 1581 and the loss of Spanish maritime power by the destruction of the Armada in 1588, which was a death blow to the commercial empire of Spain and Portugal.

The Protestants of England, the Huguenots of France, and the Calvinists of Holland started mortal struggle for Guinea. Eagerly the Dutch took over the Portuguese islands and settlements and formed in 1602 the East India Company.

With the seventeenth century the battle of commerce was on. The Dutch and the British fought to a finish in the Atlantic to dominate the Atlantic trade. The Portuguese, British, and Dutch fought in India. Between them they killed the trade of the German Hanseatic League and overthrew the economic dominance of Spain. Cromwell seized Jamaica as a center of British slavery and the slave trade. In Africa the kingdoms of the black Sudan moved east and displaced the Nilotic Negroes. From among these, peoples like those of the Fang and the Bambara kingdoms between the Nile and the West Coast pressed farther down upon the withdrawing Bantu.

In the seventeenth century the African slave trade to America expanded. It was not yet however a trade which made the word synonymous with Negro or black: during these years the Mohammedan rulers of Egypt were buying white slaves by the tens of thousands in Europe and Asia and bringing them to Syria, Palestine, and the Valley of the Nile. In the west, however, the character of world trade began subtly to change. While the theory of mercantilism still prevailed in academic circles and commerce continued to pour African gold into Europe, and while the Negroes and Arabs sent gold to India to bedeck the gorgeous moguls, in practical commerce the importation of gold from Africa and silver from Peru was losing its dominant attraction.

49-1-59

What was needed was human labor; labor to raise food in Spain and Portugal; labor to raise sugar and tobacco in the West Indies and North America.

The labor situation in Europe at the time made slave labor in America peculiarly profitable. The working population of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was limited. The devastation of the Thirty Years' War and the demand for labor and services on the feudal estates made any large-scale exportation of labor to America unthinkable. On the other hand, sugar, cotton, and tobacco were suitable to mass production on the plantations with conventional standards of work, simple tools, and comparatively small outlay for clothing and food. The organized slave gang was more profitable on the land than the peasant proprietor. The new capitalism as a method of production and trade began to supplant the farmer and merchant at home in Europe.

27 ~~25~~. CROMWELL, THE SLAVE TRADER

In 1660 the upheaval of Civil War in England was at an end, and England was ready to embark on the slave trade for the benefit of her sugar and tobacco colonies. The British increased the import of slaves to America, raised sugar, indigo, and cotton, and began to bring these goods to England for processing. They then exported some of these processed foods to Africa to buy more slaves. Trade began to change from a gambler's search for treasure to investment for permanent income; and this income consisted of goods for sale which were in practice found more valuable than treasure for hoarding. To perfect this arrangement slaves and more slaves must be had.

49-1-60

At the same time, the conscience of the world began to writhe. "Modern slavery was created by Christians, it was continued by Christians, it was in some respects more barbarous than anything the world had yet seen, and its worst features were to be witnessed in countries that were most ostentatious in their parade of Christianity. It is this that provides the final and unanswerable indictment of the Christian Church." There had been the splendor of the Catholic Church under Alexander VI and Leo X, and then the revolt led by Luther, the Reformation. Thus was the growing consciousness of

the dignity of the human soul brought face to face with slavery and a new slave trade. Gradually it was rationalized widely as a method of rescuing the heathen from perdition and saving his soul. However, this rationalization meant nothing when it conflicted with the profits of trade; and planters particularly, stoutly refused to release converts, and innumerable Christians often would not allow conversion. The profits of this new aspect of trade meant investment and the capitalist system.

Investment called for labor, and cheap labor, if the profit was to be high; but labor was beginning to be conscious and to revolt. This was the meaning of the Peasant War in Germany in the sixteenth century. But there was revolt and revolutionary thought not only in Europe; indeed it may be insisted that the revolt of labor against its modern degradation began in America rather than in Europe. This was the meaning of five slave revolts among the blacks in America and the beginning of the fateful dynasty of maroons, or free Negroes, hiding in organized rebellion in the mountains of Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti, in Mexico and Brazil. In the seventeenth century, with the increased importation of slaves, there were nine revolts, leading to pitched war in Jamaica and Barbados and Haiti and to the independent state of Palmares in Brazil.

49 - 1 - 61

Nevertheless, England had the bit in her teeth. "Royal adventurers trading to Africa" in 1667 had among them members of the royal family, three dukes, eight earls, seven lords, and twenty-seven knights. With the end of the civil war in England, British merchants crowded upon the landholding aristocracy for an increased share in the profits of industry. While the British were fighting ostensibly for dynastic disputes in Europe, they were really, in the War of Spanish Succession and in the Seven Years' War, fighting for profit through world trade and especially the slave trade. In 1713 they gained, by the coveted Treaty of Asiento, the right to monopolize the slave trade from Africa to the Spanish colonies. In that century they beat

Holland to her knees and started her economic decline. They overthrew the Portuguese in India, and finally, by the middle of the century, overcame their last rival in India, the French. In the eighteenth century they raised the slave trade to the greatest single body of trade on earth.

26. THE ASSIENTO

The Royal African Company transported an average of five thousand slaves a year between 1680 and 1686; but the newly rich middle-class merchants were clamoring for free trade in human flesh. Eventually the Royal African Company was powerless against the competition of free merchant traders, and a new organization was established in 1750 called the "Company of Merchants trading to Africa."

In the first nine years of this "free trade," Bristol alone shipped 160,950 Negroes to the sugar plantations. In 1760, 146 ships sailed from British ports to Africa with a capacity of 36,000 slaves. In 1771 there were 190 ships and 47,000 slaves. The British colonies between 1680 and 1786 imported over two million slaves. By the middle of the eighteenth century Bristol owned 237 slave trade vessels, London, 147, and Liverpool, 89.

Liverpool's first slave vessel sailed for Africa in 1709. In 1730 it had 15 ships in the trade and in 1771, 105. The slave trade brought Liverpool in the late eighteenth century a clear profit of £300,000 a year. A fortunate slave trade voyage made a profit of £8,000, and even a poor cargo would make £5,000. It was not uncommon in Liverpool and Bristol for the slave traders to make 100 percent profit. The proportion of slave ships to the total shipping of England was one in one hundred in 1709 and one-third in 1771. The slave traders were strong in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and a British coin, the guinea, originated in the African trade of the eighteenth century.

27. THE STRUGGLE FOR INDIA

In the midst of this, a tremendous treasure from India poured into England. The Battle of Plassey gave India to the British Empire for plunder on a scale seldom seen

49-1-61a

before or since. The enormous extent of robbery of the Indians by British civil servants has been abundantly proved. Howitt referred to "the scenes and transactions in our great Indian empire -- that splendid empire which has poured out such floods of wealth into this country; in which such princely presents of diamonds and gold have been heaped on our adventurers; from the gleanings of which so many happy families in England 'live at home at ease' and in the enjoyment of every earthly luxury and refinement. For every palace built by returned Indian nabobs in England; for every investment by fortunate adventurers in India stock; for every cup of wine and delicious viand tasted by the families of Indian growth amongst us, how many of these Indians themselves are now picking berries in the wild jungles, sweltering at the thankless plough only to suffer fresh extortions, or snatching with the bony fingers of famine, the bloated grains from the manure of the high-ways of their native country!"

49-1-68

The directors of the East India Company themselves admitted: "We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants, and the universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement. The general relaxation of all discipline and obedience, both military and civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government. Our letter to the Select Committee expresses our sentiments of what has been obtained by way of donations; and to that we must add, that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country!"

However this wealth was obtained and however pious the regret at the methods of its rape, there can be no doubt as to what became of it. Its owners in the main were not royal spendthrifts, nor aristocratic dilettantes; and even if some were, their financial advisers put their funds largely into the safe investment of West Indian slavery and the African slave trade. Thus an enormous amount of free capital seeking

safe investment and permanent income poured into the banks, companies, and new corporations. The powerful British institutions of the stock exchange was born.

30 39. KARL MARX EXPLAINS

It was Karl Marx who made the great unanswerable charge of the sources of capitalism in African slavery: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's anti-Jacobin war, and is still going on in the opium wars against China. . . ."

"With the development of capitalist production during the manufacturing period, the public opinion of Europe had lost the last remnant of shame and conscience. The nations bragged cynically of every infamy that served them as a means of capitalistic accumulation. Read, e.g., the naive Annals of Commerce of the worthy A. Anderson. Here it is trumpeted forth as a triumph of English statecraft that at the peace of Utrecht, England extorted from the Spaniards by the Asiento Treaty the privilege of being allowed to ply the Negro trade, until then only carried on between Africa and the English West Indies, between Africa and Spanish America as well. England thereby acquired the right of supplying Spanish America until 1743 with four thousand eight hundred Negroes yearly. This threw, at the same time, an official cloak over British smuggling. Liverpool waxed fat on the slave trade. This was its method of primitive accumulation. And, even to the present day, Liverpool 'respectability' is the Pindar of the slave trade which . . . has coincided with that spirit of bold adventure which has characterised the trade of Liverpool and rapidly carried it to its present state of prosperity; has occasioned vast employ-

49-1-63

ment for shipping and sailors, and greatly augmented the demand for the manufactures of the country.' Liverpool employed in the slave trade, in 1730, 15 ships; in 1751, 53; in 1760, 74; in 1770, 96; and in 1792, 132."

"Tantae molis erat, to establish the 'eternal laws of Nature' of the capitalist mode of production, to complete the process of separation between labourers and conditions of labour, to transform at one pole the social means of production and subsistence into capital, at the opposite pole, the mass of the population into wage-labourers, into 'free labouring poor,' that artificial product of modern society. If money, according to Augier, 'comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek,' capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

31 ~~30.~~ ENGLAND FATTENS ON SLAVERY

The method by which slavery and capital investment were developed by Great Britain can be clearly followed: the "triangular trade" flourished. It depended first mainly upon sugar and tobacco and later on cotton. The processing of these materials turned England into a manufacturing country, and the focusing of the attention of technicians upon methods of manufacture brought an astonishing series of inventions in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Negroes were purchased with British manufactures and transported to the plantations. There they produced sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and other products. The processing of these created new industries in England; while the needs of the Negroes and their owners provided a wider market for British industry. New England agriculture, and the Newfoundland fisheries.

By 1750 there was hardly a manufacturing town in England which was not connected with the colonial trade. The profits provided one of the main streams of that capital which financed the Industrial Revolution. The West Indian islands became the center of the British Empire and of immense importance to the grandeur of England. It was the Negro slaves who made these sugar colonies the most precious colonies ever re-

49-1-64

corded in the annals of imperialism. Experts called them "the fundamental prop and support" of the Empire. The British Empire was regarded as a "magnificent superstructure of American commerce and naval power on an African foundation."

William Wood said that the slave trade was the "spring and parent whence the others flow." Postlethwayt described the slave trade as "the first principle and foundation of all the rest, the mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion."

The triangular trade made an enormous contribution to Britain's industrial development. The profits fertilized the productive system of the country. The slate industry in Wales was revolutionized by a plantation owner. The British West Indies interest was back of the vast railway development. Cotton responded to new inventions. Between 1709 and 1787 the tonnage of British shipping in foreign trade increased four-fold. The British nobility benefited largely from the West Indian trade. The Lascelles were from Barbados, and one of their descendants is now brother-in-law of the King of England. The Earl of Chatham considered the sugar colonies as "the landed interest of this kingdom." West Indian investors bought seats in Parliament. The poetry of both Browning and Barrett with all its depth and beauty grew straight out of West Indian slavery.

While a profit of seven shillings per head per annum was sufficient to enrich a country, it was declared that each white man in the colonies brought a profit of over seven poimds. Sir Dalby Thomas declared that every person employed on the sugar plantation was a hundred and thirty times more valuable to England than one at home. Professor Pitman has estimated that in 1775 British West Indies plantations represented a valuation of fifty million pounds sterling, and the sugar planters themselves put the figure at seventy millions in 1788. In 1798 Pitt assessed the annual income from West Indian plantations at four million pounds as compared with one million from the rest of the world. As Adam Smith wrote in Wealth of Nations:

49-1-65

"The profits of a sugar plantation in any of our West Indian colonies are generally much greater than those of any other cultivation that is known either in Europe or America." According to Davenant, "Britain's total trade at the end of the seventeenth century brought a profit of £2,000,000. The plantation trade accounted for £600,000; re-export of plantation goods, £120,000; European, African, and Levant trade, £600,000; East India trade £500,000; re-export of East India goods, £180,000."

The Napoleonic wars widened the trade empire of Great Britain and extended the market for her manufactures. After twenty-two years of fighting, British merchants surpassed in wealth the landed aristocracy, and the Reform Bill of 1832 reflected this economic fact. 32 ~~31.~~ SLAVE REVOLT AND REVOLUTION

We may pause here to enumerate a series of events which have been too often looked upon as separate and unconnected. They are as follows:

1500-1600: The revolt of slaves in the West Indies

1655-1738: War between the British and the Maroons

1750: British free trade in human flesh

1757: The loot of India begins

1774: American association against the slave trade

1775: The American Revolution

1789: The French Revolution

1791-1798: Revolt of Toussaint L'Ouverture

1792-1815: Reaction in France and the rise and fall of Napoleon

1800-1900: Capitalism and the factory system in England

1807: Abolition of the British slave trade

1830: The Cotton Kingdom

1833-1838: British abolition of slavery

1846: Repeal of the British Corn Laws; free trade

1863: Emancipation in America

1884: Imperial colonialism.

49-1-66

The slave revolts were the beginnings of the revolutionary struggle for the uplift of the laboring masses in the modern world. They have been minimized in extent because of the propaganda in favor of slavery and the feeling that the knowledge of slave revolt would hurt the system. In the eighteenth century there were fifteen such revolts: in Portuguese and Dutch South Africa, in the French colonies, in the British possessions, in Cuba and little islands like St. Lucia. There were pitched battles and treaties between the British and the black Maroons and finally there was a rebellion in Haiti which changed the face of the world and drove England out of the slave trade.

These revolts show that the docility of Negro slaves in America is a myth. They fall into two groups: those before the French Revolution and those after. The revolt of Maroons in Jamaica and Cuba and the Bush Negroes in South America and the repeated attempts in Haiti frightened the slaveholders and threatened the stability of the whole system. In Jamaica the Maroons "continued to distress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of assembly were passed, and at least £240,000 expended for their suppression." The governor of Barbados wrote: "The public mind is ever tremblingly aware to the dangers of insurrection," and the statute books all over the slave territory testified to this fact.

49-1-64

53 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The event that opposed the slave trade and slavery was the American Revolution. Not only did the colonists achieve their independence through the help of slaves and the promise of their freedom, and with the co-operation in money and men from Haiti, but they represented actual working classes rather than exploiters of labor. Finally, the French Revolution burst forth as a war against privilege based on birth and demanded freedom, especially economic freedom to trade and to enter industry without coercion.

The result was that the slave trade met distinct opposition based on humanitarian grounds; but this opposition would have been powerless to stop the trade if

it had not been evident that the trade itself as a source of profit was threatened. The revolt of America confirmed the superiority of the French sugar colonies. Between 1783 and 1789 the progress of San Domingo had been amazing. At the end of the eighteenth century the British sugar planters lost their supremacy to the French colonies. French colonial exports amounted to eight millions pounds while British colonial exports amounted to five million pounds.

When the American colonies won their independence, the Caribbean ceased to be a British sea and investments began to be transferred from the West to the East Indies. In 1783 Prime Minister William Pitt showed increased interest in India and encouraged Wilberforce to propose the abolition of the slave trade.

34-35 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Then came the French Revolution and eventually the revolt of Haiti. The British made every effort to seize control of this famous French sugar colony. They tried both force of arms and bribery, but at last were compelled to recognize the independence of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whom they tried to divorce from allegiance to the French.

49-1-68

Nevertheless, with Haiti out of the world market, the British could have retained their hold upon the sugar industry had it not been for the increased cultivation of sugar in Spanish and Portuguese colonies. So long as these colonies could obtain cheap slaves, they threatened and even destroyed the investment in slave labor already made by British capital. Looked upon as machines or "real estate," as slaves legally were, the investment in Negro labor was being undermined so long as cheaper Negro labor could be had from Africa.

To keep the prices of slaves from falling, the slave trade had to be limited or stopped. Otherwise the whole slavery investment would totter, and that is what England faced after the revolution of Toussaint. Early in the nineteenth century, therefore, she began to change, and back of philanthropists like Sharpe and Wilberforce came the unexpected support of opportunist politicians like Pitt.

Moreover, capitalism was far enough developed to produce sufficient free finance capital to effect a transfer of investment from one field to another without such losses as would cripple the system. Losses there had to be, but they were part of the anarchy of business methods, which by large-scale gambling and periodic crises rushed blindly to newer and larger fields of profit. Eventually Negro slavery and the slave trade were abandoned in favor of colonial imperialism, and the England which in the eighteenth century established modern slavery in America on a vast scale, appeared in the nineteenth century as the official emancipator of slaves and founder of a method of control of human labor and material which proved more profitable than slavery.

For a long time the fiction of the slave trade as a method of conversion to Christianity had ceased to salve the conscience of honest-thinking men. Slavery and the slave trade were pouring such treasure into England, building her cities, railways, and manufactures, and making her so powerful a country that the defense of the system was fierce. England became mistress of the seas. The empire sang "Hail Britannia, Britannia Rules the Waves."

Before the American Revolution, English public opinion accepted the view of the slavetrader: "Tho' to traffic in human creatures, may at first sight appear barbarous, inhuman, and unnatural; yet the traders herein have as much to plead in their own excuse, as can be said for some other branches of trade. . . In a word, from this trade proceed benefits, far outweighing all, either real or pretended mischiefs and inconveniences."

The cruelty and inhumanity of the slave trade was a horrible fact. A committee of the House of Commons described the "Middle Passage": "The Negroes were chained to each other hand and foot, and stowed so close that they were not allowed above a foot and a half for each in breadth. Thus rammed together like herrings in a barrel, they contracted putrid and fatal disorders; so that they who came to inspect them in a

49-1-44

morning had occasionally to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their carcasses from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened." "During the hearing of a case for insurance, the following facts were brought out. A slave-ship, with four hundred and forty-two slaves, was bound from Guinea to Jamaica. Sixty of the slaves died from overcrowding. The captain, being short of water, threw ninety-six more overboard. Afterwards, twenty-six more were drowned. Ten drownded themselves in despair. Yet the ship reached port before the water was exhausted."

The revolt against the ~~Protestants~~ slave-trade began to appear among the Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers. Methodism condoned slavery but was sensitive to and alarmed over the slave trade. The Baptists, beginning in England in 1600, developed into an extremely democratic organization which appealed to workers and even to slaves; and the general philosophical and economic enlightenment of the eighteenth century brought men of learning and artists into a distinct anti-slavery movement.

49-1-71

35 ~~34~~ ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

The slave trade was abolished by England in 1807, and England undertook to make the rest of the world outlaw it too. The United States, Portugal, and Spain gave only lip service to this program, and the slave trade continued up to the middle of the nineteenth century although to a lessening extent.

With the stopping of the slave trade it was evident that investment in labor was different from investment in land, material, and machines; that labor, no matter how much it was degraded, had initiative and made demands. Revolt of the working classes, following the incentive of Haiti, spread. The spectacular and astonishing triumph of revolution in Haiti threatened the whole slave system of the West Indies and even of continental America. It was this revolt more than any other single thing that spelled doom not only of the African slave trade but of slavery in America as a basis of an industrial system. The revolt encouraged the abolition movement in the United States and in Brazil; it flamed in practically every island of the West Indies.

Unless the slave worker could be pacified, income based on slave labor would be destroyed. The result was that in 1833 England abolished slavery.

The Napoleonic wars did not ruin England; on the contrary together with the African slave trade, Negro slavery, and the loot of India, they made the British government the most powerful in the world; they ruined England's industrial rivals; they left her in control of the chief sources of raw materials by colonial ownership and with the ready cash to outbid rivals; her vast store of finance capital enabled her to manufacture machinery and wait a generation for repayment; British knowledge of science and technique enabled the country to make the best machines and tools and render the whole world creditor for their purchase; Britain ruled the seas and thus monopolized transport. Even when in the earlier mad rush for profit on the new capitalism, she reduced her own labor to slavery in the factory system and faced revolution, she proved the only land able eventually to raise wages and yet maintain high profit by shifting the burden of pauperized toil to the colonies and dominated peoples; and at the same time, although author and chief supporter of modern slavery, Great Britain could hold up her head and, by suppressing a slavery now becoming unprofitable, lead world philanthropy as the great emancipator of the slave.

49-1-78

But even as this role rejoiced her greater souls, the British Empire became the victim of the worst legacy of Negro slavery: the doctrine of race superiority and the color line, which in a later century made civilized man commit suicide in a mad attempt to hold the vast majority of the earth's peoples in thrall to the white race -- a goal to which they still cling today, hidden away behind nationalism and power politics.

This was not a rake's progress of malevolence; it was a bitter struggle between Good and Evil -- between fine and noble souls and conscienceless desire for luxury,

power, and indulgence. The forces of Evil were continually reinforced by the vast power which slavery and the exploitation of men put into the hands of the betrayers of labor, making them the envied of the earth, until nations became willing to destroy the earth in order to gain it. Suppose that at any point in this Descent to Hell, Right had received help and reinforcement? Suppose that a free America had welcomed a free Haiti into a world that insisted on freedom for Africa and Asia? But no; slavery dominated the "free" republic of the west for half a century, with the slave cotton kingdom as foundation stone for British manufactures, while Great Britain seized land and labor in all the dark world. Suppose that England had freed and educated Africa, emancipated India, and joined hands with Japan to uplift China, instead of making ignorance compulsory for the majority of men even in England, in order to build up the most "comfortable" and envied aristocracy on earth? Suppose the technique and science of the nineteenth century had been used to raise the many instead of to enrich the few?

A dream? Perhaps, but even an unrealized dream would be better than the present nightmare.

49-1-73

~~35~~ 36. THE NEW CAPITALISM

The new era of capitalism dawned, springing from Calvinism: thrift, industry, honesty as the best policy, along with interest and profit. Capitalism passed into high capitalism at different periods in different nations: In England in 1846, when English capitalism needed no protective tariff, it smashed the agriculturists in Parliament and forced the adoption of free trade; in the United States invested capital passed the value of the land about 1850. The Revolution of 1848 in France revealed the power of organized labor as well as the power of capitalism, which later triumphed. In Germany capitalism began its full sway after World War I.

In the British Parliament, after the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, capitalism was paramount. The plantation trade had formerly meant everything; but

in the new capitalist system, plantation slavery had little place. Britain's mechanized might was still, however, making the whole world her footstool. She was clothing the world, exporting men and machines, and had become the world's banker. British capital, like British production, was thinking in world terms. "Between 1815 and 1830 at least fifty million pounds had been invested more or less permanently in the securities of the most stable European governments, more than twenty million had been invested in one form or another in Latin America, and five or six millions had very quietly found their way to the United States." But no new capital went to the West Indies.

This then was the history of the slave trade, of that extraordinary movement which made investment in human flesh the first experiment in organized modern capitalism; which indeed made capitalism possible. It accompanied the beginnings of democracy in the modern world, but that beginning was hindered and almost stopped by the result which black slavery had on Africa itself.

449 - 1 - 44

~~36.~~ 37 IVORY

In Africa a new and supplementary means of control, developed by means of the Arab trade in ivory, led to exploration and eventual annexation under the pretense of attacking slavery. In this whole story of the so-called "Arab slave trade" the truth has been strangely twisted. Arab slave raiding was in the beginning, and largely to the end, a secondary result of the British and American slavery and slave trade and specifically was based on American demand for ivory. The Arabs had by the nineteenth century driven back the Portuguese opposite Zanzibar and had developed two profitable products of trade: ivory and slaves.

Ivory has a long history. Homer repeatedly mentions it. Ivory has been found in the ruins of Nineveh and in the days of Tuthmosis III; cargoes of ivory and ebony in addition to gold came down the Nile. In Kings and Chronicles we learn of the great throne of ivory which Solomon built and hear that once every three years ships

came to Israel with gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. Ezekiel laments the ruin of Tyre with its boxwood benches inlaid with ivory. In Greece the statue by Phidias of Jupiter Olympus, one of the seven wonders of the world, was made of ivory, marble, and gold. The seats of the Roman senators were made of ivory, and large quantities of ivory poured into Rome from Africa.

By the beginning of the Christian era the trade in ivory had decreased. The herds of elephants had disappeared, and there was no organized method of gathering the ivory or of brining it to market. Moreover, it was not until the Renaissance, in the fifteenth century, that renewed demand made search for it profitable. The Portuguese, both on the West Coast of Africa and in Mozambique, began to export it. They were so prodigal that the considerable store which the natives had collected was almost exhausted by the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Dutch began to collect ivory in South Africa, and there and in Central Africa a steady supply kept pace with the demand. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, there came a new demand from the west. The ivory had long been carried by the slaves to the coast or down the Nile, and then instead of the bearers being returned, they were sold. Most of the ivory in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries went to Arabia, Persia, and India, and the slaves to the same parts of the world as soldiers and servants. The trade was small, and while the slave trade was a disrupting influence it did not transfer any large number of persons.

Ivory from about 1840 became increasingly valuable. Its gathering called for fire-arms and transport. Europe and America furnished the arms in vast quantity. Negro porters bore the white gold over vast distances on their heads, and the traders doubled their profit by selling these Negroes into slavery in the Middle East and America. The result was an industry with huge profits, which called to service the

49-145

most vicious elements of the Nile Valley with its social disintegration of centuries, aided by the efforts of Mohammed Ali, the ally of white colonial aggression.

It also called white soldiers of fortune like Selous and Lugard, who slaughtered the herds of half-human elephants in cold blood. It called the explorers who followed the hunters and slave traders. After the explorers came the missionaries. Both pointed out that the ivory-slave business was killing the goose that might lay even more golden eggs, if instead of killing valuable labor, this labor and materials were subject to political control of Europe and the abundant capital seeking investment. The missionaries like Livingstone saw in this not only a means of saving bodies and souls of human beings, but als thrift and good business, which in the folklore of early capitalism were the inevitable elements divinely conjoined for modern civilization.

The rising demand in England and America for the suppression of the slave trade in East Africa was not pure philanthropy. It was that "philanthropy and 5 per cent" which was the transition from the century of human slavery in America to the century of the transfer of capital from sugar plantations to colonial imperialism in Africa and Asia. The main end of both enterprises was profit to the owner and exploiter, mainly at the expense of poverty, ignorance, and pain for the slave and native subject.

About the middle third of the nineteenth century the situation changed abruptly. The demand for ivory increased. In America, ivory working was an early industry, especially in New England on the banks of the Connecticut, where ivory has been cut since 1820. It was processed for carving, for cutlery, billiard balls, and miniatures, and for piano keys. At Deep River and Ivoryton and Buffalo the keyboards for all the pianos in America, Canada, and Australia were made. Because of increased demand, European and American traders set up establishments for buying ivory in Zanzibar; in the thirties and forties prices increased. Arabs began to ask for

49-1-76

arms in order to shoot elephants and coerce the natives. Increased exports of ivory to Europe and America and of slaves to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, called for increased imports of weapons and ammunition. The Germans sent thirteen thousand muskets in one year. The British and Portuguese sent thousands of the old Sepoy guns from India. The French supplied a single-barrel light weapon. American blasting powder came in ten- and twenty-five-pound kegs. German cavalry sabers came and cases of percussion caps. Arabs borrowed from Indian usurers at 60 to 80 per cent, and set out for the haunts of elephants.

~~36 - 37.~~ EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY IN AFRICA

Curiously enough it was this ivory trade that stimulated and guided travel and discovery in Central Africa. Explorers followed the ivory traders, who were the true discoveres. Burton, Speke, Livingstone, Stanley, and Cameron started from the Arab capital of Zanzibar. They followed the lines of traffic set by the Arab ivory traders. Petherick, the British ivory trader, preceded Schweinfurth, and the countries he explored were opened up by the ivory trade. Livingstone found the ivory traders on the Upper Congo. Cameron left Zanzibar in 1873 and was the first European to cross Africa from east to west along the ivory traders' routes. Stanley made his second expedition, 1874-1877, and was helped by Tippoo-Tib, the great Negro slave trader who had also helped Livingstone. The last of the great expeditions was Stanley's, in 1887-1889, when he rescued Emin Pasha and his Negro wife.

It was in this way that knowledge of the technique of the slave trade and its meaning came to Europe at a time when the slave trade from Africa to America had been largely suppressed. We had a series of first-hand descriptions of this trade.

Ivory became in the last half of the nineteenth century the scourge of Central Africa. The complete story of bloodshed and cruelty will never be known. Thousands of miles of fertile country were turned into wilderness and ruin. Hundreds of thousands of elephants were slain and thousands of human beings. It has been estimated that not more than one in five of the captives bearing the ivory ever reached

49-1-44

the ocean. Starved and weakened by disease and the strain of marching, they lined the long paths with their dead.

"Picture, if you can, a territory nearly as large as the whole of our United States east of the Mississippi River and Illinois, terrorized and overrun in all directions with hundreds of roving bands of plundering murderers armed with invincible weapons of oppression, a land of blood and might, the nights filled with flame and destruction, the days weary with the marching of the coffles and the blood of the despairing, hopeless slaves. And this for years, for decades.

Henry M. Stanley wrote: "Every tusk, piece, and scrap in the possession of an Arab trader has been steeped and dyed in blood. Every pound weight has cost the life of a man, woman, or child, for every five pounds a hut has been burned, for every two tusks a whole village has been destroyed, every twenty tusks have been obtained at the price of a district with all its people, villages, and plantations. It is simply incredible that, because ivory is required . . . populations, tribes, and nations should be utterly destroyed."

Hamed bin Muhammed, a Negro, better known as Tippoo-Tib, was one of the greatest of slave traders. He eventually became sultan and overlord of the country of Kassongo in the very middle of Central Africa, which he made a center of ivory collecting and slave hunting. He had a thousand muzzle-loading guns. And it was not until 1905 that he died.

The credit for suppressing the slave-ivory trade must go to Livingstone who inspired it, to Kirk of East Africa who helped carry it through, and to Bargarsh, the Negroid Arab, who actually suppressed the Zanzibar trade. But these three men represent the curious interests involved: Livingstone was a humanitarian who thought that trade and commerce was the best and natural way to improve the condition of man. He would be horrified to see South Africa and Rhodesia today and realize the plight into which the natives have been forced by European trade and industrialism. Kirk

49-1-48

was a British imperialist who foresaw the colonial era. He was no philanthropist desirous of the development and rise of the blacks. What he wanted was to expand the power of England, and he believed that could be done best by suppressing the slave trade and slave labor under the Arabs and increasing colonial ownership and serf labor under Great Britain. The Arab sultan Bargarsh was persuaded that colonial alliance with Great Britain would protect his future power and income.

The effect upon Europe was curious. European and American commerce was stimulated. The missionaries, still believing in the expanding trade of the eighteenth century, coupled commerce with missionary effort and did not see the inherent contradiction between them. The result was that the missionary and the merchant worked side by side and hand in hand. It was Livingstone who declared that he was bringing commerce and missionary effort to the natives.

Commercial companies, like the African Lakes Company, exploited and administered territories and equipped the elephant hunters. They supplied the rifles and sent the hunters, reserving the right to buy the ivory at a set price. It was thus that Sir Alfred Sharp and Lord Lugard began life as professional ivory hunters. The coming of American, British, French, German and Portuguese traders in the middle of the nineteenth century furnished the artillery for the worst period in this ivory-slave trade under the Arabs. At its height thirty thousand slaves were exported annually through Zanzibar, leaving more than a hundred thousand who had died on the way to the sea.

~~38.~~ THE NEW BRITISH CONSCIENCE

Then that extraordinary transformation took place in British public policy. The stopping of the expansion of the Arab slave trade in East and Central Africa became a means of building up the British Empire. All that Britain had done in establishing the new modern slavery in America was forgotten in her effort to suppress the ivory-slave trade in Africa, and that effort was only the other side of her building up of a great African colonial territory which she proposed to exploit

49-179

by the use of cheap native labor, the sale of African raw materials, and the opening of markets for her merchandise. Slavery and the slave trade became transformed into anti-slavery and colonialism, and all with the same determination and demand to increase the profit of investment.

It all became a characteristic drama of capitalistic exploitation, where the right hand knew nothing of what the left hand did, yet rhymed its grip with uncanny timeliness; where the investor neither knew, nor inquired, nor greatly cared about the sources of his profits; where the enslaved or dead or half-paid worker never saw nor dreamed of the value of his work (now owned by others); where neither the society darling nor the great artist saw blood on the piano keys; where the clubman, boasting of great game hunting, heard above the click of his smooth, lovely, resilient billiard balls no echo of the wild shrieks of pain from kindly, half-human beasts as fifty to seventy-five thousand each year were slaughtered in cold, cruel, lingering horror of living death; sending their teeth to adorn civilization on the bowed heads and chained feet of thirty thousand black slaves, leaving behind more than a hundred thousand corpses in broken, flaming homes.

49-1-80

Quite naturally all this ivory trade centered in London. In Mincing Lane the ivory of the world was bought and sold from the time of the eighteen twenties, when the slave cotton kingdom began to pour profit from American plantations into New York and Manchester. The annual imports of ivory into London rose as follows:

1788-1798:	100 tons a year
1827:	60 tons
1845-1849:	294 tons
1870-1874:	627 tons
1880-1884:	514 tons

This meant the death of seventy-five thousand elephants a year in the heyday of the trade. An enthusiastic elephant hunter described the death of one elephant. They had killed her child. "She turned with a shriek of rage and made a furious charge. She charged three or four times. She often stood still and covered with blood faced the men as she received fresh wounds. At last with a short struggle she staggered around and sank down kneeling and dead." Far away over miles and years, on lovely keys chipped from her curving tusks, men played the Moonlight Sonata. Neither for the keys nor the music was the death of the elephant actually necessary.

It was this London market that supplied raw material to be made into billiard balls and piano keys and lovely little ornaments to Ivoryton, Connecticut, and also contrived through the veiled, devious ways of high finance banking to supply Arab and Negro slave raiders with powder and guns and to buy their ivory at prices which were fabulous to them. Behind the slave raiders came the explorers, who pointed out the vast resources of Africa and the possibilities of African labor; behind the explorers came the missionaries, who cried out bitterly against slavery but said nothing and knew less of the white sources of their power in London and Buffalo.

49-1-81

40 ~~50~~. BRITISH COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

Gradually the picture changed: the captains of industry saw new opportunity for capital. They could wrench the profits of ivory from the Arabs and Negroes; they could wheel England and world religion back of imperial seizure of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, with not only petty profit from ivory, but vaster profits from spices, gold, diamonds, and copper; they could replace wasteful slavery with local black labor paid at wages from one-half to nine-tenths cheaper than white labor in Europe and America and make white labor like it because all this could be done to the glory of God and the superiority of the white race. And it was done.

So colonial imperialism was born. And so some of its leaders illustrated in their own individual lives its development; there was Frederick C. Selous, who began

as an elephant hunter and then annexed the peoples and minerals of Mashonaland to the British Empire; there was Frederick D. Lugard, who first fought in India, Burma, and the Sudan; then as a big game hunter in East Africa, where, armed by the African Lakes Company, he murdered elephants in great numbers and became a part of the ivory-slave trade complex. Next he appeared in East Africa as a free-lance fighter against Arabs and Mohammedans and in defense of Christian missions; he reappeared as agent of the British East Africa Company and annexed Uganda to Britain. Thereupon he was recognized as a great champion of imperial England and went to West Africa to help subdue the falling remnants of Sudanese culture. Here he shrewdly realized that conquest of these peoples could most easily be accomplished if their tribalgovernment were left undisturbed, while Britain controlled trade and foreign relations. Having thus invented "indirect rule," he became a British governor in West Africa. Eventually he retired, lived in England on a pension paid by black West Africa, was regarded as the greatest authority on Africa, and died in honor as a noble British lord.

49-1-82

CULTURAL CLASH IN AFRICA

What effect did all this have upon the dark natives of Africa? In the past we have dwelt upon physical suffering, the loss of life, and the devastation of the land, but we have not thought of the larger and deeper social disintegration. First of all, not only was the way opened from the Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope for marauding masses of Bantu warriors, but this great and long-continued movement became organized for aggression and conquest. We hear of the fierce onslaughts of wild tribes like the Yaggas, but we must also remember that there came a new sort of organization. Negro life could not settle down for political organization and empire building. It could not wait for the development of herdsmen and agriculture. It must hurry on to safer places and sheltered land and loot. "It was sorrowfully recognized that the degradation of the Negro peoples of the nearer African interior was the direct result

of European slave-dealing. The savagery of Dahomey and Benin was the survival of the ferocity by which native chiefs, a century earlier, had supplied the demands of English and Dutch traders for victims for the plantations."

This movement culminated in the magnificent and utterly ruthless army of a Chaka in the nineteenth century, which almost successfully battled machine guns with assagais. Then too on the West Coast came transformation: the city-states with their intricate social organization and carefully planned industry and beautiful art were pushed back and overwhelmed by newer, stronger military states, like that of Dahomey in the seventeenth century; and the Ashanti earlier had never gained in the line of peaceful industry and art as much as the new gains which they made as intermediaries of the slave traders.

The East African slave trade under Negroes like Tippoo-Tib became organized. The commercial ends and profits sought by Europe were subtly introduced into and shared by an Africa that had been foreign to this kind of life. The mild domestic slavery of the African tribes and of the Arabs and Persians, which did not preclude the sone of slave becoming a king, a statesman, or a poet, was changed into chattel slavery with hard labor and cruel tasks. The continued development of African civilization, forecast in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by that in the Sudan, was prevented and turned backward into chaos, flight, and death.

Decadence could be seen on the West Coast, in the shadow of fabled Atlantis, where there emerged in curious juxtaposition the blood sacrifice of the Benin juju together with the beautiful bronzes of the Benin sculptors. The great kingdoms and empires of the Sudan which fell at the battle of Tenkadibou not only suffered the incubus of a horde of Berber invaders as they moved east and became the Sudanese kingdoms of Kanem and Bornu and the realm of the Fung; they approached the valley of the Nile and came into fierce combat with some of the worst manifestations of Mohammedanism.

44-1-83

Pushing farther south, the Bantu herdsmen threw themselves upon the Congo and Zimbabwe. There came to Africa an end of industry, especially industry guided by taste and art. Cheap European goods pushed in and threw the native products out of competition. Rum and gin displaced the milder native drinks. The beautiful patterned cloth, brocades, and velvets disappeared before their cheap imitations in Manchester calicos. Methods of work were lost and forgotten.

With all this went the fall and disruption of the family, the deliberate attack upon the ancient African clan by missionaries. The invading investors who wanted cheap labor at the gold mines, the diamond mines, the copper and tin mines, the oil forests and cocoa fileds, followed the missionaries. The authority of the family was broken up; the authority and tradition of the clan disappeared; the power of the chief was transmuted into the rule of the white district commissioner. The old religion was help up to ridicule, the old culture and ethical standards were degraded or disappeared, and gradually all over Africa spread the inferiority complex, the fear of color, the worship of white skin, the imitation of white ways of doing and thinking, whether good, bad, or indifferent. By the end of the nineteenth century the degradation of Africa was as complete as organized human means could make it. Chieftains, representing a thousand years of striving human culture, were decked out in second-hand London top-hats, while Europe snickered.

Frobenius says in his Civilisation Africaine: "When they /the first European navigators of the end of the Middle Ages_7 arrived in the Gulf of Guinea and landed at Vaida, the captains were astonished to find streets well cared for, bordered for several leagues in length by two rows of trees; for many days they passed through a country of magnificent fields, a country inhabited by men clad in brilliant costumes, the stuff of which they had woven themselves! More to the South in the Kingdom of Congo, a swarming crowd dressed in silk and velvet; great states well

449-1-84

ordered, and even to the smallest details, powerful sovereigns, rich industries -- civilized to the marrow of their bones. And the condition of the countries on the eastern coast -- Mozambique, for example -- was quite the same.

"What was revealed by the navigators of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries furnishes an absolute proof that Negro Africa, which extended south of the desert zone of the Sahara, was in full efflorescence, in all the splendour of harmonious and well-formed civilizations, an efflorescence which the European conquistadors annihilated as far as they progressed. For the new country of America needed slaves, and Africa had them to offer, hundreds, thousands, whole cargoes of slaves. However, the slave trade was never an affair which meant a perfectly easy conscience, and it exacted a justification; hence one made of the Negro a half-animal, an article of merchandise. And in the same way the notion of fetish (Portuguese feticeiro) was invented as a symbol of African religion. As for me, I have seen in no part of Africa the Negroes worship a fetish. The idea of the 'barbarous Negro' is a European invention which has consequently prevailed in Europe until the beginning of this century."

49-1-85

~~pp. 148 - 163~~

85

~~42~~ EUROPE AS MASTER OF THE WORLD

It has long been the belief of modern men that the history of Europe covers the essential history of civilization, with unimportant exceptions; that the progress of the white race has been along the one natural, normal path to the highest possible human culture. Even in its collapse today, the dominant opinion is that this is but an unfortunate halting on the way; the same march must and will be resumed after a breathing space for recovery.

On the other hand, we know that the history of modern Europe is very short; scarcely a moment of time as compared with that of eternal Egypt. The British Empire is not more than two hundred and fifty years old; France in her present stature dates back three hundred years; the United States was born only a hundred and seventy years ago; and Germany less than one hundred years. When, therefore, we compare modern Europe with the great empires which have died, it is not far different in length of days from the empires of Persia, Assyria, the Hittites, and Babylon. Ethiopia led the world longer than England has.

49-1-86

It is surely a wider world of infinitely more peoples that Europe has ruled; but does this reveal eternal length of rule and inherent superiority in European manhood, or merely the temporary possession of a miraculously greater brute force? Mechanical power, not deep human emotion nor creative genius nor ethical concepts of justice, has made Europe ruler of the world. Man for man, the modern world marks no advance over the ancient; but man for gun, hand for electricity, muscle for atomic fission, these show what our culture means and how the machine has conquered and holds modern mankind in thrall. What in our civilization is distinctly British or American? Nothing. Science was built on Africa and Religion on Asia.

Was there no other way for the advance of mankind? Were there no other cultural patterns, ways of action, goals of progress, which might and may lead man to something finer and higher? Africa saw the stars of God; Asia saw the soul of man; Europe saw and sees only man's body, which it feeds and polishes until it is fat, gross, and cruel.

43 WEST AFRICA

Let us turn to West Africa, where man tried a different way for a thousand years. First we face the query: how do we know what man did in West Africa, since black Africa has no written history? This brings the curious assumption that lack of written record means lack of matter and deed worth recording. The deeds of men that have been clearly and accurately written down are as pinpoints to the oceans of human experience. To recall that experience we must rely on written record, varying from direct narrative to indirect allusion and confirmation; we must rely also on memory -- the memory of contemporary onlookers, of those who heard their word, of those who over a lapse of years interpreted it and handed it on; we must rely on the mute but powerful testimony of habits, customs, and ideals, which echo and reflect vast stretches of past time. Finally, we agree upon as true history and actual fact any interpretation of past action which we today believe and want to belive is true. The relation of this last historical truth to real truth may vary from fact to falsehood.

Climate, with sun and ice, gave Europe opportunity to expand vastly the Asiatic and African invention of written records. Heat and rain made written record in West Africa almost impossible, and forced that land to rely on the memories of men, developed over the centuries to a marvelous system of folklore and tradition. But back of both methods lay real human history recorded in cultural patterns, industry, religion, and art.

One of the extraordinary developments of civilization in Africa was on the West Coast around the great Gulf of Guinea. Frobenius has fancifully called this "Atlantis" and regards it as possibly a development of the culture of that fabled island in the Atlantic. Whatever its origin, there grew up on the West Coast of Africa a peculiarly African state. How far back its development extends, no man knows. We have a fairly authentic history from the seventeenth century on, creditable but discontinuous reports in the sixteenth and fifteenth, and before that only customs, tradition, and legend.

49-1-87

On a coast protected from inland by mountain, forest, and desert, and on the west by the ocean, there grew up an agricultural culture centering in the village. On this was developed in time, industry and art. Industry discovered division of labor between cities; each town had its own peculiar industry and then traded its surplus with the other towns. The towns were united in a loose confederacy with councils and chiefs.

Six hundred years before Christ, Phoenicians traded on the West Coast of Africa and a century later the Carthaginians. From prehistoric times this coast was peopled by the black West African type of Negro. The center of their culture lay above the Bight of Benin, along the slave coast, and reached east and north. It can be traced in stone monuments, architecture, works of art, and especially patterns of culture.

The fabrication of cloth and tools was widespread and leisurely, as befitted a tropical sun. For there was here the fierce fight with the mosquito, just as in the Congo, and east there was the duel with the tsetse fly; and this battle with malaria, sleeping-sickness, and a dozen enemies of man was as much a part of the struggle for life and happiness as any of man's activities. Despite this, not only the making of cloth, the fashioning of garments, and the welding of iron reached a high developement but there grew up also art, primitive but of exceptional power, which has influenced the modern world and deserves to be called one of the three or four original art forms of this earth. Agriculture and fishing, manufacturing and pottery, the welding and processing of metal, the development of painting and art, characterize this Negro culture.

In Ashanti weaving was done with simple tools, calling for great skill, and resulted in cloth artistically beautiful. There was wood-carving, divided into many separate branches; carvers made fetishes and drums and figures which were individual and original. "Regarded in the light of certain modern aesthetic tendencies, they possess an individuality and peculiar merit which astonish many people who see them

49-1-88

for the first time. Love and appreciation of what is artistic and beautiful are attributes which cannot be said to be the prerogative of all of us. In Ashanti, however, such traits seem to be possessed by what we should call 'the uneducated masses.' There is hardly any object capable of artistic treatment which is not made the medium for some ornamental design which gives aesthetic delight to the African's mind and eye; such as stools, spoons, combs, wooden plates, calabashes, doors, sticks, staves of office, canoes, wari boards, knives, mortars, drums, ivory tusks, pots, pipes, weights and scales, metal work of every description, walls of temples and dwellings, and textiles of every kind. Even the tools and appliances used to obtain these effects, the forge itself, the shuttle, the mesher used for making nets, are ornamental, being decorated with artistic effects, which, however crude, are never vulgar and inartistic."

The true West African showed great skill in plastic art; he carved ivory and wood, and the bronzes of Benin are among the most noteworthy remains of artistic effort in the world. When the state was seized by the British in 1897, they found carved elephant tusks, bronzes cast by the cire-perdue process, including the well-known bronze head of a Negress, now in the British Museum, a masterpiece of art.

A bronze head was discovered by Frobenius in Nigeria in 1910-1912. In this remarkable figure we have what is perhaps the finest known example of African achievement in the realm of the plastic arts. In the words of its discoverer, "the setting of the lips, the shape of the ears, the contour of the face, all prove, if separately examined, the peffection of a work of true art which the whole of it obviously is.... It is cast in what we call the 'cire perdue', or the hollow cast, and is very finely chased, indeed like the best Roman examples."

Considerations growing out of the study of this and terra-cotta specimens, supplemented by many other findings reported by previous investigators, led Frobenius to the daring conclusion that this art belongs to the old order of Central African civilization whose beginnings go back perhaps to the second millennium before Christ.

49-1-89

He was also of the opinion that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the assumption that there were important links between this ancient culture and some of those famous and widely heralded civilizations which flourished along the banks of the Nile and in the Mediterranean Basin in the Classical and pre-Classical Ages.

The oldest art is that of pottery, of which there are endless remains in West Africa. Traces of pottery-making go back certainly five hundred years and possibly a thousand years on the West Coast. It is done chiefly by women and is a hereditary craft handed down from mother to daughter.

IRON

It may well be that the West Coast Negroes first gave to civilization the art of welding iron which spread over all Africa and then eventually into Europe and Asia. It is of course possible that iron welding was discovered on other continents independently of Africa, but no continent had so wide a use of iron in earliest times.

49-1-90

According to Boas: "It seems likely that at times when the European was still satisfied with rude stone tools, the African had invented or adopted the art of smelting iron. Consider for a moment what this invention has meant for the advance of the human race. As long as the hammer, knife, drill, the spade, and the hoe had to be chipped out of stone, or had to be made of shell or hard wood, effective industrial work was not impossible, but difficult. A great progress was made when copper found in large nuggets was hammered out into tools and later on shaped by melting; and when bronze was introduced; but the true advancement of industrial life did not begin until the hard iron was discovered. It seems not unlikely that the people who made the marvelous discovery of reducing iron ores by smelting were the African Negroes. Neither ancient Europe, nor ancient western Asia, nor ancient China knew iron, and everything points to its introduction from Africa. At the time of the great African discoveries toward the end of the past century, blacksmiths were found all over Africa from north to south and from east to west. With his simple bellows and a charcoal fire he reduced

the ore that is found in many parts of the continent and forged implements of great usefulness and beauty."

Torday has argued: "I feel convinced by certain arguments that seem to prove to my satisfaction that we are indebted to the Negro for the very keystone of our modern civilization and that we owe him the discovery of iron." Togoland is perhaps the oldest and most famous iron-working area in Africa.

According to Reclus, "The smelting and working of iron, most useful of all metallurgic discoveries, has been attributed to the Negroes as well as to the Chalybes of Asia Minor; and the Bongos of the White Nile, as well as some other African tribes, have constructed furnaces of a very ingenious type. Their smelters and forgers are, for the most part, satisfied with rude and primitive implements, in the use of which they, however, display marvellous skill. The Fangs of the Ogowe basin produce excellent iron, whose quality is scarcely equalled by Europeans themselves. In most of the native tribes the smiths constitute a special caste, much respected and even dreaded for their reputed knowledge of the magic arts."

45 ART

Concerning West African art in general, Sir Michael Sadler said: "West Africa has made its own characteristic contribution to the artistic treasures of the world. " Sir William Rothenstein added: "I know nothing of the culture which produced these noble pieces, nor what influences, native or alien, inspired them. I know only that they are superb works of art, worthy to be set beside the best examples of sculpture of any period." According to J.J. Sweeney, the American critic: "As a sculptural tradition, African art has had no rival."

Professor Roger Fry, distinguished British art critic, said: "We have the habit of thinking that the power to create expressive plastic form is one of the greatest of human achievements, and the names of great sculptures are handed down from generation to generation, so that it seems unfair to be forced to admit that certain nameless

49-1-90
49-1-91

savages have possessed this power not only in a higher degree than we at this moment, but than we as a nation have ever possessed it. And yet that is where I find myself. I have to admit that some of these things are great sculpture, greater, I think, than anything we produced even in the Middle Ages. Certainly they have the special qualities of sculpture in a higher degree. They have indeed complete plastic freedom; that is to say, these African artists really conceive form in three dimensions. Now this is rare in sculpture."

In drum and strings African music reached a high degree of originality and perfection. The development of the drum language by intricate rhythms enabled the natives not only to lead in dance and ceremony, but to telegraph all over the continent with a swiftness and precision hardly rivaled by the electric telegraph. Von Hornbostel said of African music, particularly in Togo: "The African Negroes are uncommonly gifted for music, probably, on an average, more so than the white race. This is clear not only from the high development of African music, especially as regards polyphony and rhythm, but a very curious fact, unparalleled, perhaps, in history, makes it even more evident; namely, the fact that Negro slaves in America and their descendants, abandoning their original music style, have adapted themselves to that of their white masters and produced a new kind of folk music in that style. Presumably no other people would have accomplished this. In fact, the plantation songs and spirituals and also the blues and ragtimes which have launched or helped to launch our modern dance music, are the only remarkable kinds of music brought forth in America by immigrants."

49-1-92

Professor von Luschan considered the craftsmanship of Benin workers equal to the best that was ever produced by Cellini. Yet at the time they were creating, "in 1550, not a single peasant's house in Scandinavia had a window; and as late as 1773 Dr. Johnson and Boswell entered during their tour of the Hebrides, hovel which 'for a window had only a small hole, which was stopped with a piece of turf, that was taken

out occasionally to let in light.' In Berlin at the time of the Great Elector (1681), many houses in the capital had pigsties immediately below the front windows."

~~46~~ CLOTH

Frobenius wrote of West African cultures: "What these old captains recounted, these chiefs of expeditions -- Delbes, Marchais, Pigafetta, and all the others, what they recounted is true. It can be verified. In the old Royal Kunstkammer of Dresden, in the Weydemann collection of Ulm, in many another 'cabinet of curiosities' of Europe, we still find West African collections dating from this epoch. Marvellous plush velvets of an extreme softness, made of the tenderest leaves of a certain kind of banana plant; stuffs soft and supple, brilliant and delicate, like silks, woven with the fibre of a raffia, well prepared; powerful javelins with points encrusted with copper in the most elegant fashion; bows so graceful in form and so beautifully ornamented that they would do honor to any museum of arms whatsoever; calabashes decorated with the greatest taste; sculpture in ivory and wood of which the work shows a very great deal of application and style.

49-1-93

"And all that came from the countries of the African periphery, delivered over after that to slave merchants. . . .

"But when the pioneers of the last century pierced this zone of 'European civilization' and the wall of protection which had, for the time being raised behind it -- the wall of protection of the Negro still 'intact' -- they found everywhere the same marvels which the captains had found on the coast.

"In 1906 when I penetrated into the territory of Kassai-Sankuru, I found still, villages of which the principal streets were bordered on each side, for leagues with rows of palm trees, and of which the houses, decorated each one in charming fashion, were works of art as well.

"No man who did not carry sumptuous arms of iron ore of of copper, with inlaid blades and handles covered with serpent skin. Everywhere velvets and silken stuffs.

Each cup, each pipe, each spoon was an object of art perfectly worthy to be compared to the creations of the Roman European style. But all this was only the particularly tender and iridescent bloom which adorns a ripe and marvellous fruit; the gestures, the manners, the moral code of the entire people, from the little child to the old man, although they remained within absolutely natural limits, were imprinted with dignity and grace, in the families of the princes and the rich as in the vassals and slaves. I know of no northern people who can be compared with these primitives for unity of civilization. Alas these last 'Happy Isles'! They, also, were submerged by the tidal wave of European civilization. And the peaceful beauty was carried away by the floods.

"But many men had this experience: the explorers who life the savage and warrior plateau of the East and the South and the North to descend into the plains of the Congo, of Lake Victoria, of the Ubangi: men such as Speke and Grant, Livingstone, Cameron, Stanley, Schweinfurth, Junker, de Brazza -- all of them -- made the same statements: they came from countries dominated by the rigid laws of the African Ares, and from then on they penetrated into the countries where peace reigned, and joy in adornment and beauty; countries of old civilizations, of ancient styles, of harmonious styles."

49 - 1 - 94

47. RELIGION

All this industry in West Africa was developed around the Africans' ideas of religion: the worship of souls of trees and plants of animals; the use of the fetish; the belief in fairies and monsters. Along with this went training for medicine men and chiefs, and careful rules for birth, marriages, and funerals.

Of religion Frobenius said: "There is, among the deities possessed by all the other dark-skinned African nations combined, not one who can equal Shango, the West African Yoruban God of Thunder, in significance. This country's first royal ruler sprang, as its people believe, from his loins. His posterity still have the right to give the country its kings.

"Myth relates that Shango was born of the All-Mother, Yemaya. Powerful, warlike, and mighty, he was as great a God as was ever created in the minds of a nation striving for self-expression. He was the Hurler of Thunderbolts, Lord of the Strom; a God who burns down cities and rends trees. He is cruel and savage, yet splendid and beneficent.

"The floods which he pours give life to the soil and gladden the fields. Mankind fears him, yet loves him. Terrified by his wrath, they pray for his presence. They picture him riding a ram. They represent him with his hands full of thunderbolts, surrounded by his wives, the Lakes and the Rivers. He lives in a palace of brass, which is dazzlingly bright, and whenc lightning shoots forth. He has a mighty 'medicine' which he takes through his mouth, and fire comes out when he opens it."

The architecture of the West Coast was strikingly integrated with climate, physiography, and culture. The lovely buildings of Benin and Ashanti have been described. A traveler in 1835 described the palace of a chief in Togoland: "Glele's palace was enormous -- it had housed in its time more than two thousand people -- but the greater part is falling into ruins. . . . This palace is by far the largest and most elaborate piece of Negro architecture I have seen; it was with that of Great Benin I imagine the most important in West Africa."

49-1-95

In 1787 the Chevalier de Boufflers, writing to the Comtesse de Sabran, spoke of his enthusiastic admiration of the beauty and cleanness of the townships in the Senegal.

The climate and physical surroundings conditioned much of this human development. There was lacking here the stone and dry climate which made it easy to preserve records in the Nile valley. Material on the West Coast disappeared before the dampness and the hosts of insects. This made the art of memory recording, of tradition handed down, of unusual importance, and here it was developed to an astonishing extent. The population invented systems of writing of which at least two on the Guinea Coast and the Cameroons have come down to our day. There were probably others. Thus alphabets which were never invented in Europe came to the world through Asia and Africa.

The whole culture complex of the African West Coast is native and original. It is a picture of the development of human institutions unique in the history of mankind, and we can only lament that we know so little of it and have studied it so imperfectly. This body of culture grew up strong and self-contained upon the West Coast and met in time the sudden impact of two outer forces: Islam from the north and Christianity from the west.

"West Africans are still today in the period of integral collectivism, known to our ancestors before the Middle Ages, while we have arrived at individualism. The question which presents itself is to know whether indeed we have made definitive progress in this line, since many of our thinkers, of the so-called advance guard, demand, as a benefit, the return to collectivism, although of a somewhat different form. This proves that the peoples of Negro Africa have not marched at the same rate of speed as the peoples of Europe, but in nowise proves that the former are inferior to the latter. Who knows, indeed, whether the latter have not gone too fast?"

49-1-96

49. NOTABLE STATES

Among the groups which showed striking intellectual development were the Abron, whose state dates from the fifteenth century; the Akan people, including the Ashanti, whose known history goes back beyond 1600. In addition there were the Ewe, Yoruba, people of Benin, Dahomey, and Nubia. Benin was among the oldest of the states and has a legendary history going back to A.D. 880 or perhaps earlier. It was a carefully organized state with a remarkable native culture. It was with Benin that the Portuguese made contact in the fifteenth century and traded in slaves and other produce. The people of Yoruba, with a notable culture, moved westward as the kingdoms of the Sudan began to expand, and attacked Dahomey.

Dahomey has a known history that dates from before the sixteenth century; it had a well-organized state with farmers and artisans, but they became middlemen in the slave trade. In the nineteenth century they made a treaty with the French, but finally war broke out and the country became a French protectorate.

The Ashanti played a notable part in West Africa. They conquered the Fanti people and fought six wars with England between 1803 and 1874; they were finally subdued in 1894. Their king, Osai Tutu Quamina, was a man of intelligence and character who would have made advantageous contact between whites and Negroes if he had been treated fairly. But the English during these days were wavering between two ideas: between the suppression of the slave trade to America and emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, and the newer idea of reducing West Africa to colonial status. For a time they hesitated, even setting up the Negro state of Sierra Leone to be ruled by free slaves, and co-operating with the similar American experiment in Liberia. Finally, however, when the clear meaning of colonial imperialism began to be understood, they turned to definite conquest. The Fanti people who had helped the English conquer the Ashanti attempted to organize their relation to England by a federation, but the constitution that they adopted was regarded as treasonable and those who drafted it were put in jail, although afterward released by the Home Secretary.

49-1-97

50 ~~40.~~ CHANGES IN WEST AFRICA

The whole European situation was changing in the late nineteenth century. The Franco-Prussian war had been fought, Germany was a great power, and England was consolidating a wide colonial empire. The native culture on the West Coast underwent various consecutive changes. The powerful states of earlier days had been pressed back by the developments in the Sudan and even in the Nile valley. They found prosperity and encouragement in the new trade to the West, which developed and degenerated into man-hunting; most of the black kingdoms on the coast became intermediaries. The slaves and prisoners captured during the internal wars became no longer incidents of these wars, but the wars became deliberate efforts to gather slaves for trade and export.

The character of culture on the slave coasts slowly changed; an element of cruelty crept into states like Benin and Dahomey, although other states, like that

of the Yoruba, seem to have resisted to some extent. But the ancient culture of the Atlantic coast was ruined by the trade in slaves, by the importation of gin, and by the European trade; European goods drove out native art and artistic industry.

Of all this West African cultural development our knowledge is fragmentary and incomplete, jumbled up with the African slave trade. There has been no systematic, general study of the history of humanity on this coast. Nearly all has disappeared in the frantic effort to paint Negroes as apes fit only for slavery and then to forget the whole discreditable episode, wipe it out of history, and emphasize the glory and philanthropy of Europe. The invaluable art treasure which Britain stole from Benin has never been properly classified or exhibited, but lies in the British Museum.

Yet on the West Coast was perhaps the greatest attempt in human history before the twentieth century to build a culture based on peace and beauty, to establish a communism of industry and of distribution of goods and services according to human need. It was crucified by greed, and its very memory blasphemed by the modern historical method.

49-1-98

There can be no doubt but that the level of culture among the masses of Negroes in West Africa in the fifteenth century was higher than that of northern Europe, by any standard of measurement -- homes, clothes, artistic creation and appreciation, political organization and religious consistency. "Throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, West Africa had a more solid politico-social organization, attained a greater degree of internal cohesion and was more conscious of the social function of science than Europe." What stopped and degraded this development? The slave trade; that modern change from regarding wealth as being for the benefit of human beings, to that of regarding human beings as wealth. This utter reversal of attitude which marked the day of a new barter in human flesh did not die with the slave, but persists and dominates the thought of Europe today and during the fatal era when Europe by force ruled mankind.

198

5' 50. THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1900

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when I was but ten years out of college, I visited the Paris Exposition of 1900. It was one of the finest, perhaps the very finest, of world expositions, and it typified what the European world wanted to think of itself and its future. Wealth and Science were the outstanding matters of emphasis: there was the new and splendid Pont Alexandre crossing the Seine, named for the Czar of Russia; there was an amazing exhibit of Russian industry at Jaroslav; and I had brought with me, as excuse for coming, a little display showing the development of Negroes in the United States, which gained a Grand Prize. All about me was an extraordinary display of wealth, luxury, and industrial technique, striking evidence of a Europe triumphant over the world and the center of science and art, power and human freedom.

It was easy to see what the great countries of Europe thought of themselves: France stood pre-eminently for art, for taste in building, technique, and pure expression; Germany stood for science and government; England for wealth and power with a high level of comfort; and America for freedom of human initiative.

There was even in this French exposition a certain dominance of the British Empire idea. The British paper promise-to-pay was actually worth more to the traveler than gold. British industry was unrivaled in efficient technique. British investments were the safest; and Great Britain was the widest and most successful administrator of colonies. Every kind of tribute was paid to her; she was the acknowledged leader in such various things as men's cloth and clothing, public manners, the rate of public expenditure -- and all this showed in the deference a British subject could demand everywhere throughout the world.

Then came five crashing events in quick succession. First, in 1905, at Saint Petersburg, the shooting down in cold blood of Russian workingmen in the first organized attempt of the twentieth century to achieve relief; and by that murderous volley the Czar killed the faith of working Russia in the Little White Father. He revealed that Russian industry was paying 50 per cent and more in profits to Germans and other investors, while the workers starved. The Czar himself thus sowed the seeds of revolution.

66-1-99

Second, in 1911 a German warship sailed into Agadir, North Africa, and demanded in the name of the Emperor that the German Reich be consulted concerning the future of Morocco. I remember how the incident startled London. I was there at the time, attending the First Races Congress.

THE RACES CONGRESS

It is a meeting now forgotten, but it might have been of world significance. Its advice might have changed the course of history had not World War I followed so fast. Meeting at the University of London was probably the largest representation of the groups of the world known as races and subraces; they were consulting together under the leadership of science and ethics for a future world which would be peaceful, without race prejudice; and which would be cooperative, especially in the social sciences. Among the speakers were world leaders -- Giuseppe Sergi, Franz Boas, John A. Hobson, Felix Adler, Sir Sidney Olivier, and Wu Ting-fang. A hymn to the peoples was read:

So sit we all as one
So, gloomed in tall and stone-swathed groves,
The Buddha walks with Christ!
And Al-Koran and Bible both be holy!

Almighty Word!
In this Thine awful sanctuary,
First and flame-haunted City of the Widened World,
Assoil us, Lord of Lands and Seas!

We are but weak and wayward men,
Distraught alike with hatred and vainglory;
Prone to despise the Soul that breathes within --
High-visioned hordes that lie and steal and kill,
Sinning the sin each separate heart disclaims,
Clambering upon our riven, writhing selves,
Besieging Heaven by trampling men to Hell!

We be blood-guilty! Lo, our hands be red!
Let no man blame the other in this sin!
But here - here in the white Silence of the Dawn,
Before the Womb of Time,
With bowed hearts all flame and shame,
We face the birth-pangs of a world:
We hear the stifled cry of Nations all but born --
The wail of women ravished of their stunted brood!
We see the nakedness of Toil, the poverty of Wealth,
We know the Anarchy of Empire, and doleful Death of Life!
And hearing, seeing, knowing all, we cry:

Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!

49-1-100

There were a few startling incidents. I remember with what puzzled attention we heard Felix Von Luschan, the great anthropologist of the University of Berlin, annihilate the thesis of race inferiority and then in the same breath end his paper with these words: "Nations will come and go, but racial and national antagonism will remain; and this is well, for mankind would become like a herd of sheep if we were to lose our national ambition and cease to look with pride and delight, not only on our industries and science, but also on our splendid soldiers and our glorious ironclads. Let small-minded people whine about the horrid cost of dreadnoughts; as long as every nation in Europe spends, year after year, much more money on wine, beer, and brandy than on her army and navy, there is no reason to dread our impoverishment by militarism. Si vis pacem, para bellum; and in reality there is no doubt that we shall be the better able to avoid war, the better we care for our armor. A nation is free only in so far as her own internal affairs are concerned. She has to respect the right of other nations as well as to defend her own, and her vital interests she will, if necessary, defend with blood and iron."

49-1-101

We were aghast. Did German science defend war? We were hardly reassured when in printing this speech the editor appended the following note: "To prevent the last few paragraphs from being misinterpreted, Professor von Luschan authorizes us to state that he regards the desire for a war between Germany and England as 'insane or dastardly.'

But it was in vain. In 1914 came World War I; in 1929 came the depression; in 1939 came World War II. The cost of these wars and crises in property and human life is almost beyond belief; the cost in the destruction of youth and of faith in the world and mankind is incalculable. Why did these things happen?

53 52. GERMANY AND WILHELM II

We may begin with the fact that in 1888 there came to the throne of Germany a young, vigorous German emperor of British descent. Wilhelm II had utter faith in the future of Germany. As a student I used to see him often on the Unter den Linden.

Time and again we students swung to the curb, and through the central arch of the Brandenburg Gate came the tossing of plumes and the prancing of horses, and splendid with shining armor and blare of trumpet there rode Wilhelm, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia and German Emperor.

Back of Wilhelm's faith in Germany lay deep envy of the power of Britain. In his soul strove unceasingly the ambition of Bismarck of Prussia and the aristocratic imperialism of his mother, a daughter of Queen Victoria. The French-British Entente Cordiale of the new century was faced by a German demand for "a place in the sun," a right to extract from colonial and semicolonial areas a share of the wealth which was going to Britain. When Germany invaded Belgium, and with that invasion brought war with England, it must be remembered that by that same token Germany was invading the Belgian Congo and laying claim to the ownership of Central Africa.

54 58. WORLD WAR I

World War I then was a war over spheres of influence in Asia and colonies in Africa, and in that war, curiously enough, both Asia and Africa were called upon to support Europe. Senegalese troops, for example, saved France and Europe from the first armed German onslaught. They were the shock troops brought to be slaughtered in thousands by the climate and cannon of Europe. The man who brought the African troops to the succor of France was Blaise Diagne. He was a tall, thin Negro, nervous with energy, more patriotic in his devotion to France than many of the French. He was deputy from Senegal in the French Parliament and had been selected as the man to whom the chiefs of French West Africa would render implicit obedience. Raised to cabinet rank, he was made the official representative of the French in West Africa. The white governor who found himself subordinated to this Negro resigned in disgust, but Diagne went down the West Coast in triumph and sent a hundred thousand black soldiers to France at this critical time.

One must not forget that incident on the fields of Flanders which has been so quickly forgotten. Against the banked artillery of the magnificent German Army were sent untrained and poorly armed Senegalese. They marched at command in unwavering

49-1-102

ranks, raising the war cry in a dozen different Sudanese tongues. When the artillery belched they shivered, but never faltered. They marched straight into death; the war cries became fainter and fainter and dropped into silence as not a single black man was left living on that field.

I was in Paris just after the armistice in 1918, and it was to Diagne that I went to ask for the privilege of calling a Pan-African Congress in Paris during the Versailles Peace Conference.

The idea of one Africa to unite the thought and ideals of all native peoples of the dark continent belongs to the twentieth century and stems naturally from the West Indies and the United States. Here various groups of Africans, quite separate in origin, became so united in experience and so exposed to the impact of new cultures that they began to think of Africa as one idea and one land. Thus late in the eighteenth century when a separate Negro Church was formed in Philadelphia it called itself "African"; and there were various "African" societies in many parts of the United States.

49-1-103

PAN-AFRICA

It was not however, until 1900 that a black West Indian barrister, practicing in London, called together a Pan-African Conference. This meeting attracted attention, put the word "Pan-African" in the dictionaries for the first time, and has some thirty delegates, mainly from England and the West Indies, with a few colored North Americans. The conference was welcomed by the Lord Bishop of London and a promise was obtained from Queen Victoria, through Joseph Chamberlain, not to "overlook the interests and welfare of the native races."

This meeting had no deep roots in Africa itself, and the movement and the idea died for a generation. Then came World War I, and among North American Negroes at its close there was determined agitation for the rights of Negroes throughout the world, and particularly in Africa. Meetings were held and a petition was sent to President Wilson. By indirection I secured passage on the Creel press boat, the

Orizaba, and landed in France in December 1918. I went with the idea of calling a Pan-African Congress, and to try to impress upon the members of the Peace Conference sitting at Versailles the importance of Africa in the future world. I was without credentials or influence. I tried to get a conference with President Wilson but got only as far as Colonel House, who was sympathetic, but noncommittal. The Chicago Tribune of January 19, 1919, in a dispatch from Paris dated December 30, 1918, said:

"An Ethiopian Utopia, to be fashioned out of the German colonies, is the latest dream of leaders of the Negro race who are here at the invitation of the United States government as part of the extensive entourage of the American peace delegation. ...

"The Negro leaders are not agreed upon any definite plan, but Dr. DuBois has mapped out a scheme which he has presented in the form of a memorandum to President Wilson. It is quite Utopian, and it has less than a Chinaman's chance of getting anywhere in the Peace Conference, but it is nevertheless interesting. As "self-determination" is one of the words to conjure with in Paris nowadays, the Negro leaders are seeking to have it applied, if possible, in a measure to their race in Africa.

"Dr. DuBois sets forth that while the principle of self-determination cannot be applied to uncivilized peoples, yet the educated blacks should have some voice in the disposition of the German colonies. He maintains that in settling what is to be done with the German colonies the Peace Conference might consider the wishes of the intelligent Negroes in the colonies themselves, the Negroes of the United States, and South Africa, and the West Indies, the Negro governments of Abyssinia, Liberia, and Haiti, the educated Negroes in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa and in British Uganda, Nigeria, Basutoland, Swaziland, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia, and Bechuanaland, and in the Union of South Africa.

49-1-104

Dr. DuBois' dream is that the Peace Conference could form an internationalized Africa, to have as its basis the former German colonies, with their 1,000,000 square miles and 12,500,000 population.

"To this," his plan reads, "could be added by negotiation the 800,000 square miles and 9,000,000 inhabitants of Portuguese Africa. It is not impossible that Belgium could be persuaded to add to such a state the 900,000 square miles and 9,000,000 natives of the Congo, making an international Africa with over 2,500,000 square miles of land and over 20,000,000 people.

"This Africa for the Africans could be under the guidance of international organization. The governing international commission should represent not simply governments, but modern culture, science, commerce, social reform, and religious philanthropy. It must represent not simply the white world, but the civilized Negro world.

"We can, if we will, inaugurate on the dark continent a last great crusade for humanity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant."

55. FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Members of the American delegation and associated experts assured me that no congress on this matter could be held in Paris because France was still under martial law; but the ace that I had up my sleeve was Blaise Diagne, the black deputy from Senegal and Commissaire-Général in charge of recruiting native African troops. I went to Diagne and sold him the idea of a Pan-African Congress. He consulted Clemenceau, and the matter was held up two wet, discouraging months. Finally we received permission to hold the Congress in Paris. "Don't advertise it," said Clemenceau, "but go ahead." Walter Lippmann wrote me in his crabbed hand, February 20, 1919: "I am very much interested in your organization of the Pan-African conference, and glad that Clemenceau has made it possible. Will you send me whatever reports you may have on the work?"

49-1-105

American newspaper correspondents wrote home: "Officials here are puzzled by the news from Paris that plans are going forward there for a Pan-African conference. Acting Secretary Polk said today the State Department had been officially advised by the French government that no such conference would be held. It was announced recently that no passports would be issued for American delegates desiring to attend the meeting." But at the very time that Polk was assuring American Negroes that no Congress would be held, the Congress actually assembled in Paris.

This Congress represented Africa partially. Of the fifty-seven delegates from fifteen countries, nine were African countries with twelve delegates. Of the remaining delegates, sixteen were from the United States, and twenty-one from the West Indies. Most of these delegates did not come to France for this meeting but happened to be residing there, mainly for reasons connected with the war. America and the colonial powers had refused to issue special visas.

The Congress influenced the Peace Conference. The New York Evening Globe of February 22, 1919, described it as "the first assembly of the kind in history, and has for its object the drafting of an appeal to the Peace Conference to give the Negro race of Africa a chance to develop unhindered by other races. Seated at long green tables in the council room today, were Negroes in the trim uniform of American Army officers, other American colored men in frock coats or business suits, polished French Negroes who hold public office, Senegalese who sit in the French Chamber of Deputies. . . ."

The Congress specifically asked that the German colonies be turned over to an international organization instead of being handled by the various colonial powers. Out of this idea came the Mandates Commission.

The resolutions of the Congress asked in part:

A. That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to the proposed international code for labor.

49-1-106

B. That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social, and economic welfare of the natives.

C. The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:

1. The land: the land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

2. Capital: the investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives.

3. Labor: slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labor except in punishment for crime; and the general conditions of labor shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

4. Education: it shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

5. The State: the natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government, according to ancient usage, and this

49-1-107

> participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of State; to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans. . . .Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the notice of the civilized World.

The New York Herald of February 24, 1919, said: "There is nothing unreasonable in the program drafted at the Pan-African Congress which was held in Paris last week. It calls upon the Allied and Associated Powers to draw up an international code of law for the protection of the nations of Africa, and to create, as a section of the League of Nations, a permanent bureau to insure observance of such laws and thus further the racial, political, and economic interests of the natives."

We were, of course, but weak and ineffective amateurs chipping at a hard conglomeration of problems about to explode in chaos. At least we were groping for light.

Not only Africa but Asia took active part in World War I on the side of the Allies. India saw for the first time a prospect of autonomy within the British Empire. Japan wanted to be recognized as the equal of white European nations, and the Chinese Republic started on its new path to modern civilization. Peace dawned, and the war came to be known as "the War to End War." But in vain, for this war had not ended the idea of European world domination. Rather it had loosened the seams of imperialism.

In Africa, Negro troops had conquered German colonies, and now British West Africa demanded a share in government. In the very midst of war came labor revolt in Russia, which Europe and North America tried to repress, but they did not succeed.

49-1-108

The First Pan-African Congress stirred the Africans. Especially the intelligentsia of West Africa began to organize and state their demands. They did not want to appear as a part of the Pan-African Congress or even as following up what it had done. Nevertheless, their inspiration came from the meeting. A national congress of British West Africa met in 1920 and made a statement of democratic aims which deserves wider knowledge than it had has. I quote parts of the statement:

MEMORANDUM of the case of the National Congress of British West Africa for a Memorial based upon the Resolutions to be presented to His Majesty the King Emperor in Council through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 1920.

"In presenting the case for the franchise for the different colonies composing British West Africa, namely, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, it is important to remember that each of these colonies is at present governed under the Crown Colony System. By that is meant that the power of selecting members for the legislative councils is in the Governor of each colony and not dependable upon the will of the people through an elective system.

"For a long time in the history of each of these colonies the anomaly of the nomination of members of the legislative council by the Governors and not by the people electing their own representatives has struck the inhabitants of each community, and now and again representations have been made with a view to remedying the disability... Before the rise of the Conference it resolved itself into the National Congress of British West Africa as a permanent official body for the purpose of representing constitutionally British West African need, political and otherwise. At each of the sessions an opportunity was given for the full discussion of the particular subjects under consideration, and upon the same being fully debated, resolutions arising out of the discussions were passes...

"The first submission with respect to this particular resolution is that in the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils

49-1-109

and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions, every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of of the heads of the several families. Similarly, in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns, and so with the Provincial Council until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief.

"Again, according to the African System no Headman, Chief, or Paramount Ruler has any inherent right to exercise jurisdiction unless he is duly elected by the people to so represent them. This, coupled with the facts in the preceding paragraph stated, makes the African system essentially a democratic one, and the appointment to political office depends entirely upon the election and the will of the people.

From the foregoing it is obvious that a system by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whm he thinks proper to represent the people is considered by them as a great anomaly and constitutes a grievance and a disability which they now request should be remedied. Hence the constitutional agitation in the past, as in the present, for a change in the constitution of British West Africa so as to enable the people in the future to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Councils of the different colonies...

"...Legislation to be effectual, must be with the Chiefs in a representative legislative assembly. Any important measure affecting the people must be passed with the consent and the direct co-operation of the Chiefs themselves.

If the policy of the Government had been based upon this principle there would be no need today for this work. What the country requires most urgently today is a National Assembly wherein all sections of the community will be adequately represented. That is the fundamental element of progress, the reform at which all right-thinking men must directly aim."...

Britain after delay yielded to this demand in characteristic fashion: it gave

49-1-110

Negroes partial elective representation in the governor, who retained large power of legislation. British industry sat directly on the Council and in England continued to name West African governors and dictate colonial policies.

57 BETWEEN WARS

In the interval between World War I and World War II, India's determined opposition to British rule increased under the leadership of Gandhi, who sought to substitute peaceful non-co-operation for war. The answer was the massacre of Amritsar. In America organized industry rose in its might to realize fantastic profits through domination of world industry. It fought labor unions and tried to nullify democracy by the power of wealth and capital. In the very midst of this, the magnificent structure of capitalistic industry collapsed in every part of the world. Make no mistake, war did not cause the Great Depression; it was the reasons behind the depression that caused war and will cause it again.

The world tried to meet depression and unemployment and to compose differences between capital and labor. Faced by the threat of Russian Communism, Italy, which with Spain was the most poverty-stricken country in Western Europe, seized control of the nation and of industry with the object of ruling it through an oligarchy, eliminating all democratic control. This was the answer of capitalists to the growing and threatening political power of the workers. Hitler followed, opposing the Socialist state of Weimar, with its unemployment and political chaos, with a new state and a new nationalism. The industrial leaders surrendered their power into his hands; the army followed suit; unemployment disappeared, and Hitler diverted the

49-1-111

nation with visions of vengeance to be achieved through a new state ruled by German supermen. Simultaneously, Japan, having been rebuffed by England and America in her plea for racial equality before the League of Nations, saw an opportunity in this new order to displace Europe in the control of Asia.

Then came rumblings of World War II. The Axis wooed first England and France and then Russia. Britain made every offer of appeasement. Ethiopia was thrown to the dogs of a new Italian imperialism in Africa. Everything was offered to Hitler but the balance of power in Europe and the surrender of colonies. America, hesitating, was ready to fight for private industry against Nazism and to defend Anglo-American investment in colonies and quasi-colonial areas.

Hitler would not be appeased. So war began. Hell broke loose. Six million Jews were murdered in Germany through a propaganda which tied the small shopkeepers back of Hitler and placed unreasoning race prejudice back of war. France feared to trust colonial Africa. De Gaulle and the black Governor Eboué, with co-operation from England and France, could have established a new black France in Africa and shortened the war; but France yielded to Germany. England resisted doggedly. Russia yielded and joined hands with Germany, but not for long.

The real battle then began; the battle of the Nazi-Fascist oligarchy against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Germany determined first to crush Russia and then with Russian resources to destroy the British Empire. Japan aroused Asia, and by attacking America thus furnished the one reason, based on race prejudice, which brought America immediately into the war. India protested, China starved and struggled, the horrible world war with uncounted cost in property, life, and youth came to an end, and with it came the discovery of the use of atomic energy.

It was significant that the man who invented the phrase "White Man's Burden" and who was its most persistent propagandist, also wrote its epitaph:

[redacted]

We are face to face with the greatest tragedy that has ever overtaken the world. The collapse of Europe is to us the more astounding because of the boundless faith which we have had in European civilization. We have long believed without argument or reflection that the cultural status of the people of Europe and of North America represented not only the best civilization which the world had ever known, but also a goal of human effort destined to go on from triumph to triumph until the perfect accomplishment was reached. Our present nervous breakdown, nameless fear, and often despair, comes from the sudden facing of this faith with calamity.

In such a case, what we need above all is calm appraisal of the situation, the application of cold common sense. What in reality is the nature of the catastrophe? To what pattern of human culture does it apply? And, finally, why did it happen? In this search for reasons we must seek not simply current facts or facts within the memory of living men, but we must also, and especially in this case, seek lessons from history. It is perhaps the greatest indictment that can be brought against history as a science and against its teachers that we are usually indisposed to refer to history for the settlement of pressing problems. We realize that history is too often what we want it to be and what we are determined men shall believe rather than a grim record of what has taken place in the past.

Manifestly the present plight of the world is a direct outgrowth of the past, and I have made bold to add to the many books on the subject of our present problems because I believe that certain suppressions in the historical record current in our day will lead to a tragic failure in assessing causes. More particularly, I believe that the habit, long fostered, of forgetting and detracting from the thought and acts of the people of Africa, is not only a direct cause of our present plight, but will continue to cause trouble until we face the facts. I shall try not to exaggerate this thread of African history in the world development, but I shall insist equally that it be not ignored.

449-1-113

113

Few people realize what Africa and her children have done to win the World Wars. In the first, the Senegalese saved France at the first onslaught of the Germans; black soldiers of Africa conquered the German colonies; American Negroes rushed the critical supplies to Europe which turned the tide of victory.

In World War II thousands of Africans fought in Europe, Burma, India, and Africa; they formed a large part of Montgomery's Eighth Army in the decisive North African campaign; an American Negro physician contrived the banks of blood plasma which saved tens of thousands of lives; Negroes built thousands of miles of strategic road under direct enemy fire; Negroes handled three-fourths of the ammunition in the European Theatre of Operations and fired much of it. Negro fighting troops took part in the invasion of Normandy, in the invasion of Italy, and as flught squadrons and hospital corps. In American eight Negro scientists were engaged in the research on the atomic bomb.

49-1-114

pp. 16-43

68 ~~57~~. COLLAPSE OF EUROPE

114

What are the real causes back of the collapse of Europe in the twentieth century? What was the real European imperialism pictured in the Paris Exposition of 1900? France did not stand purely for art. There was much imitation, convention, suppression, and sale of genius; and France wanted wealth and power at any price. Germany did not stand solely for science. I remember when the German professor at whose home I was staying in 1890 expressed his contempt for the rising businessmen. He had heard them conversing as he drank in a Bierstube at Eisenach beneath the shade of Luther's Wartburg. Their conversation, he sneered, was lauter Geschäft! He did not realize that a new Germany was rising which wanted German science for one main purpose -- wealth and power. America wanted freedom, but freedom to get rich by any method short of anarchy; and freedom to get rid of the democracy which allowed laborers to dictate to managers and investors.

All these centers of civilization envied England the wealth and power built upon her imperial colonial system. One looking at European imperialism in 1900 therefore should have looked first at the depressed peoples. One would have found them also among the laboring classes in Europe and America, living in slums behind a façade of democracy, nourished on a false education which lauded the triumphs of the industrial undertaker, made the millionaire the hero of modern life, and taught youth that success was wealth. The slums of England emphasized class differences; slum dwellers and British aristocracy spoke different tongues, had different manners and ideals. The goal of human life was illustrated in the nineteenth-century English novel: the aristocrat of independent income surrounded by a herd of obsequious and carefully trained servants. Even today the British butler is a personage in the literary world.

49-1-115

Out of this emerged the doctrine of the Superior Race: the theory that a minority of the people of Europe are by birth and natural gift the rulers of mankind; rulers of their own suppressed labor classes and, without doubt, heaven-sent rulers of yellow, brown, and black people.

This way of thinking gave rise to many paradoxes, and it was characteristic of the era that men did not face paradoxes with any plan to solve them. There was the religious paradox: the contradiction between the Golden Rule and the use of force to keep human beings in their appointed places; the doctrine of the White Man's Burden and the conversion of the heathen, the assumption of the absolute necessity of poverty for the majority of men in order to save civilization for the minority, for that aristocracy of mankind which was at the same time the chief beneficiary of culture.

59 Democracy Fails

There was the frustration of democracy: lip service was paid to the idea of the rule of the people; but at the same time the mass of people were kept so poor, and through their poverty so diseased and ignorant, that they could not carry on successfully a modern state or modern industry. There was the paradox of peace: I remember before World War I stopping in at the Hotel Astor to hear Andrew Carnegie tlak to his peace society. War had begun between Italy and Turkey, but, said Mr. Carnegie blandly, we are not talking about peace among unimportant people; we are talking about peace among the great states of the world. I walked out. Here I knew lay tragedy, and the events proved it; for the great states went to war in jealousy over the ownership of the little people.

60 Peace Movement

The paradox of the peace movement of the nineteenth century is a baffling comment on European civilization. There was not a single year during the nineteenth century when the world was not at war. Chiefly, but not entirely, these wars were waged to subjugate colonial peoples. They were carried on by Europeans, and at least one hundred and fifty separate wars can be counted during the heyday of the

49-1-116

peace movement. What the peace movement really meant was peace in Europe and between Europeans, while for the conquest of the world and because of the suspicion which they held toward each other, every nation maintained a standing army which steadily grew in cost and menace.

One of the chief causes which thus distorted the development of Europe was the African slave trade, and we have tried to rewrite its history and meaning and to make it occupy a much less important place in the world's history than it deserves.

The result of the African slave trade and slavery on the European mind and culture was to degrade the position of labor and the respect for humanity as such. Not, God knows, that the ancient world honored labor. With exceptions here and there, it despised, enslaved, and crucified human toil. But there were counter currents, and with the Renaissance in Europe -- that new light with which Asia and Africa illumined the Dark Ages of Europe -- came new hope for mankind. A new religion of personal sacrifice had been building on five hundred years of the self-effacement of Buddha before the birth of Christ, and the equalitarianism of Mohammed which followed six hundred years after Christ's birth. A new world, seeking birth in Europe, was also being discovered beyond the sunset.

With this new world came fatally the African slave trade and Negro slavery in the Americas. There were new cruelties, new hatreds of human beings, and new degradations of human labor. The temptation to degrade human labor was made vaster and deeper by the incredible accumulation of wealth based on slave labor, by the boundless growth of greed, and by world-wide organization for new agricultural crops, new techniques in industry, and world-wide trade.

Just as Europe lurched forward to a new realization of beauty, a new freedom of thought and religious belief, a new demand by laborers to choose their work and enjoy its fruit, uncurbed greed rose to seize and monopolize the uncounted treasure of the fruit of labor. Labor was degraded, humanity was despised, the theory of "race" arose.

There came a new doctrine of universal labor: mankind were of two sorts -- the superior and the inferior; the inferior toiled for the superior; and the superior were the real men, the inferior half men or less. Among the white lords of creation there were "lower classes" resembling the inferior darker folk. Where possible they were to be raised to equality with the master class. But no equality was possible or desirable for "darkies." In line with this conviction, the Christian Church, Catholic and Protestant, at first damned the heathen blacks with the "curse of Canaan," then held out hope of freedom through "conversion," and finally acquiesced in a permanent status of human slavery.

Despite the fact that the nineteenth century saw an upsurge in the power of laboring classes and a fight toward economic equality and political democracy, this movement and battle was made fiercer and less successful and lagged far behind the accumulation of wealth, because in popular opinion labor was fundamentally degrading and the just burden of inferior peoples. Luxury and plenty for the few and poverty for the many was looked upon as inevitable in the course of nature. In addition to this, it went without saying that the white people of Europe had a right to live upon the labor and property of the colored peoples of the world.

49-1-118

E2. The Word "Negro"

In order to establish the righteousness of this point of view, science and religion, government and industry, were wheeled into line. The word "Negro" was used for the first time in the world's history to tie color to race and blackness to slavery and degradation. The white race was pictured as "pure" and superior; the black race as dirty, stupid, and inevitably inferior; the yellow race as sharing, in deception and cowardice, much of this color inferiority; while mixture of races was considered the prime cause of degradation and failure in civilization. Everything great, everything fine, everything really successful in human culture, was white.

In order to prove this, even black people in India and Africa were labeled as "white" if they showed any trace of progress; and, on the other hand, any progress by colored people was attributed to some intermixture, ancient or modern, of white blood or some influence of white civilization.

This logical contradiction influenced and misled science. The same person declared that mulattoes were inferior and warned against miscegenation, and yet attributed the pre-eminence of a Dumas, a Frederick Douglass, a Booker Washington, to their white blood.

63 History is Distorted

A system at first conscious and then unconscious of lying about history and distorting it to the disadvantage of the Negroids became so widespread that the history of Africa ceased to be taught, the color of Memnon was forgotten, and every effort was made in archaeology, history, and biography, in biology, and sociology, to prove the all but universal assumption that the color line had a scientific basis.

Without the winking of an eye, printing, gunpowder, the smelting of iron, the beginnings of social organization, not to mention political life and democracy, were attributed exclusively to the white race and to Nordic Europe. Religion sighed with relief when it could base its denial of the ethics of Christ and the brotherhood of men upon the science of Darwin, Gobineau, and Reisner.

It was bad enough in all conscience to have the consequences of this thought, these scientific conclusions and ethical sanctions, fall upon colored people the world over; but in the end it was even worse when one considers what this attitude did to the European worker. His aim and ideal was distorted. He did not wish to become efficient but rich. He began to want not comfort for all men, but power over other men for himself. He did not love humanity and he hated "niggers." When our High Commissioner after the Spanish War appealed to America on behalf of "our little brown brother," the white workers replied,

"He may be a brother of William H. Taft,
But he ain't no brother of mine."

Following the early Christian communism and sense of human brotherhood which began to grow in the Dark Ages and to blossom in the Renaissance there came to white workers in England, France, and Germany, the iron law of wages, the population

49-1-119

doctrines of Malthus, and the bitter fight against the early trade unions. The first efforts at education, and particularly the trend toward political democracy, aroused an antagonism of which the French Revolution did not dream. It was this bitter fight that exacerbated the class struggle and resulted in the first furious expression of Communism and the attempt at revolution. The unity of apprentice and master, the Christian sympathy between rich and poor, the communism of medieval charity, all were thrust into the new strait jacket of thought: poverty was the result of sloth and crime; wealth was the reward of virtue and work. The degraded yellow and black peoples were in the places which the world of necessity assigned to the inferior; and toward these lower ranks the working classes of all countries tended to sink save as they were raised and supported by the rich, the investors, the captains of industry.

In some parts of the world, notably in the Southern states of America, the argument went further than this: frank slavery of black folk was a better economic system than factory exploitation of whites. It was the natural arrangement of industry. It ought to be extended, certainly where colored people were in the majority. For half a century before 1861, the bolder minds of the South dreamed of a slave empire embracing the American tropics and extending eventually around the world. White their thought did not go to a final appraisement of white laboring classes, they certainly had in mind that these classes must rise or fall; must be forced into the class of employers with political power, or, like the poor whites of the South, be pushed down beside or even below the working slaves.

This philosophy had sympathizers in Europe. Without doubt, a large majority of influential public opinion in England, and possibly in both France and Germany, favored the South at the outbreak of the Civil War and sternly set its face against allowing any maudlin sympathy with "darkies," half monkeys and half men, in the stern fight for the extension of European domination of the world. Widespread insensibility to cruelty and suffering spread in the white world, and to guard against

too much emotional sympathy with the distressed, every effort was made to keep women and children and the more sensitive men deceived as to what was going on, not only in the slums of white countries, but also all over Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea. Elaborate writing, disguised as interpretation, and the testimony of so-called "experts," made it impossible for charming people in Europe to realize what their comforts and luxuries cost in sweat, blood, death, and despair, not only in the remoter parts of the world, but even on their own doorsteps.

63. A gracious Culture

A gracious culture was built up; a delicately poised literature treated the little intellectual problems of the rich and well-born, discussed small matters of manners and convention, and omitted the weightier ones of law, mercy, justice, and truth. Even the evidence of the eyes and senses was denied by the mere weight of reiteration. The race that produced the ugly features of a Darwin or a Winston Churchill was always "beautiful," while a Toussaint and a Menelik were ugly because they were black.

The concept of the European "gentleman" was evolved: a man well bred and of meticulous grooming, of knightly sportsmanship and invincible courage even in the face of death; but one who did not hesitate to use machine guns against assagais and to cheat "niggers"; an ideal of sportsmanship which reflected the Golden Rule and yet contradicted it -- not only in business and in industry within white countries, but all over Asia and Africa -- by indulging in lying, murder, theft, rape, deception, and degradation, of the same sort and kind which has left the world aghast at the accounts of what the Nazis did in Poland and Russia.

There was no Nazi atrocity -- concentration camps, wholesale maiming and murder, defilement of women or ghastly blasphemy or childhood -- which the Christian civilization of Europe had not long been practicing against colored folk in all parts of the world in the name of and for the defense of a Superior Race born to rule the world.

68 The Superior Race

Together with the idea of a Superior Race there grew up in Europe and America an astonishing ideal of wealth and luxury: the man of "independent" income who did not have to "work for a living," who could indulge his whims and fantasies, who was free from all compulsion either of ethics or hunger, became the hero of novels, of drama and of fairy tale. This wealth was built, in Africa especially, upon diamonds and gold, copper and tin, ivory and mahogany, palm oil and cocoa, seeds extracted and grown, beaten out of the blood-stained bodies of the natives, transported to Europe, processed by wage slaves who were not receiving, and as Ricardo assured them they could never receive, enough to become educated and healthy human beings, and then distributed among prostitutes and gamblers as well as among well-bred followers of art, literature, and drama.

Cities were built, ugly and horrible, with regions for the culture of crime, disease, and suffering, but characterized in popular myth and blindness by wide and beautiful avenues where the rich and fortunate lived, laughed, and drank tea. National heroes were created by lopping off their sins and canonizing their virtues, so that Gladstone had no connection with slavery, Chinese Gordon did not get drunk, William Pitt was a great patriot and not an international thief. Education was so arranged that the young learned not necessarily the truth, but that aspect and interpretation of the truth which the rulers of the world wished them to know and follow.

In other words, we had progress by poverty in the face of accumulating wealth, and that poverty was not simply the poverty of the slaves of Africa and the peons of Asia, but the poverty of the mass of workers in England, France, Germany, and the United States. Art, in building, painting, and literature, became cynical and decadent. Literature became realistic and therefore pessimistic. Religion became organized in social clubs where well-bred people met in luxurious churches and gave alms to the poor. On Sunday they listened to sermons -- "Blessed are the meek"; "Do unto others even as you would that others do unto you"; "If thine enemy smite thee, turn the other cheek"; "It is more blessed to give than to receive" -- listened

49-1-122

and acted as though they had read, as in very truth they ought to have read -- "Might is right"; Do others before they do you"; "Kill your enemies or be killed"; "Make profits by any methods and at any cost so long as you can escape the lenient law." This is a fair picture of the decadence of that Europe which led human civilization during the nineteenth century and looked unmoved on the writhing of Asia and of Africa.

67 Sex

Nothing has been more puzzling than the European attitude toward sex. With professed reverence for female chastity, white folk have brought paid prostitution to its highest development; their lauding of motherhood has accompanied a lessening of births through late marriage and contraception, and this has stopped the growth of population in France and threatened it in all Europe. Indeed, along with the present rate of divorce, the future of the whole white race is problematical. Finally, the treatment of colored women by white men has been a world-wide disgrace. American planters, including some of the highest personages in the nation, left broods of colored children who were sometimes sold into slavery.

49-1-123

It would be unfair to paint the total modern picture of Europe as decadent. There have been souls that revolted and voices that cried aloud. Men arraigned poverty, ignorance, and disease as unnecessary. The public school and the ballot fought for uplift and freedom. Suffrage for women and laborers and freedom for the Negro were extended. But this forward-looking vision had but partial and limited success. Race tyranny, aristocratic pretense, monopolized wealth, still continued to prevail and triumphed widely. The Church fled uptown to escape the poor and black. Jesus laughed -- and wept.

The dawn of the twentieth century found white Europe master of the world and the white peoples almost universally recognized as the rulers for whose benefit the rest of the world existed. Never before in the history of civilization had self-worship of a people's accomplishment attained the heights that the worship of white Europe by Europeans reached.

~~201~~ 123 ~~+++~~ 123

68. Europe

Our poets in the "Foremost Ranks of Time," became dithyrambic: "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay!" In home and school the legend grew of this strong, masterful giant with mighty intellect, clear brain, and unrivaled moral stamina, who was conducting the world to the last heights of human culture. Yet within less than half a century this magnificent self-worshiping structure had crashed to the earth.

Why was this? It was from no lack of power. The power of white Europe and North America was unquestionable. Their science dominated the scientific thought of the world. The only writing called literature was that of English and French writers, of Germans and Italians, with some recognition of writers in Spain and the United States. The Christian religion, as represented by the Catholic Church and the leading Protestant denominations, was the only system of belief recognized as real religion. Mohammedans, Buddhists, Shintoists, and others were all considered heathen.

49-1-124

The most tremendous expression of power was economic; the powerful industrial organization and integration of modern industry in management and work, in trade and manufacture, was concentrated in England, France, Germany, and the United States. All Asia and Eastern Europe was an appendage; all Africa, China, India, and the islands of the sea, Central and South America and the Caribbean area were dominated by Europe, while Scandinavia, Holland, and Belgium were silent copartners in this domination.

The domination showed itself in its final form in political power either through direct rulership, as in the case of colonies, or indirect economic power backed by military pressure exercised over the backward nations. It was rather definitely assumed in the latter part of the nineteenth century that this economic domination was but a passing phase which in time would lead to colonial absorption.

Particularly was this true with regard to Asia. India was already a part of the British Empire, and Burma. Indonesia was Dutch and Indo-China, French. The

future of China depended upon how Europe would divide the land among the British Empire and the Germans, American trade, Italy, France, and Russia. It was a matter simply of time and agreement. General consent had long since decided that China should no longer rule itself.

With regard to the South American countries there was the determination that they must obey the economic rule of the European and North American system. The world looked forward to political and economic domination by Europe and North America and to a more or less complete approach to colonial status for the rest of the earth. Africa of course must remain in absolute thrall, save its white immigrants, who would rule the blacks. 69 Mulatto Problem

The reason for this world mastery by Europe was rationalized as the natural and inborn superiority of white peoples, showing itself not only in the loftiest of religions, but in a technical mastery of the forces of nature -- all this in contrast to the low mentality and natural immorality of the darker races living in lovely lands, "Where every prospect pleases, and only Man is vile!" -- as the high-minded Christians sang piously. But they forgot or never were told just how white superiority wielded its power or accomplished this dominion. There were exceptions, of course, but for the most part they went unheard. Howitt, for instance, wrote from personal knowledge as well as research on the colonial question and described some phases of the pressure of Europe on the rest of the world in the centuries preceding the nineteenth. Speaking of the Indians of America, Howitt said: "All the murders and desolation of the most pitiless tyrants that ever diverted themselves with the pangs and convulsions of their fellow creatures, fall infinitely short of the bloody enormities committed by the Spanish nation in the conquest of the New World, a conquest on a low estimate, effected by the murder of ten millions of the species! After reading these accounts, who can help forming an indignant wish that the hand of Heaven, by some miraculous interposition, had swept these European tyrants from the face of the earth, who like so many beasts of prey, roamed round the world only to desolate and destroy; and more

49-1-125

remorseless than the fiercest savage, thirsted for human blood without having the impulse of natural appetite to plead in their defence!"

Howitt then turned to England in India: "Unfortunately, we all know what human nature is. Unfortunately, the power, the wealth, and the patronage brought home to them by the very violation of their own wishes and maxims were of such an overwhelming and seducing nature that it was in vain to resist them. Nay, in such colours does the modern philosophy of conquest and diplomacy disguise the worst transactions between one state and another, that it is not for plain men very readily to penetrate to the naked enormity beneath."

"But if there ever was one system more Machiavelian -- more appropriative of the shew of justice where the basest injustice was attempted -- more cold, cruel, haughty, and unrelenting than another -- it is the system by which the government of the different states of India has been wrested from the hands of their respective princes and collected into the grasp of the British power."

49-1-126

We may turn now to the conquest of Africa. The Portuguese, Dutch, and British decimated the West Coast with the slave trade. The Arabs depopulated the East Coast. For centuries the native Bantu, unable to penetrate the close-knit city-states of the Gulf of Guinea, had slowly been moving south, seeking pasture for their herds and protecting their culture from the encroachment of the empire-building in the black Sudan.

In the nineteenth century black folk and white -- Hottentot, Bushman and Bantu, French, Dutch, and British -- met at the Cape miscalled "Good Hope." There ensued a devil's dance seldom paralleled in human history. The Dutch murdered, raped, and enslaved the Hottentots and Bushmen; the French were driven away or died out; the British stole the land of the Dutch and their slaves and the Dutch fled inland. The incoming Bantu, led by Chaka, the great Zulu chieftain, fell on both Dutch and English with a military genius unique in history.

The black Bantu had almost won the wars when a mulatto native discovered diamonds. Then English and Dutch laid bare that cache of gold, the largest in the world, which the ocean thrust above the dark waters of the south five million years ago. Enough; the greed of white Europe, backed by the British Navy, fought with frenzied determination, world-wide organization, and every trick of trade, until the blacks were either dead or reduced to the most degrading wage bondage in the modern world; and the Dutch became vassals of England, to be repaid by the land and labor of eight million blacks.

Frankel, the complacent servant of capitalists and their defender, has written: "The wealth accruing from the production of diamonds in South Africa has probably been greater than that which has ever been obtained from any other commodity in the same time anywhere in the world."

This was but a side enterprise of Britain. By means of its long leadership in the African slave trade to America, Great Britain in the nineteenth century began to seize control of land and labor all over Africa. Slowly the British pushed into the West and East coasts. They overthrew Benin and Ashanti. A British governor of Ashanti later admitted: "The earliest beginnings, which had their inception in the dark days of the slave trade, cannot but hold many things that modern Englishmen must recall with minled shame and horror. The reader will find much to deplore in the public and private acts of many of the white men who, in their time, made history on the Coast; and some deeds were done which must forever remain among the most bitter and humiliating memories of every Britisher who loves his country and is jealous of its fair name."

The French conquered Dahomey and the remains of the Mandingo, Haussa, and other kingdoms. The British pitted Christianity against Islam in East Africa and let them fight it out until at last Uganda became a British protectorate.

In Abyssinia the natives drove back British, Egyptians, and Italians, and the Mahdi with his black Mohammedan hordes came in from the west and drove England and Egypt out of the Sudan. The threat of the French and their possible alliance with Abyssinia brought the British back with machine guns.

It is said that Kitchener's warfare against the followers of the Mahdi was so brutal that even the British Tories were revolted. His own brother-in-law said of him: "Well, if you do not bring down a curse on the British Empire for what you have been doing there is no truth in Christianity." His desecration of the Mahdi's tomb even Winston Churchill called a "foul deed." And when Kitchener found that even the promoters of the inexcusable war could not swallow this last, he tried to put the blame of the desecration onto Gordon's nephew by making absolutely false accusations. Everywhere is this sordid tale of deception, force, murder, and final subjection. We need hardly recall the Opium War in China, which the British, followed by the Americans and French, made excuse for further aggression.

The singular thing about this European movement of aggression and dominance was the rationalization for it. Missionary effort during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was widespread. Millions of pounds and dollars went into the "conversion of the heathen" to Christianity and the education of the natives. Some few efforts, as in Liberia and Sierra Leone, were made early in the nineteenth century to establish independent Negro countries, but this was before it was realized that political domination was necessary to full exploitation.

Slowly the Sudan from the Atlantic to the Nile was conquered. Slowly Egypt itself and the Egyptian Sudan passed under the control of Europe. The resistance of Nubia and Ethiopia was almost in vain down into the twentieth century. West Africa fought brilliantly and continuously. But in all this development the idea persisted in European minds that no matter what the cost in cruelty, lying, and blood, the triumph of Europe was to the glory of God and the untrammeled power of

the only people on earth who deserved to rule; that the right and justice of their rule was proved by their own success and particularly by their great cities, their enormous technical mastery over the power of nature, their gigantic manufacture of goods and systems of transportation over the world. Production for production's sake, without inquiry as to how the wealth and services were distributed, was the watchword of the day.

For years the British imperial government avoided direct responsibility for colonial exploitation. It was all at first "free enterprise" and "individual initiative." When the sandal of murder and loot could no longer be ignored, exploitation became socialized with imperialism. Thus, for a century or more the West India Company, the Niger Company, the South and East Africa Companies, robbed and murdered as they pleased with no public accounting. At length, when these companies had stolen, killed, and cheated to such an extent that the facts could not be suppressed, governments themselves came into control, curbing the more outrageous excesses and rationalizing the whole system.

49-1-129

Science was called to help. Students of Africa, especially since the ivory-sugar-cotton-Negro complex of the nineteenth century, became hag-ridden by the obsession that nothing civilized is Negroid and every evidence of high culture in Africa must be white or at least yellow. The very vocabulary of civilization expressed this idea; the Spanish word "Negro," from being a descriptive adjective, was raised to the substantive name of a race and then deprived of its capital letter.

Then came efforts to bring harmony and co-operation and unity -- among the exploiters. A newspaper correspondent who had received world-wide publicity because of his travels in Africa was hired by the shrewd and unscrupulous Leopold II of Belgium to establish an international country in central Africa "to peacefully conquer and subdue it, to remold it in harmony with modern ideas into National States, within whose limits the European merchant shall go hand in hand with the dark African

trader, and justice and law and order shall prevail, and murder and lawlessness and the cruel barter of slaves shall be overcome."

Thus arose the Congo Free State, and by balancing the secret designs of German, French, and British against each other, this state became the worst center of African exploitation and started the partition of Africa among European powers. It was designed to form a pattern for similar partition of Asia and the South Sea Islands. The Berlin Congress and Conference followed. The products of Africa began to be shared and distributed around the world. The dependence of civilized life upon products from the ends of the world tied the everyday citizen more and more firmly to the exploitation of each colonial area: tea and coffee, diamonds and gold, ivory and copper, vegetable oils, nuts and dates, pepper and spices, olives and cocoa, rubber, hemp, silk, fibers of all sorts, rare metals, valuable lumber, fruit, sugar. All these things and a hundred others became necessary to modern life, and modern life thus was built around colonial ownership and exploitation.

The cost of this exploitation was enormous. The colonial system caused ten times more deaths than actual war. In the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century famines in India starved a million men, and famine was bound up with exploitation. Widespread monopoly of land to deprive all men of primary sources of support was carried out either through direct ownership or indirect mortgage and exorbitant interest. Disease could not be checked: tuberculosis in the mines of South Africa, syphilis in all colonial regions, cholera, leprosy, malaria.

7478 Dorothy Quilting

One of the worst things that happened was the complete and deliberate breaking-down of cultural patterns among the suppressed peoples. "Europe was staggered at the Leopoldian atrocities, and they were terrible indeed; but what we, who were behind the scenes, felt most keenly was the fact that the real catastrophe in the Congo was desolation and murder in the larger sense. The invasion of family life, the ruthless destruction of every social barrier, the shattering of every tribal law, the intro-

49-1-130

duction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror -- in a word, a veritable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes."

The moral humiliation forced on proud black people was illustrated in the British conquest of Ashanti. The reigning Asantahene had never been conquered. His armies had repeatedly driven back the British, but the British finally triumphed after five wars by breaking their word and overwhelming him by numbers and superior weapons. They promised him peace and honor, but they demanded a public act of submission.

"The scene was a most striking one. The heavy masses of foliage, that solid square of red coats and glistening bayonets, the artillery drawn up ready for any emergency, the black bodies of the Native Levies, resting on their long guns in the background, while inside the square the Ashantis sat as if turned to stone, as Mother and Son, whose word was a matter of life and death, and whose slightest move constituted a command which all obeyed, were thus forced to humble themselves in sight of the assembled thousands."

49-1-131

Perhaps the worst thing about the colonial system was the contradiction which arose and had to arise in Europe with regard to the whole situation. Extreme poverty in colonies was a main cause of wealth and luxury in Europe. The results of this poverty were disease, ignorance, and crime. Yet these had to be represented as natural characteristics of backward peoples. Education for colonial people must inevitably mean unrest and revolt; education, therefore, had to be limited and used to inculcate obedience and servility lest the whole colonial system be overthrown.

Ability, self-assertion, resentment, among colonial peoples must be represented as irrational efforts of "agitators" -- folk trying to attain that for which they were not by nature fitted. To prove the unfitness of most human beings for self-rule and self-expression, every device of science was used: evolution was made to prove that Negroes and Asiatics were less developed human beings than whites; history was so written as to make all civilization the development of white people; economics

was so taught as to make all wealth due mainly to the technical accomplishment of white folks supplemented only by the brute toil of colored peoples; brain weights and intelligence tests were used and distorted to prove the superiority of white folk. The result was complete domination of the world by Europe and North America and a culmination and tempo of civilization singularly satisfactory to the majority of writers and thinkers at the beginning of the twentieth century. But it was a result that was hollow, contradictory, and fatal, as the next few years quickly showed.

The proof of this came first from the colonial peoples themselves. Almost unnoticed, certainly unlistened to, there came from the colonial world reiterated protest, prayers, and appeals against the suppression of human beings, against the exclusion of the majority of mankind from the vaunted progress of the world. The world knows of such protests from the National Congress of India, but little has been written of the protests of Africa. For instance, on the Gold Coast, British West Africa, in 1871, some of the kings and chiefs and a number of educated natives met at Mankesim and drew up a constitution for self-government.

75 FANTI FEDERATION

This was the co-called Fanti Federation, and in punishment for daring to propose such a movement for the government of an African British colony, the participants were promptly thrown in jail and charged with treason.

49-1-132

This attitude toward native rights and initiative has continued right down to our day. In 1945 the colored people of South Africa, speaking for eight million Negroes, Indians, and mixed groups, sent out this declaration to the proposed United Nations:

The non-European is debarred from education. He is denied access to the professions and skilled trades; he is denied the right to buy land and property; he is denied the right to trade or to serve in the army -- except as a stretcher-bearer or servant; he is prohibited from entering places of entertainment and culture. But still more, he is not allowed to live in the towns. And if it was a crime in Nazi Germany for an "Aryan" to mix with or marry a non-Aryan, it is equally a criminal offence in South Africa for a member of the Herrenvolk to mix with or marry with the slave race

....

. . . . In the majority of instances there is a separate law for Europeans and a separate law for non-Europeans; in those rare cases where one Act legislates for both, there are separate clauses discriminating against the non-Europeans. While it is true that there are no Buchenwald concentration camps in South Africa, it is equally true that the prisons of South Africa are full to overflowing with non-Europeans whose criminality lies solely in the fact that they are unable to pay the poll-tax, a special, racial tax imposed upon them. But this law does not apply to the Aryan; for him there is a different law which makes the nonpayment of taxes not a criminal, but a civil, offence for which he cannot be imprisoned.

76 Morals of Europe

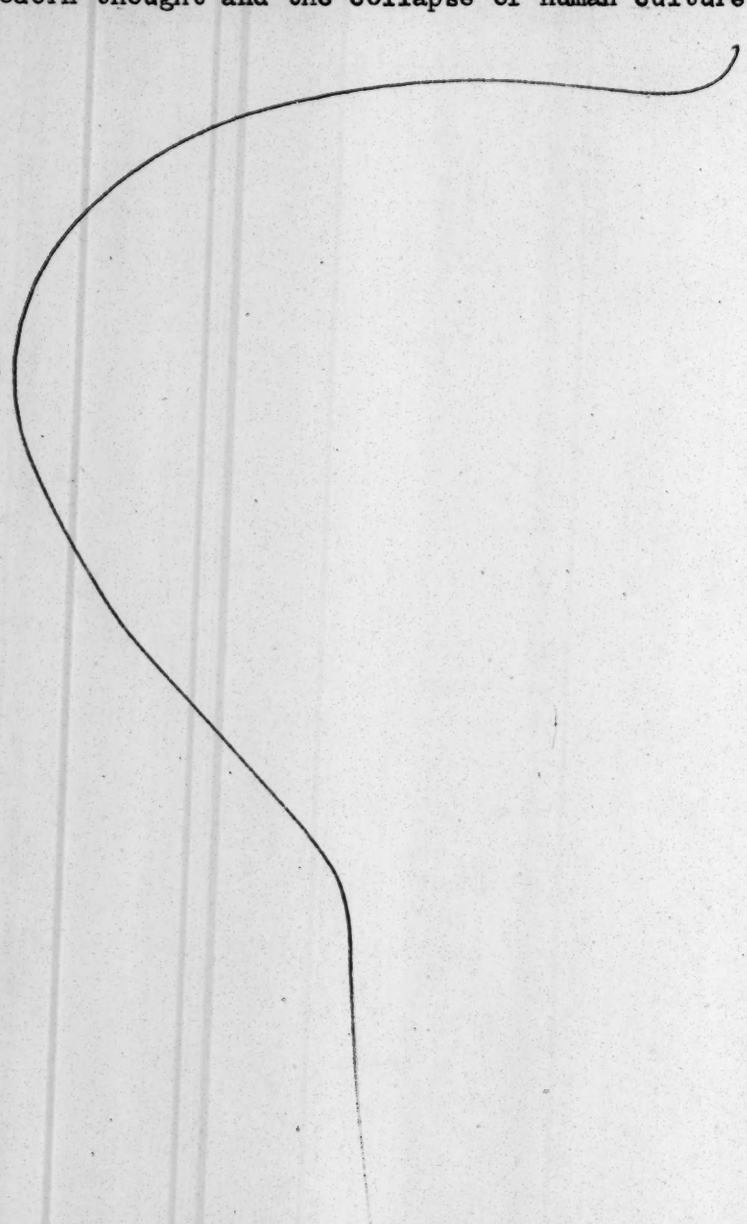
This does not say that all European civilization is oppression, theft, and hypocrisy; there has been evidence of selfless religious faith; of philanthropic effort for social uplift; of individual honesty and sacrifice. But this, far from answering the indictment I have made, shows even more clearly the moral plight of present European culture and what capitalistic investment and imperialism have done to it.

Because of the stretch in time and space between the deed and the result, between the work and the product, it is not only usually impossible for the worker to know the consumer; or the investor, the source of his profit, but also it is often made impossible by law to inquire into the facts. Moral judgment of the industrial process is therefore difficult, and the crime is more often a matter of ignorance rather than of deliberate murder and theft; but ignorance is a colossal crime in itself. When a culture consents to any economic result, no matter how monstrous its cause, rather than demand the facts concerning work, wages, and the conditions of life whose results make the life of the consumer comfortable, pleasant, and even luxurious, it is an indication of a collapsing civilization.

49-1-132

49-1-133

In 1945 Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, who had once declared that every white man in South Africa believes in the suppression of the Negro except those who are "mad, quite mad," stood before the assembled peoples of the world and pleaded for an article on "human rights" in the United Nations Charter. Nothing so vividly illustrates the twisted contradiction of thought in the minds of white men. What brought it about? What caused this paradox? I believe that the trade in human beings between Africa and America, which flourished between the Renaissance and the American Civil War, is the prime and effective cause of the contradictions in European civilization and the illogic in modern thought and the collapse of human culture.



49-1-134

~~pp. 226 - 260~~

In Greek mythology Andromeda was the black daughter of Cepheus, King of Ethiopa and of Cassiopeia,

> That starr'd Ethiop Queen that strove
> To set her beauty's praise
> Above the sea nymphs and their powers offended.

It is said that Poseidon, angry at this black woman's affront to the Nereids, threatened to flood the land and send a sea monster. The Egyptian oracle of Ammon foretold that only the sacrifice of Andromeda to the monster could stay destruction. Thus Andromeda was chained and exposed on a headland facing the sea; Perseus, forefather of the Asiatic Persians of Iran, returning from the slaying of Gorgon, freed Andromeda and married her. After her death she reigned among the stars, her arms extended and chained, together with Cassiopeia and Perseus; and anyone may see them shining upon a beautiful night.

It might be asked what hs this or any fairy tale to do with a world stricken, starving, and half-insane; or with the relations of Africa to Europe and America? Very little perhaps; and yet we must remember that this folk tale was part of the culture complex of the Mediterranean area where there was no color bar and no name for race; and where, at least in theory, the world was a fight between civilization and barbarism. Perhaps then in some way this legend may guide us in the present and the future. What in truth is going to be the future of black folk? Are they going to die out gradually, with only traces ot their blood to remind the world of their former existence? Are they going to be permanently segregated from the world in Africa or elsewhere, leaving the white world free of its fear and repulsion? Or in some slow or fast intermingling of peoples will all colors of mankind merge into some indistinguishable unity? None of these solutions seems practicable or imminent for many a long day. And, after all, none would really solve the basic problem of the relations of peoples; for even if extremes of human differences vanish, there will always remain differences, and around them the problems of human living-together.

49-1-135

Facing then the present problem, may we not frankly ask: Does the world need Africa? What has Africa to offer Europe, Asia, and America? Does Africa need the world? Certainly in the past the world has needed and used the Negro race: in Egypt and Ethiopia, and even in Asia; in the first building of the Christian Church and in the encouragement and transmission of thought and science from the East to the West that is known as the Renaissance; and especially in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the Negro race has been the foundation upon which the capitalist system has been reared, the Industrial Revolution carried through, and imperial colonialism established. AFRICA AMERICA

If we confine ourselves to America we cannot forget that America was built on Africa. From being a mere stopping place between Europe and Asia or a chance treasure house of gold, America became through African labor the center of the sugar empire and the cotton kingdom and an integral part of that world industry and trade which caused the Industrial Revolution and the reign of capitalism.

Through the nineteenth century America, on the strength of its black labor as well as white, grew in wealth and importance. It became the greatest experiment in modern democracy, seeking to embrace eventually not simply the white but the black worker. Today not only is the Negro an important part of the world of labor and art in all the Americas, but beyond this the trade of America is built in large degree upon the products raised by Africans and their children the world over.

But beyond America and in the main states of the modern world the cold economic fact is that Africa, its labor and products, are of prime importance. Of the typical products of Africa, cotton, one of the oldest there, is still valuable, and cotton cloth was exported from Africa long before it was woven in England. Sisal, hemp, and other fiber plants and flax are indigenous to Africa. The vast demand for vegetable oil has resulted in the oil industry, especially in West Africa. Palm oil is used for margarine, soap, lubrication, "olive oil," and for other industrial purposes. Thus the oil palm of West Africa is a valuable product and supplies palm kernels which are

49-1-136

exported from the whole West Coast. The ground nut and cocoa-nut also produce oils. The cocoanut palm is found all over the continent north of the Tropic of Capricorn and also south of the date-palm line.

The shea-nut tree grows where the oil palm does not, and its fat is used for food, soap-making, and butter. The cocoa industry of West Africa now supplies two-thirds of the cocoa of the world. Kola nuts are also exported. In the Mediterranean area practically all grains cultivated in Europe can be grown. Coffee is native to Africa and is named after the province of Kaffa, Abyssinia. It grows also in Liberia. The greater part of tropical Africa produces some kind of rubber. Nearly all the cloves are gotten from Zanzibar and Pemba. Fruits are grown and exported from nearly every part of Africa, from the bananas andmangoes in the tropics to the wine grapes of the north and south. The date palm flourishes throughout North Africa. Large areas of the continent are suitable for cattle and sheep raising, although flies and diseases keep them out of other districts.

Gold is widely distributed in Africa and has been worked from prehistoric ages on the West Coast, the Nubian desert, Central and South Africa. A third of the world's supply of gold in the world today is mined on the Witwatersrand. Diamonds are found in three districts of South Africa and in the Belgian Congo. They are of immense value. There are coal-bearing areas in South Africa. Iron has been worked from an early age, and on the Gold Coast, manganese is being developed.

There are four great copper-producing areas, principally in Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo, and also in the Northern Transvaal. Lead, graphite, and zinc are widely distributed. Phosphates occur in the North. Mineral oil has been discovered in Egypt near the Red Sea. Soda is largely an African product. Maize is cultivated in many regions. Tobacco is a crop of South Africa. Sugar is grown in Egypt, Mozambique, and Natal. And there is much valuable timber all over the continent.

49-1-157

Besides supplying these materials Africa is one of the largest reservoirs of human labor, not only of common labor, but of semi-skilled and increasing numbers of skilled laborers. For the most part these laborers are unorganized and without political power, and consequently they form the cheapest labor available, save in Asia.

On account of this wealth of labor and material, not only in the past but between the two world wars, capital has poured into Africa. In addition to primary sources of wealth -- mining, agriculture, timber -- industrialization has begun, and in the post-war period larger and larger investments of the accumulated profits of industry will seek new investments in this industrial paradise, where there are few laws to limit labor, even of women or children, and where profits are lightly taxed.

It has been argued with regard to this matter of profit in colonial regions that the profit has not been large and therefore is not the main object of colonial enterprise. This is especially the carefully worked out thesis of Lord Hailey's "African Survey." The survey follows an old pattern of British imperialism. A colonial official with the facts of the situation under his control writes a history of the condition and past of his region. It is usually done judiciously, and with much historical research, but it is, and in the nature of the case, has to be, a special plea for the defense of imperialism. And it omits consistently the point of view of the native and any body of fact which weighs against European aggression. Sometimes, as in Claridge's History of Ashanti, frank criticism of Great Britain creeps in; but for the most part, as in the works by Johnston, Lugard, and others the story is heavily weighted on the side of the imperialists.

It is of especial importance that the assertion of huge profits from cheap and half-slave labor and low price of materials should be answered. Consequently, Lord Hailey's co-workers point out that the "average" rate of profit from investment in Africa during the last century has amounted to little more than 4 per cent. Why is it, one asks on reading this, that profits are always reckoned as a percentage of some fixed sum while wages and salaries are counted in bulk?

It is, of course, as all men know, because the rate of income depends entirely upon the capital sum fixed as its base, and the fixing of the estimated amount of this capital sum is practically always in the hands and the control of the investors. Practically, then, the investors can fix their rate of profit at any sum simply by estimating at their own figure the amount of capital invested.

81 ~~cc~~. INVESTMENT

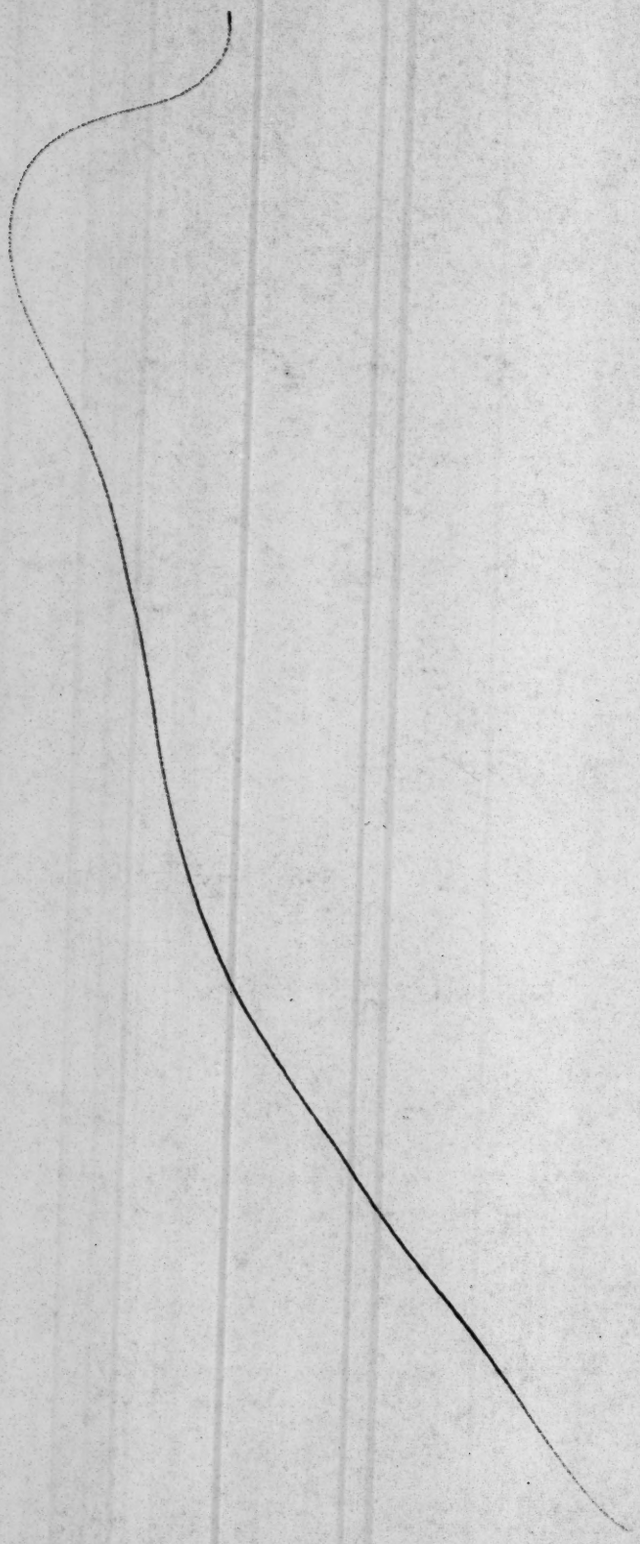
What is "investment" and how can we measure it? If ten dollars' worth of poisonous synthetic gin is exported to Africa, as it has been by the tens of thousands of gallons, and if there it buys labor and materials, which, when processed, are worth a hundred dollars, what is the value of the investment on which the rate of profit is based? If in the days of Cecil Rhodes lands stolen from the natives were mined with cheap half-slave labor and brought gold and diamonds worth a million dollars to London, at figure should this mine be "capitalized"? At the figure paid for its acquisition and cost of carrying on, or the figure the shares sold for in the stock market? In the great centers of capital investment, the legal right to determine the value of capital is today to some extent limited, but it was not limited in the wild gambling which accompanied the development of gold and diamond mining in South Africa, nor in the returns to trade in West Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. No matter, then, how vast a profit is made in Africa, and that it has been vast there cannot be the slightest doubt; it can be always made to look modest by watering the actual investment or putting a high estimate on good will. The only reason back of colonial imperialism is a rate of profit which the spread of democracy and trade unions has curtailed in Europe and North America.

The actual value of capital goods at the time of their investment in Africa, as compared with the realized value of the labor and material taken from Africa by investors and other claimants, legal and illegal, would if known, without shadow of doubt prove the enormous theft which Europe has perpetrated on peoples deliberately made helpless before greed and aggression. In the face of fact, statements like that of Lord Hailey as to the meager profits of African exploitation must be reinterpreted.

49--139

82. ~~81.~~ SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

~~In the first chapter~~ I have told of the Pan-African Congress which met in Paris after World War I. Similar efforts of Africans and peoples of African descent to unite in mutual exchange of culture and co-operation for social betterment have been made since the idea was established in 1919.



49 - 1 - 140

We went to work in 1921 to assemble a more authentic Pan-African Congress and movement. We corresponded with Negroes in all parts of Africa and in other parts of the world and finally arranged for a congress to meet in London, Brussels, and Paris in August and September. Of the one hundred and thirteen delegates to this Congress, forty-one were from Africa, thirty-five from the United States, twenty-four represented Negroes living in Europe, and seven were from the West Indies. They came for the most part, but not in all cases, as individuals and more seldom as the representatives of organizations or groups.

The Pan-African movement thus began to represent a growth and development; but it immediately ran into difficulties. First of all, there was the natural reaction to war and the determination on the part of certain elements in England, Belgium, and elsewhere, to recoup their war losses by intensified colonial exploitation. They were suspicious of native movements of any sort.

49-1-141

~~83~~ The Garvey Movement

Then, too, there came simultaneously another movement, stemming from the West Indies. This was a peoples' movement rather than a movement of the intellectuals. It was led by Marcus Garvey and it represented a poorly conceived but intensely earnest determination to unite the Negroes of the world, especially in commercial enterprise. It used all of the natinnalist and racial paraphernalia of popular agitation, and its strength lay in its backing by the masses of West Indians and by increasing numbers of American Negroes. Its weakness lay in its demagogic leadership, poor finance, intemperate propaganda, and the natural apprehension it aroused among the colonial powers.

The London meetings of the Congress of 1921 were preceded by a conference with the International Department of the English Labor party, where the question of the relation of white and colored labor was discussed. Beatrice Webb, Leonard Woolf, Mr. Gillies, Norman Leyes, and others were present. Otlet and La Fontaine, the Belgian leaders of internationalism, welcomed the Congress warmly to Belgium, but strong opposition was encountered. The movement was confounded by the press and others as a part of, if

not the real "Garvey Movement." The Brussels Neptune wrote June 14:

"(Announcement has been made ...of a Pan-African Congress organized at the instigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of New York. It is interesting to note that this association is directed by personages who it is said in the United States have received remuneration from Moscow (Bolsheviks). The association has already organized its propaganda in the lower Congo, and we must not be astonished if some day it causes grave difficulties in the Negro village of Kinshasa composed of all the ne'er-do-wells of the various tribes of the Colony aside from some hundreds of laborers."

84 The Second Pan African Congress in Brussels

Nevertheless, meetings of interest and enthusiasm were held. The Congress assembled in the marvelous Palais Mondial. There were many more white than colored people, and it was not long before we realized that their interest was deeper, more immediately significant than that of the white people we had found elsewhere. Many of Belgium's economic and material interests center in Africa in the Belgian Congo. Any interference with the natives might result in an interference with the sources from which so many Belgian capitalists draw their prosperity.

49-1-142

Resolutions passed without dissent at the meeting in London contained a statement concerning Belgium, criticizing her colonial regime, although giving her credit for plans of reform for the future. This aroused bitter opposition in Brussels, and an attempt was made to substitute an innocuous statement concerning good will and investigation, which Diagne of France, as the presiding officer, declared adopted in the face of a clear majority in opposition.

85 The Second Pan African Congress in Paris

At the Paris meeting the original London resolutions, with some minor corrections, were adopted. They were in part:

To the World: The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of

gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion, and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed, and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty; rather it fulfills it. And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified, that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic....

49-1-143

The beginning of wisdom in interracial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempts to prove that its practice is the secret and divine gift of the few, no habit is more natural or more widely spread among primitive people, or more easily capable of development among masses. Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, in Africa, America, and the isles of the sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance, but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

Surely in the twentieth century of the Prince of Peace, in the millennium of Mohammed, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning, and benevolence to develop native institutions, whose one aim is not profit and power for the few....

What then do those demand who see these evils of the color line and racial discrimination, and who believe in the divine right of suppressed and backward people to

learn and aspire and be free? The Negro race through their thinking intelligentsia demand:

I. The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race or color.

II. Local self-government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to complete self-governemnt under the limitation of a self-governed world.

III. Education in self-knowledge, in scientific truth, and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.

IV. Freedom in their own religion and social customs and with the right to be different and nonconformist.

V. Co-operation with the rest of the world in government, industry, and art on the bases of Justice, Freedom, and Peace.

VI. The return to Negroes of their land and its natural fruits and defense against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

VII. The establishment under the League of Nations of an international institution for study of the Negro problems.

VIII. The establishment of an international section of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labor. . . .

In some such words and thoughts as these we seek to express our will and ideal, and the end of our untiring effort. To our aid we call all men of the earth who love justice and mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world. Out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls. The answer is written in the stars.

The whole press of Europe took notice of these meetings and more especially of the ideas behind the meeting. Gradually they began to distinguish between the Pan-African Movement and the Garvey agitation. They praised and criticized. Sir Harry Johnston wrote: "This is the weakness of all the otherwise grand efforts

49-1-144

of the Coloured People in the United States to pass on their own elevation and education and political significance to the Coloured Peoples of Africa: they know so little about real Africa."

Even Punch gibed good-naturedly: " 'A PAN-AFRICAN MANIFESTO' 'NO ETERNALLY INFERIOR RACES' (headlines in The Times) No, but in the opinion of our coloured brothers, some infernally superior ones!"

The Second Pan-African Congress sent me with a committee to interview the officials of the League of Nations in Geneva. I talked with Rappard who headed the Mandates Commission; I saw the first meeting of the Assembly, and I had an interesting interview with Albert Thomas, head of the International Labor Office. Working with Bellegarde of Haiti, a member of the Assembly, we brought the status of Africa to the attention of the League. The League published our petition as an official document saying in part: 86, League of Nations

49-1-145

The Second Pan-African Congress wishes to suggest that the spirit of the world moves toward self-government as the ultimate aim of all men and nations and that consequently the madated areas, being peopled as they are so largely by black folk, have a right to ask that a man of Negro descent, properly fitted in character and training, be appointed a member of the Mandates Commission as soon as a vacany occurs.

The Second Pan-African Congress desires most earnestly and emphatically to ask the good offices and careful attention of the League of Nations to the condition of civilized persons of Negro descent throughout the world. Consciously and subconsciously there is in the world today a widespread and growing feeling that it is permissible to treat civilized men as uncivilized if they are colored and more especially of Negro descent. The result of this attitude and many consequent laws, customs, and conventions, is that a bitter feeling of resentment, personal insult and despair, is widespread in the world among those very persons whose rise is the hope of the Negro race.

We are fully aware that the League of Nations has little, if any, direct power to adjust these matters, but it has the vast moral power of public world opinion and

of a body conceived to promote Peace and Justice among men. For this reason we ask and urge that the League of Nations take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races and that it suggest to the Colonial Powers connected with the League of Nations to form an International Institute for the study of the Negro problem, and for the evolution and protection of the Negro race.

We sought to have these meetings result in a permanent organization. A secretariat was set up in Paris and functioned for a couple of years, but was not successful. The Third Pan-African Congress was called for 1923, but the Paris Secretary postponed it. We persevered and finally without proper notice or preparation met in London and Lisbon late in the year. The London session was small. It was addressed by Harold Laski and Lord Olivier and attended by H. G. Wells; Ramsay MacDonald was kept from attending only by the pending election, but wrote: "Anything I can do to advance the cause of your people on your recommendation, I shall always do gladly."

49-1-146

ET 2 Pan-African Congress in Lisbon

The meeting of an adjourned session of this Congress in Lisbon the same year was more successfu. Eleven countries were represented there, including Portuguese Africa. The Liga Africana was in charge. "The great association of Portuguese Negroes with headquarters at Lisbon, which is called the Liga Africana, is an actual federation of all the indigenous associations scattered throughout the five provinces of Portuguese Africa and represents several million individuals....This Liga Africana which functions at Lisbon, in the very heart of Portugal so to speak, has a commission from all the other native organizations and knows how to express to the government in no ambiguous terms but in dignified manner all that should be said to avoid injustice or to bring about the repeal of harsh laws. That is why the Liga Africana of Lisbon is the director of the Portuguese African movement; but only in the good sense of the word, without making any appeal to violence and without leaving constitutional limits."

Two former colonial ministers spoke, and the following demands were made for Africans:

1. A voice in their own government.

2. The right of access to the land and its resources.

3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law.

4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial techniques; and higher training of selected talent.
5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.
7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.
8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few. . . .

In fine, we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African state striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans.

8. The Pan-African Idea Spreads

So far, the Pan-African idea was still American rather than African, but it was growing and it expressed a real demand for examination of the African situation and a plan of treatment, from the native African point of view. With the object of moving the center of this agitation nearer African centers of population, I planned a Fourth Pan-African Congress in the West Indies in 1925. My idea was to charter a ship and sail down the Caribbean, stopping for meetings in Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, and the French islands. But here I reckoned without my steamship lines. At first the French Line replied that they could "easily manage the trip"; but eventually no accommodations could be found on any line except at the prohibitive price of fifty thousand dollars. I suspect that colonial powers spiked this plan.

Two years later, in 1927, American Negro women revived the Congress idea, and a Fourth Pan-African Congress was held in New York. Thirteen countires were represented, but direct African participation lagged. There were two hundred and eight

delegates from twenty-two American states and ten foreign countires. Africa was sparsely represented by representatives from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria. Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast, and anthropologists like Herskovits, then of Columbia, Mensching of Germany, and John Vandercook were on the program. The resolutions stressed six points:

Negroes everywhere need:

1. A voice in their own government.
2. Native rights to the land and its natural resources.
3. Modern education for all children.
4. The development of Africa for the Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
5. The reorganization of commerce and industry so as to make the main object of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.
6. The treatment of civilized men as civilized despite difference of birth, race, or color.

49-1-148

The Pan-African Movement had lost ground since 1921. In 1929 to remedy this we made a desperate effort to hold a Fifth Pan-African Congress on the continent of Africa itself; we selected Tunis because of its accessibility. Elaborate preparations were begun. It looked as though at last the movement was going to be geographically African. But two insuperable difficulties intervened: first, the French government very politely but firmly informed us that the Congress could take place at Marseilles or any French city, but not in Africa; and second, there came the Great Depression.

The Pan-African idea died apparently until twenty years afterward, in the midst of World War II, when it leaped to life again in an astonishing manner. At the Trade Union Conference in London in 1944 to plan for world organization of labor, representativesfrom black labor appeared from the Gold Coast, Libya, British Guiana, Ethiopia, and Sierra Leone. ~~Among these, aided by colored persons resident in London,~~

89 THE WAR OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

The Second World War miraculously brought the darker world to life. First, in order to settle the rivalry as to who was to own and rule the darker peoples. Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union were fighting against Germany and Italy. There was at first apparently no question, certainly in Great Britain and the United States, but that dark labor in the future as in the past was to be used for the benefit of white folk from the simple fact that the dark people had no other reason for being. But the darker peoples themselves had to be brought in to settle the question, and subtly the basic reasoning changed. Inida, after a long struggle that began before the war became a free and independent country and this broke the back of the British Empire. Africa was sued by the Allies: in the attack on North Africa; in conquering and retaining German Africa; in cooperation for the holding of West Africa; and in the use of African troops in Asia. Especially in the case of the Soviet Union the war was fought on a tremendous scale which never for a moment conceived its end to be the use or domination of colored labor.

49-1-149

There met in Paris in 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions, and at this meeting for the first time the colored unions of Africa came face to face with the white union members of western Europe. There was immediately voiced an unexpected demand for equality which took the West by surprise. The British unions had always spoken for the African unions and regarded the African unions as under their control. Indeed they knew that the relatively high British wage depended on low African wage and on general African submission and white control. The American unions, in large part, had excluded Negroes from membership, and highly skilled Americans shared in the profits of exploited black serfs. Now black unions from Africa and from the West Indies especially, spoke up independently and even truculently for themselves.

90 BLACK AFRICAN UNIONS

A battle ensued which with the help and insistence of the socialist unions of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe recognized the independence of the black union leaders, and immediately the ground was laid for the great division of the unions of the world into the socialist labor unions and the capitalist labor unions.

Meantime the African and West Indian unions united in a call to reassemble the Pan-African Congresses. The fourth Congress had been held in London and in Lisbon in 1924. The second world war prevented any further meetings. Now at the request of colored men in London, Lanchasire, Liverpool and Manchester, there came a spontaneous call for the assembling of another Pan-African Congress in 1945 when the World Federation of Trade Unions would hold their meeting in Paris.

After consultation and correspondence with trade union, co-operative, and other progressive organizations in the West Indies, West Africa, South and East Africa, a formal invitation for the conference was issued. Most of these bodies not only approved and endorsed the agenda, but pledged themselves to send delegates. In cases where either the time was too short or the difficulties of transport too great to be overcome at such short notice, the organizations gave mandates to the natives of the territories concerned who were traveling to Paris to attend the World Trade Union Conference. George Padmore invited Dr. Du Bois to summon a fifth Pan-African Congress. It was hard to find a time or place for meeting in Paris or London, but finally a group of colored men including Africans, and with the cooperation of the city government, invited the fifth Pan-African Congress to meet in Manchester, England, in 1945.

49-1-150

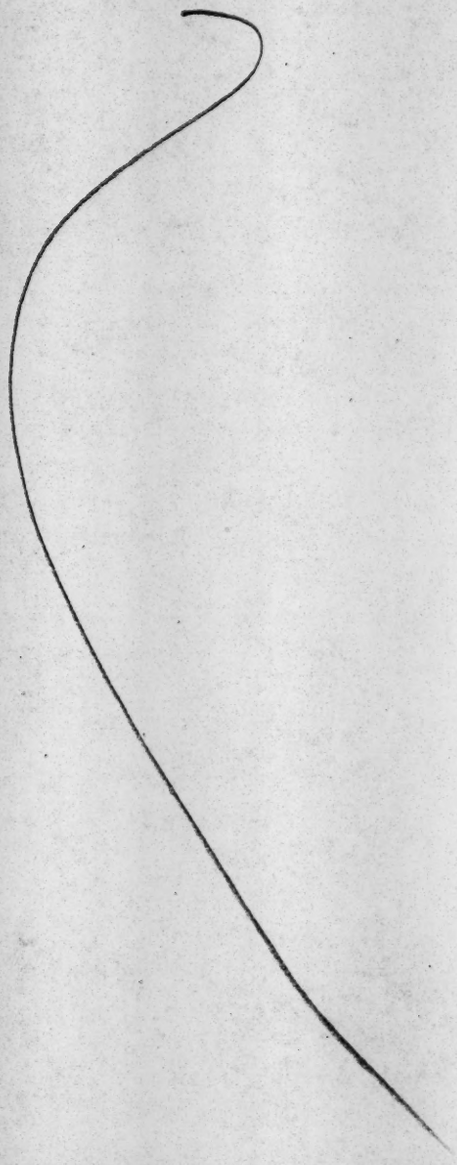
9/ FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

The Fifth Pan-African Congress met October 15 to 21 in Manchester, England, with some two hundred delegates representing East and South Africa and the West Indies. Its significance lay in the fact that it took a step toward a broader movement and a real effort of the peoples of Africa and the descendants of Africa the world over to start a great march toward democracy for black folk.

This meeting proved of world-wide importance. George Padmore organized it; its secretaries were Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, and in attendance were Wallace Johnson from Liberia and some 200 labor union leaders from Africa; and even Asiatics like Subasinghe of Ceylon. Here a new Africa was born. Nkrumah returned to Africa, where, after repudication at the hands of leaders of his own people and imprisonment by the British, he became in 1948 the recognized head of an independent province of the British Commonwealth. The British, seeing the inevitable, soon admitted Nigeria as a province of the Commonwealth and under terms which left them a chance to wield great influence in this the largest colony of the British Empire.

9₂ AFRICA CHANGES

All Africa began to change. In Uganda fundamental changes began revolving about the question as to whether the leading state of Buganda, under its kings and chiefs, should be the sole power or whether the whole state should be independent and under a new constitution, under bourgeois rule. In Kenya, where the best land had been monopolized by the British under outrageous conditions and the mass of the people crowded into swamps, a bloody revolution under the Mau-Mau organization was started and suppressed with wide imprisonment and executions. Jomo Kenyatta was arrested as being its chief instigator. Today the slow but sure political triumph of the Negro population is developing under Tom Mboya and other leaders.



49-1-151

of Russia, Great Britain, and the United States in order to build a new world which includes black Africa. We may yet live to see Pan-Africa as a real movement.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress placed great hope on the British Labour movemment and its sudden induction as the government of the British Empire. But the Congress had put before it a curious example of how organized labor may handles colonial problems. There came before us literally a Man of Sorrows: black, with a deeply-lined face. Gershon Ashie-Nikoi was in desperate earnest. He shouted repeatedly: "we must be free! We will be free' He said that he represented three hundred thousand cocoa farmers on the Gold Coast and Nigeria; the new Labor Secretary of State and Colonies. He had been refused audience because Mr. Hall declared that the committee was not "official"; which meant that it was not appointed in accordance with the procedure of the colonial governments, and was not composed of the representatives which these governments had officially chosen.

49-1-152

93 The Fabian Society

The committee secured a hearing before the Colonial Section of the Fabian Society, which acts as a sort of Brain Trust to advise the Labour government on colonial affairs. Among them were many people of importance: Mr. Creech-Jones, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Miss Rita Hinden, Lord Farringdon, the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, and others. They listened indifferently. The representatives of the farmers therefore brought their case to the Pan-African Congress and laid it before us. The Committee had been sent to London at the expense of the farmers, and had established a permanent office in Arundel Street. They were prepared for a long, hard fight, and the Pan-African Congress pledged help.

94 Cocoa

It will repay us to glance briefly at this tale of the cocoa crop as illustrating the methods of modern colonial exploitation and its results even under a liberal administration. The world consumption of cocoa has increased from 77,000 tons in 1895 to 700,000 tons at present. Formerly three-fourths of the cocoa was raised in South America. Now two-thirds is raised in West Africa.

This development of a new industry has an interesting history. A black laborer, Tetteh Quarsie, in 1879 brought cocoa beans from Spanish Africa and distributed them among his friends on the Gold Coast, British West Africa. In 1891, eighty pounds of cocoa were raised by West African farmers. By 1936 this crop on the Gold Coast alone had been increased to 250,000 tons. It was purely an indigenous enterprise of black peasant farmers. The deeply laid plan to transfer the raising of cocoa from Spanish Africa to plantations in British West Africa, developed by the Cadbury-instituted "boycott," went astray, and the black peasnats took over the job. On their own little farms, averaging about two and one-half acres, they increased crops and made cocoa and chocolate in wide demand throughout the civilized world. Their fathers in Ashanti and Benin had fought Britain for centuries to retain ownership of this land.

For cocoa and chocolate today consumers pay annually at least $500,000,000. Out of each dollar, of this less than three cents goes to the cocoa farmer; and this is another instnace of the squeezing of agriculture by trade and manufacture.

Since the cocoa in West Africa is not raised on plantations as it is in the West Indies and South America, the problem of the traders and manufacturers is to make profit by beating down the sale price and by manipulation of the world market. For this reason the price to cocoa farmers has varied from $44 per ton during the depression, to $188 per ton during the time of scarcity in 1927, and about $60 a ton today.

Ostensibly for correcting this price fluctuation, but really for controlling the price, the British buyers on the Gold Coast have for many years tried to come into agreement so as to make one price and one bid for all the cocoa offered. There are thirteen main buyers: the British Unilevers, Cadbury and Fry, buying for themselves and the Lyons' Teahouses; and others.

Finally in 1937 these firms came to a buying agreement. The cocoa farmers desperately resisted. They staged a boycott for eight months, reducing the sale of cocoa from 250,000 tons to 50,000 tons. The buyers resisted. They applied pressure on the Colonial Office in London, and without showing it the text of the "buying agreement," induced it to advise the natives that the proposal was for their benefit

49-1-152

and to accept it. The colonial governor, also without sight of the agreement, immediately followed this directive from London and strongly "advised" acquiescencey by the natives. The natives still refused. Mr. Cadbury then went to the Gold Coast and talked to the chiefs and farmers. They demanded to see a copy of the agreement. He "regretted" that he had not brought a copy with him. Finally the British government capitulated and sent a Royal Commission to the Coast, under Mr. Nowell. This Commission secured a copy of the agreement, but made public only a part. After careful investigation, they recommended that the buying agreement be terminated and that cooperative enterprise be instituted with representation of the African farmers.

Before this plan could be implemented however, the war broke out and the Government proposed to take charge of the cocoa crop, set prices, and sell it for the farmers. They promised to bear any losses and to distribute any profit among the farmers. This was satisfactory to the farmers, although they protested at the low price per ton which the government set in order to guard itself against loss.

The African colonial governments are virtually ruled by investors in England. Investors not only dictate the choice of governors, but these governors have the sole right of legislation under the Colonial Office in London. They are "advised" by councils on which business interests are directly represented. Recently local natives have been elected to such councils; but even so the real power still restsin in the hands of the governor.

Government conduct of industry in West Africa, is therefore conducted by London investors. The whole economy of the colony is rigged by outside business interests. Instead of a tax on imports to encourage local effort, the Gold Coast, for instance, claps an <u>export</u> duty on cocoa of $3.75 a ton; and during the war it added a surtax of $4.58, making a total tax of $8.43 on a ton of cocoa, for which the cocoa farmer has at times during this war received as little as $37 a ton; and on the average not more than $52 from 1939 to 1943. At the same time, English exporters of goods to Africa need pay no import tax. As a result the cost of imported

49-1-154

goods skyrocketed during the war, so that cotton print which sold before the war for $2.50 rose to $18. Khaki from $.60 to $3.20, and sheet iron from $1.00 to $20. "The result of this situation is that today many of the farmers have been completely impoverished and paralyzed economically." (Speech of Ashie-Nikoi.)

However, the whole picture changed in the minds of the Negro farmers when the Labor party came to power and took over the Colonial Office. Perhaps they were overoptimistic, but they were certainly justified in some degree by the results of government operation during World War II. Instead of the anticipated losses, the government in five years of operation, netted the neat profit of $25,000,000. Indeed, if they had previously built proper storage facilities on the Gold Coast, instead of compelling farmers to sell and rush the crop immediately to Europe, regardless of prices or conditions of the market; and if they had ever encouraged simple processing operations, which would have saved freight and increased local employment; if such policies had been followed, much cocoa could have been saved from spoiling, and some 150,000 tons need not have been burned. The net profit might have been doubled.

The Labor party came to power, and, to the indignation of the black cocoa farmers, proposed to put <u>all</u> West African produce under control of a board sitting in England with representation of the manufacturers of cocoa and other materials and with no representation of the farmers! In addition, instead of returning the profits of the cocoa pool to the farmers as promised, the government now proposed to use it "for their benefit," including the hiring of a number of English "experts" at high salaries to protect the cocoa trees from disease. The farmers protested bitterly and demanded:

1. That since the war is over, the recommendations of the Nowell Commission be implemented, and that the Imperial Government now make good the promises made to the African farmers.
2. That the price of $160 per ton should be paid farmers, and should be set for the 1945-1946 season.

3. That the profits from cocoa control since 1939, amounting as it probably will to $25,000,000, be turned over to the farmers' own existing organizations as capital for the establishment of co-operative agricultural banks in British West Africa.

4. That the operations of the West African Produce Control Board be installed, and effective co-operation, under the control of the farmers' own organizations, be established.

5. That the present quota allocation of the crop to special buyers be abolished, and that the farmers be free to market their crop collectively to their own accredited agencies.

6. That the present restrictions of exports and imports be removed in order to allow the West African farmers to trade with the United Kingdom and other countries through their own agencies.

7. That an International Council on cocoa should be planned, in order to adopt a comprehensive approach to all problems of cocoa as an important world commodity.

8. That the Ordinances of British West Africa with regard to co-operation be changed so as to correspond to practices in the United Kingdom.

46-1-152

And the farmers concluded:

This delegation of Gold Coast and Nigerian farmers are of the opinion that there are enough men and women of good will in the Imperial Government of Britain who might bring economic justice to bear on these pressing problems, and thus might prevent the occurrence of a tragic economic upheaval, the consequences of which, unfortunately, might affect the peaceful life of innocent people in all parts of the world and not only in West Africa and Britain.

If this is not statesmanship, which eventually must be listened to, I am greatly mistaken. It seems to me to point a path toward the emancipation of the world's colonial populations and the beginning of democracy among the majority of the people of the world, for which we have fought two devastating world wars, without yet seeing the light.

Singularly enough, there is another "Pan-African" movement. I thought of it as I sat at the San Francisco Conference and heard Jan Smuts plead for an article on "human rights" in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. It was an astonishing paradoz. The "Pan-African" movement which he represents is a union of the white minority in Kenya, Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa, to rule the African continent in the interest of investors and exploiters. This plan has been incubating since 1921, but was discouraged by the British Colonial Office. Smuts was now pushing it again, and the white legislatures in Africa asked for it. The San Francisco trusteeship left a door open for this sort of thing.

49 - 1 - 157

The cocoa situation in West Africa is only one example of what colonial imperialism means to the people involved. Turning from this to our own country, we may ask what is America, and what duty and opportunity has it toward Africa and the peoples of African descent who live within her borders? It is a great working nation, vast, marvelously organized, and rich. We grow and mine materials; we process and manufacture them; we trade them, we transport them, we buy and sell them. Bound up with this, there is not only the planning for this work, but also the hard digging, lifting, and cleaning, and the services of parents, and friends, professional men and servants. With all this we produce goods and homes, buildings and roads, light and heat, tools and machines, and all manner of transport from railways and automobiles to airplanes.

Of course, the basic question here is: for whom is all this work done? How are the goods and services divided among consumers? Here we realize that all the facts are not known in America, just as they are partially unknown in other parts of the world. The distribution of wealth and of human services is a more or less closely guarded secret. We have some general ideas and they are disconcerting: we know that the lowest and hardest work and the work least honored is, despite its necessity, the lowest paid. We know that men do not get rich according to ability or according to the degree in which they serve the public. There is something, of course, of recognition of talent, but it is confined to certain sorts of talent and it is not sufficient to keep down dissatisfaction. The demand of the twentieth century in America, just as the demand of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, is that the distribution of wealth be more logical and ethical.

Men have tried to avoid action to achieve this by arguing that the distribution of goods and services is a matter of "natural" law. We know better than that today; we know, especially in America, that planning of work does go on on wide scale and that it involves personal decisions and is based today on autocratic will and not on democratic methods. Managers and groups have power to plan industry and divide its results: groups carrying on organized industry, like General Motors and General Electric and the British Unilevers -- these groups own machines, materials, and in-

49-1-158

ventions which enable them to reap large profits by marvelous and striking organization. Imports and exports depend upon the decisions of captains of industry. Monopoly of natural resources and the ownership of land play a tremendous part. Economic rent that comes with time and with growth of population, city sites, the shores of the ocean, the places suited for business and pleasure, all is controlled and distributed by individual or group decision. We know that the control of credit, the foreseeing of need for materials and machines, and supplying capital to those who can use it most profitably, is in itself a field of tremendous planning and prophecy. We know that the government must come in and help this planning where individual initiative lacks power, and that the field of government in industry is growing and must grow.

What now are the results of this planning and why do these results make Americans dissatisfied? We still have poverty, not nearly as much as many other parts of the world, but most Americans do not receive an income large enough to allow them to live in health and decency. This leads not only to envy but to cheating and stealing, to the kind of competitive struggles which begin as strikes and end as riots. It leads to widespread loss of belief in hard work and increased reliance on chance, so that gambling on horse races is today one of our greatest businesses. All this encourages or compels the postponing of marriage and limiting of children.

Poverty makes for ignorance; not simply illiteracy which is still serious among us, but for inexperience, the neglect of the lessons of history, reliance on selfish prejudices and conventions. Poverty leads to disease; it lets us spend more for war than for the perfectly possible extirpation of tuberculosis, the lessening of cancer, and the physical welfare of children. Poverty, ignorance, and disease are back of most of our crime, and to this is added a curious lack of ethical guidance. Churches tend to teach dogma rather than what is right and wrong; and the funny strips exalt craftiness and laugh at suffering.

In contrast to all this comes the reign of luxury, conspicuous expenditure, the flaunting of diamonds and furs; the demand for great estates and servants, while round about is sickness, starvation, and insanity. We grow used to luxury and display that we know is built upon wealth and work stolen from suffering mankind. We demand

49-1-159

profit for investment even at the expense of public welfare. Thus the great business organizations of the United States struck and drove a hard bargain in blood and pain to increase profits during World War II; America invests in colonies -- British, Dutch, and French; and colonies are slums used to make a profit from materials and cheap labor. We continually set before us the successful rich man as more typical of what America means than the student or the philanthropist or the unselfish man of small income and simple tastes.

It is this kind of thing which makes for our continued spiritual slavery. We demand Freedom; but thousands upon thousands are toiling discontentedly at work which they hate, when more careful and thoughtful planning could make work much more agreeable by a more efficient distribution according to ability and taste. We curb thought and discussion because we are afraid that those who are powerful and comfortable under present conditions may be disturbed in their present control of the world. Our news is distorted and our newspapers prostituted by those who own and use them for profit and propaganda. Our "free press" is a series of tight little principalities which channel public opinion with prejudiced headlines and screened news.

49-1-1-60

Our training for careers and opening of opportunity for the working masses has been hailed as the greatest in history. There can be no doubt but that more individuals have had opportunity to rise from repression and obscurity in American than in Europe. But even here we have not done anywhere near what we might, and today in many respects are regressing toward race and class discrimination and special privileges for the rich. Only the Jews among us, as a class, carefully select and support talent and genius among the young; the Negroes are following this example as far as their resources and knowledge allow. It is for this reason that jealousy of the gifted Jew and ambitious Negro is closing doors of opportunity in their faces. This led to the massacre of Jews in Germany.

In America the only path to preferment and promotion left open and beckoning, is that which industry thinks will make profit. The opening of other paths is left

160

to the rare chance that genius in literature or art be coupled with "push," which means the boldness and crudity for self-advertising from which delicate souls shrink.

When by chance or benevolence a boy "makes good," we grant him a profession. If he studies law he can gain a large salary when he becomes a tool by which great corporations evade those laws which try to curb monopoly and distribute wealth more equitably. Large numbers of such lawyers become lawmakers, and they enact laws which can be circumvented. Others are raised to the bench, where they are above law and highly honored. They in many cases protect welath and monopoly and "make examples" of the poor. The greatest work of Franklin Roosevelt was to start cleansing the Supreme Court of the accumulated refuse of reaction to economic democracy. Living men may yet see a Supreme Court with the guts and common decency to throw out the window the whole body of legal color-caste in the South and elsewhere as both unconstitutional and uncivilized. At the other end of the scale our labor unions are so monopolizing skills by limited apprenticeship and secret ritual that much "industrial" training is a farce.

49-1-161

Science is becoming increasingly not the work of free universities but the property of organizations for private profit and directed to their objects. Education both in school and out is encouraging that economic illiteracy which keeps the mass of American people from knowing and inquiring just how work is done. To the support of all this comes the theater and the movies and other forms of arts, serving the idea that private profit rather than social welfare is the end and aim of man.

Is there any wonder that the result is widespread Fear? We are afraid of unemployment and loss of work; we are suspicious of other men, other races, and other nations; not because we are the poorest and most wretched, but just because here in America we have tasted the possibility of comfort and happiness. Perhaps all this is best shown by certain paradoxes in our daily life, thought, and action. We Americans boast and strut when we have every cause to be meek and humble. We seek happiness ~~thru~~ and escape through drunkenness and night clubs. We couple our religion

+54 1615

with hate, saying, "God so loved the world," aand boasting how much we hate our enemies; we turn the other cheek to make bombs. We want peace and make war. We want truth and curb research. We produce our own wealth and steal it from others.

We Americans have invented an apt phrase to enrich the English language -- "So what!" It expresses a singular complex: a great statesman comes from Britain and tells us that he wants a world of free states and democracy -- and admits in the same breath that his Britain admits nine-tenths of the subjects to neither freedom nor democracy. So what? We see standing before the United Nations at San Francisco a prime minister elected by two million whites asking for recognition of "humanity" -- and in the same voice tells the world that anyone who regards the eight million natives of South Africa as human in the same sense as white folk is "mad, quite made." We have a Secretary of State who arraigns Russia for lack of democracy while he represents South Carolina, where the majority of the people have never had a chance to vote. So what?

FB House Senate

But perhaps our subtlest and most complete contradiction and paradox comes in our attitude toward servants. We know that personal services between mother and child, friend and relative, is the highest form of human effort; but we treat that same personal service when it is done for pay as the lowest form of work, paid least and subject to special forms of personal insult.

49-1-162

What can we do about all this? It is not a matter of law, it is a matter of the human heart. We know what must be done; industry must be carried on not primarily for private profit but for public welfare. We must progressively approach the time when no person shall have cake while any person is deprived of bread. We must increase production and income by the use of the great natural powers which science has placed in our hands: electricity which is being kept from the masses by organized effort in the valley of the Missouri and in the valley of the St. Lawrence, just as once monopoly fought it in vain in the valley of the Tennessee and still fights it at Boulder Dam. We know that automobiles could be built to last ten years at little greater cost than those which last two years, if the object was transportation and not gain. We must have schools that teach truth, despite what some people

are afraid to learn. We must use new inventions like the radio for real information rather than for quack advertising, and the cinema for instruction as well as entertainment. We must have a press that is free and not monopolized by business and hate. We must have socialized medicine, following the great example being set today by Britain and going far beyond it as we ought to.

This increase of production for public welfare can only be brought about by careful intelligent planning and thorough democratic methods. The workers of the world must have voice not only on conditions of work but also as to what kinds of goods shall be produced and what methods of production used. Industry ruled by monarchs and oligarchies cannot continue in a democratic world.

Moreover, this increased production must be more equitably and justly distributed among the workers and among all citizens. Distribution of wealth and services by plan, emphasizing ability and deserts, and especially the public weal; and guarding mankind from ignorance and disease must be a primary object of civilization. "To each according to need, from each according to ability." Here again this can be accomplished only by widespread and intelligent democracy. It cannot continue to be a matter of personal wish and whim and of monopolized power; it must be the result of intelligent experience, public opinion working according to enacted law.

49-1-163

Democracy is not privilege -- it is opportunity. Just as far as any part of a nation or of the world is excluded from a share in democratic power and self-expression, just so far the world will always be in danger of war and collapse. If this nation could not exist half slave and half free, then the world in which this nation plays a larger and larger part also cannot be half slave and half free, but must recognize world democracy.

How can we accomplish this? We can do it by releasing black Andromeda, and by that act release ourselves. We can rise above the insult of the color line in denying work to able people and in helping hold colonies in thrall; and we can invoke in a real democracy a reservoir of all human ability and dream and with free vote of intelligent men.

The sin of capitalism is secrecy: the deliberate concealing of the character, methods, and result of efforts to satisfy human wants. When men choose and understand their work and see its results and can sell their toil in open market to those who want and use it, there is opportunity for ethical judgment, public justice, and commonweal. But when the nature of work, its methods and results are hidden behind legal barriers so that a man knows neither what he is doing nor what the results of his toil will be, or who will enjoy it, or why nor whence nor how his income is made, nor at shoe hurt or wela; then the opportunity for human degradation is limited not only by the evil possibilities of the lowest of men; murder and theft may enuse with no chance to fix the guilt. Not mass production but mass concealment is the sin of the capitalistic system. This is the meaning of African slavery and this is the virus it poured into the veins of modern culture and fatally poisoned it. Once all the facts of the industrial process are known, then if a man eats, he should work; and if he does not work he should not eat, unless the free, intelligent judgment of his fellows declares that his existence at public expense is for the public weal. This and this alone is Democracy.

49-1-164

Who are we who call ourselves intelligent, and yet in dire dearth of air and light leave millions of acres of the roofs of New York and a thousand other cities to a black and dirty desert of chimneys and ugliness? The horror which today stops the hearts of men at the mere thought of atomic energy is knowledge of the secrecy which today conceals its use and bids fair to veil its inhuman force tomorrow in the hands of the most ruthless of mankind. The iron curtain was not invented by Russia; it hung between Europe and Africa half a thousand years. When the producer is so separated from the consumer in time and space that a mutual knowledge and understanding is impossible, then to regard the industrial process as "individual enterprise" or the result as "private initiative" is stupid. It is a social process, and if not socially controlled sinks to anarchy with every possible crime of irresponsible greed. Such was the African slave trade, and such is the capitalistic system it brought to full flower.

Men made cotton cloth and sold sugar; but between the two they stole, killed, and raped human beings, forced them to toil for a bare subsistence, made rum and synthetic gin, herded white labor into unsanitary factories, bought the results of their work under threat of hunger which forced down their wage, and sold the sguar at monopoly prices to consumers who must pay or go without. A process of incredible ingenuity for supplying human wants became in its realization a series of brutal crimes.

There are people, and wise people, who have said that this can never be accomplished under the present organization of the world for business, industry, and profit; that in order to accomplish this we must establish stern dictatorship of a few who hold to this idea of the commonweal. This is the theory of Communism. There are many who dislike the idea; there are some who fear and hate it for obvious reasons. But to these there is one clear answer: accomplish the end which every honest human being must desire by means other than Communism, and Communism need not be feared. On the other hand, if a world of ultimate democracy, reaching across the color line and abolishing race discrimination, can only be accomplished by the method laid down by Karl Marx, then that method deserves to be triumphant no matter what we think or do.

Here in America we must learn to be proud of the things of which we are ashamed, and ashamed of things of which we are proud. American should be proud of the fact that she is a nation with increasing democracy composed of the most unlikely peoples and groups on earth; that out of criminals, paupers, and slaves she has built this land of promise. We should be ashamed that despite this known historical fact, we are trying to build up class and race differences and refusing to carry out the democratic methods which we profess, because we deal with people too stupid, diseased, and criminal to make our onw democracy work.

49-1-165

America has need to remember that out of Asia and Africa, past and present, help can come for this land; Asia has produced a Gandhi who does not strut or wear Savile Row clothes; who will not kill -- and whom average Americans regard as a fool. But he is not. Africa has provided in the past group ownership of land, family cohesion, and a curious combination of beautiful art and useful industry. We have helped the world to despoil this land, enslave its people, decry its ability, and distort its history. For three centuries we have led in the the attempt to degrade Africa in the eyes of men. We owe it to Africa and ourselves to release Andromeda and place her free and beautiful among the stars of the sky.

If we refuse to do this; if we stubbornly cling to our race prejudices, what of the future of this civilization? The continuity of a social group, the continuity of a civilization is at best doubtful and precarious. Most of the civilizations of the world have lasted less than three centuries, save Egypt. Even Egypt is only an apparent exception since, being for centuries without effective rivals, it did not actually collapse; but it changed so radically from age to age as to become almost a new land and culture. So too India and China lasted longer in name than in real cultural continuity. The broader the basis of a culture, the wider and freer its conception, the better chance it has for the survival of its best elements. This is the basic hope of world democracy. No culture whose greatest effort must go to suppress some of the strongest contributions of mankind can have left in itself strength for survival. War which typifies suppression and death can never support a lasting culture. Peace and tolerance is the only path to eternal progress. Europe can never survive without Asia and Africa as free and interrelated civilizations in one world.

"I believe it is specifically the mission of African civilization to restore ethical principles to world civilization. Unless this attempt is made all civilization must come to an end. The African by virtue of his detachment, his direct vision, and his innate kindness, is qualified to bring humanitarianism to the technical and materialistic concepts of the Western World."

49-1-166

166 44 48

In the Union of South Africa three million white people are determined to be the asolute masters of eleven million colored people. This outrageous program of apartheid resulted in the exclusion of South Africa from the British Commonwealth, in the growing friend/ship of West Africa and in growing unrest and revolt. In North and South Rhodesia an attempt was made to establish a central African state including Nyasaland in which 220,000 Europeans would attempt to make 6,600,000 Africans their bond-servants. The ensuing struggle is being carried out with increasing bitterness.

With the independence of Morocco, Spain has practically faded from the African picture leaving the French Empire in North Africa and the Arab and Mohammedan domination in the east. Both Morocco and the Arabs have asserted their affinity with the mass of black Africans more firmly. Egypt, under Nasser, meets and cooperates with black Africa. Morocco has been a center for the meeting of all African states. Tunis, while not as closely allied, is in clear sympathy and Mohammedan Asia is being drawn in by strong religious ties.

49-1-167

BLACK FRENCH AFRICA

For a time France wavered. At first she declared dogmatically that Algeria was and would remain a part of France, and back of this were French settlers and French . Then with the growing revolt of the Algerians it was proposed that they should decide as to whether they would be French or not, but that meantime they were to stop armed resistance and consider the advantages of close ties with France. Today this is under consideration despite the revolt of the French army in Algiers and the resulting determination of the mass of workers in France to oppose them.

While decision on Algiers was being made there came the unavoidable question of the future of the rest of French Africa. French Africa had been the seat of long and intense exploitation of black labor by French agricultural and industrial organizations. They were now offered partial independence and industrial help from France but this help would have to come from the same kind of industrial corporations which had oppressed French Africa. The Black Africans hesitated.

One small country, Guinea, refused further alliance with France and demanded complete independence. Under great difficulties and with the help of socialist Europe she has finally managed the beginning of such independence. Meantime, other French colonies, Dahomey, Malagasy, Togo, Senegal, High Volta, the Ivory Coast, Niger, Chad, Gabon and the Federation of Mali have become independent states, but the exact nature of their future relation to France is still to be worked out.

Finally came the disaster of the Congo. 162 CONGO Western industry in the name of Belgium but backed by the United States, Great Britain and France strove to avoid the mistakes which had been made especially in British West Africa. They would train artisans. They would pay and protect the power of the chiefs, but they would allow no intelligentsia to be educated either in the Congo or in Europe, while they reaped increasing profit on copper and uranium. They allowed primary education for the children largely under the Catholic Church. Then, to their great surprise, came threat and failure. Patrice Lumumba became head of a party which demanded complete independence for a black Congo republic. The Belgians and their friends rallied and strove to stop this, but despite their efforts Lumumba, by vote of the parliament, became Prime Minister and the Belgians were hardly able to secure the election of Kasavubu, their stooge, as president. Thereupon Lumumba was murdered in cold blood and a number of his leading officials, and Belgium tried to make Kasavubu head of the state. This they were not able to force through and today Lumumba's legal heir to power holds a large part of the Congo territory.

A rump parliament hurriedly called in the recently freed colony of Madagascar tried to settle matters by allowing Tshombe secede with the copper-rich province of Katanga and to divide the rest of the Congo into helpless provinces. This has been halted. The Congo awaits re-unification under a parliament controlled by Kasavubu, or a newly-elected parliament presided over by Gizenga, the heir of Lumumba.

Here we are then, today, in the United Nations with 70 or more black and colored countries facing their former white masters of the world. Can Great Britain and

49-1-1-168

America persuade them still to yield leadership to the white world, or will they follow Cuba in the recognition of the vast socialist world led by the Soviet Union and China; and turn this union of the people of the world into communal directions?

Meantime, the white world 103 The United States can no longer present a united front. Great Britain is losing her grip in Asia and knows it. The United States is making vain gestures to maintain it and failing day by day. The United States itself represents a curious and menacing situation. Alonzo, "il Negro" piloted one of Columbus' ships. One-fifth of its population is of acknowledged African descent and a larger number are unacknowledged or unknown descendants from African slaves. Despite 3 centuries of struggle including a frightful civil war in which the slaves took a decisive part the mass of the Negroes and descendants of Africa are still second-rate citizens. In most of the former slave states they are not allowed to vote and suffer illegal, but customary, disabilities. In the whole nation almost without exception, they are regardd as inferior people liable to insult and discrimination. Despite this, despite limits on their education, legal and customary, and difficulty of getting decent well-paid employment, they have made remarkable progress. There is scarcely an area of human endeavor in which American Negroes have not distinguished themselves: in literature, music, art, in science and artisanship, ~~the~~ and hard labor. ~~Texxxxxxxxrack this xthexnationxisxtryingxtoxmak~~ The further they progress the more prejudice and discrimination yield, and yet this yielding is so slow that the pressure of prejudice is increasingly felt.

To counteract this the nation is trying to make concessions. It has even declared in 1954 that the chief legal forms of discrimination in education and travel are unconstitutional, but at the same time it has opnely admitted that the court decisions will not be enforced until the people cruelly affected permit them to be.

Thereupon the nation has resorted to bribery. Fearing especially the lure of socialism and communism they have made every effort to see that successful Negroes and Negroes of ability get special consideration and position provided of course, they attack communism and indulge in red-baiting. The universities have led in this effort.

49-1-169

169 TT

effort. The Department of State has paid Negroes expenses of travel abroad, so long as they testify to satisfactory conditions in the United States and

The Negro college on the one hand is threatened by loss of state income if they teach socialism or complain of their conditions. On the other hand, the outstanding students are offered jobs and preferment if they accept the present distinction without complaint.

103 PRESENT UNREST

The result is naturally complicated. The more successful leaders of the Negro people are losing their contact with the poorer and more ignored masses are seeking new leaders. Those offering leadership may resemble at first a

but below this is reason. Negroes, for instance, have long resented being called by a name which implies inferiority and contempt. They are beginning to reject the theoretical humility of Christianity as contrasted with the practical equality of Mohammedanism; and above all, and much more serious, they are beginning to say flatly, we do not want integration, we want separation and we are going to begin to call on our people to fight, kill, destroy; for even if we lose "how can man die better than by facing fearful odds, for the ashes of his fathers, and the temples of his gods!"

In the meantime the mass of the American people sit silent and do nothing. They will not allow Negroes to live beside them; they will not allow them to work beside them; they avoid as much as possible letting their children be educated with them of meet them on terms of equality; and they keep themselves respectable and secure by avoiding the "Negro" problem. How long will this last? How long can it last?

165 ~~104~~. West Indies, South America

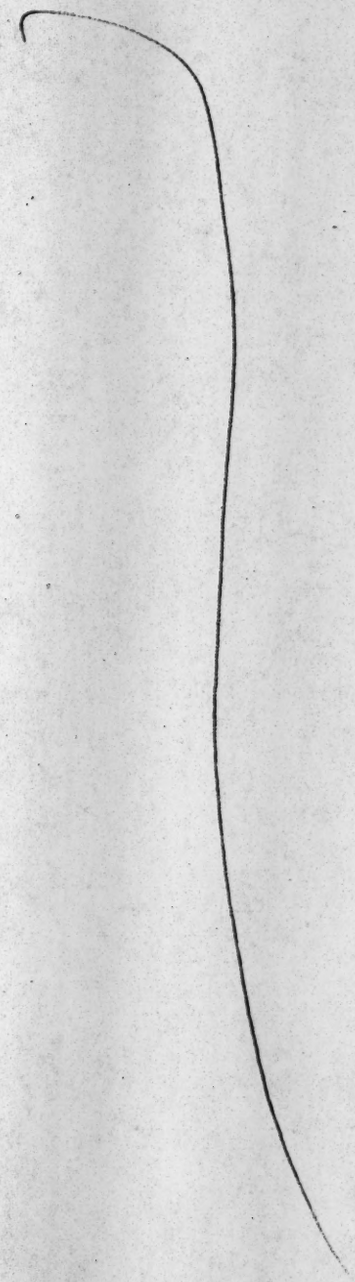
Meantime south from the United States is a world of people, largely of Negro and Indian descent, mixed with poor Spaniards and Portuguese dominated for good or evil by the Catholic church. The first native Catholic bishop in America was Xavier de luna Victoria, son of a Negro charcoal burner. For centuries they have been ruthlessly exploited; that is, the work of the great mass of their labor has been used for the support and comfort of those strong enough to control them; and regardless of the health, happiness or desire of the people. Spain, Portugal, Germany, Britain and

49-1-170

170 ~~168~~ ~~170~~

and especially the United States have amassed wealth, power and luxury from these poor, ignorant, diseased peoples. Then, climbing on the backs of their unhappy fellows themselves, have risen rulers of their own blood to share the spoil.

After repeated and futile efforts to escape this slavery, at last in Cuba, a sizable group seems to be achieving freedom and self-rule; that the Cuban revolution will extend to South America is the hope of all good men and the fear of all the slave drivers.



49-1-171

171 - ~~215~~ = 169

Reader of dead words who would live deeds, this is the flowering of my logic: I dream of a world of infinite and invaluable variety; not in the laws of gravity or atomic weights, but in human variety in height and weight, color and skin, hair and nose and lip. But more especially and far above and beyond this, in a realm of true freedom; in thought and dream, fantasy and imagination; in gift, aptitude, and genius -- all possible manner of difference, topped with freedom of soul to do and be, and freedom of thought to give to a world and build into it, all wealth of inborn individuality. Each effort to stop this freedom of being is a blow at democracy -- that real democracy which is reservoir and opportunity and the fight against which is murdering civilization and promising a day when neither

... star nor sun shall waken,
Nor any change of light:
Nor sound of waters shaken
Nor any sound or sight;
Nor wintry leaves nor vernal,
Nor days nor things diurnal;
Only the sleep eternal
In an eternal night.

There can be no perfect democracy curtailed by color, race, or poverty. But with all we accomplish all, even Peace.

This is this book of mine and yours.

49 - 1 - 172

THIS AFRICA: HOW IT AROSE, WHITHER IT GOES

Draft manuscript

Incomplete

FOREWORD

40-3-3

Since the glory of the West Indian Sugar Empire and the rule of the Cotton Kingdome, there has been consistent effort to rationalize Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history; so that today it is almost universally assumed that history can be written without particular reference to Negroid peoples. I believe this to be scientifically unsound and also dangerous for logical social conclusions. Therefore I am seeking in this book to remind readers in this crisis of civilization, of how critical a part Africa has played in human history, past and present, and how impossible it is to forget this and rightly explain the present plight of mankind.

I feel now as though I were addressing a crowd of friends and enemies, who ask a bit breathlessly, whose and when is the testimony on which I rely for something that even resembles Authority? To which I return two answers: I am challenging Authority -- even Maspero, Sayce, Reisner, Breasted, and hundreds of other men of highest respectability, who did not attack but studiously ignored the Negro on the Nile and in the world and talked as though black folk were nonexistent, unimportant. They are part of the herd of writers of modern history who declare with Guernier "Seule de tous les continents L'Afrique N'a pas d' histoire!"

In fine, I have done in this book the sort of thing at which every scholar shudders. With meager preparation and all too general background of learning, I have essayed a task, which, to be adequate and complete, should be based upon the research of a lifetime! But I am faced with the dilemma, that either I do this now or leave it for others who have not had the tragedy of life which I have, forcing me to face a task for which they may have small stomach and little encouragement from the world round about. If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issue -- that black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow Asiatics, and that history can easily prove this -- then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work.

Indeed, I strongly suspect that more and more history instead of pretending to be exact science will be [redacted] careful guess, laudable wish and "lies agreed upon". Thus only in part will our knowledge of the past be admittedly based on sound scientific evidence.

40-3-84

The bulk of this work was published in 1946 under the title: The World and Africa. In this edition the contents have been rearranged, to some extend rewritten, and certain recent matter added.

SUB-TITLES - THIS AFRICA

1. Physical Africa - P. 3
2. Animal Africa - P. 5
3. The Great Apes - P. 6
4. ~~The Human Ape~~ Homo Sapiens - P. 7
5. ~~Human~~ Cultural Development - P. 8
6. The Negro Race - P. 9
7. The People of Africa - 11
8. The Nile Valley - 15
9. The Egyptians - 20
10. Ethiopia - 24
11. Egypt Returns to Ethiopia - 33
12. The Hebrews and Ethiopia - 35
13. Taharqa Rules the World - 38
14. Asia ~~Invades~~ all-d Africa - 39
15. Greece Invades Africa - 40
16. Europe and Africa - 42
17. ~~Asia and~~ Africa in Asia - 46
18. The ~~Susians~~ Asiatic African - 48
19. The Arabs - 49
20. Islam - 50
21. Negroes in Spain - 51
22. Renaissance in Europe - 53
23. America - 54
24. The Slave Trade ~~in~~ from Africa to Europe - 55
25. The Slave Trade ~~and Africa~~ abroad - 56
26. The British Slave Trade - P. 57
27. Cromwell the Slave Trader - 59
28. The Assiento - 61
29. The Struggle for India - 61
30. Karl Marx Explains - 63
31. England Fattens on Slavery - 64
32. Slave Revolt and Revolution - 66
33. The American Revolution - 67
34. The French Revolution - 68
35. Abolition of the Slave Trade - 70
36. The New Capitalism - 72
37. Ivory - 73
38. Exploration and Discovery in Africa - 76
39. The New British Conscience - 78
40. ~~The~~ British ~~Colonial~~ Imperialism in Africa - 80
41. ~~Cultural~~ Clash in Africa - 81
42. Europe as Master of the World - 85
43. West Africa - 86
44. Iron - 89
45. Art - 90
46. Cloth - 92
47. Religion - 93
48. The Art of Memory - 94
49. Notable States - 95
50. Changes in West Africa - 96
51. The Paris Exposition of 1900 - 99
52. The Races Congress - 101
53. Germany and Wilhelm II - 102
54. World War I - 103

40-3-1

40-3-2

55. Pan-Africa — 104

56. First Pan-African Congress — 106

57. Between Wars — 112

58. Collapse of Europe — 114

59. Democracy Fails — 115

60. Peace Movement — 115

61. Negro Slavery — 116

62. The Word "Negro" — 117

63. History is Distorted — 118

64. Slavery Displaces ~~Field~~ Free Labor — 119

65. A Gracious Culture — 120

66. The Superior Race — 121

67. Sex — 122

68. Europe — 123

69. White People — 124

70. The Cape of Good Hope — 125

71. Britain In Africa — 126

72. Missionaries — 127

73. Leopold of Belgium — 128

74. Death of Cultures — 129

75. Fanti Federation — 131

76. Morals of Europe — 132

77. The Rise of Africa — 134

78. Africa ~~and~~ & America — 135

79. Products of Africa — 135

80. Profits from Colonies — 137

81. Investment — 138

82. Second Pan-African Congress — 139

83. Garvey Movement — 140

84. Second Pan-African Congress- Brussels — 140

85. Second Pan-African Congress - Paris — 140

86. League of Nations ~~Publishes our Demands~~ — 143

87. Pan-African Congress in Lisbon — 144

88. The Pan-African Idea ~~Abroad~~ — 145

89. The War of African Liberation — [redacted] 148

90. Black African Unions — 148

91. Fifth Pan-African Congress — [redacted] 149

92. Africa Changes — 148½

93. Fabian Society — 149

94. Cocoa — 149

95. The Labor Government — 152

96. Distribution — 155

97. Universities — 158

98. House Servants — 159

99. Democracy — 160

100. Asia and Africa in America — 163

101. Black French Africa — 164

102. Congo — 165

103. The United States — 166

104. Present Unrest — 167

105. West Indies, South America 168

pps 81-97

10-3-57

Seers say that for full two thousand million years this world out of fiery mist has whirled about the sun in molten metal and viscous crusted ball. That crust, congealing and separating the solids from the liquids, rose and fell in bulging ridges above the boiling sea. Five times the mass of land called Africa emerged and disappeared beneath the oceans. At last, at least a thousand million years ago, a mass of rigid rock lifted its crystal back above the waters and remained. Primeval Africa stretched from the ramparts of Ethiopia to where the copper, diamonds, and gold of South Africa eventually were found. More land arose, and perhaps three hundred million years ago Africa was connected with South America, India, and Australia. As the ocean basins dropped, the eastern half of Africa was slowly raised into a broad, flat arch.

The eastern side of this arch gave way, forming the Indian Ocean, and when the roof of the arch fell in there appeared the great Rift valley. This enormous crack, extending six thousand miles from the Zambesi to Ethiopia and Syria, is said to be the only thing that Martians can descry as they look earthward of a starry night. All the great East African lakes lie in the main rift, and doubtless the Red Sea and the Sea of Galilee are also part of this vast phenomenon. Later, about ten million years ago, a second rift occurred, and rifting and tilting kept on until perhaps a hundred thousand years before our era.

Recurrent change came in geography and climate. Europe and Africa were united by land and separated. Lower Egypt was submerged, and the Mediterranean extended to Persia. Finally, what the geologists call the modern world emerged. In Egypt great rivers poured down the hills between the Red Sea, and the Nile found old and new valleys. The Sahara was crossed by a network of rivers, pouring into a vaster Lake Chad and uniting the Niger, the Congo, and the Nile.

40-3-58

Gondwanaland, the ancient united continent of Africa, South America, and Asia, was divided into three parts by the new changes which caused the rift valleys. The radioactivity of the inner earth made the crust break apart. We can see by the map how Africa broke from South America and Europe from North America. Changes in climate were caused by the sun, the earth's inner heat, and by two main glacial periods in Africa. The rainfall varied, bringing periods of flood between the glaciers.

The continent of Africa in its final modern form has been described as a question mark, as an inverted saucer, as the center of the world's continents. Including Madagascar, it is three times the size of Europe, four times the size of the United States; and the whole of Europe, India, China, and the United States could be held within its borders. In actual measurement it is nearly square: five thousand miles long by fourthousand six hundred miles wide. But its northern half is by far the larger, with the southern half tapering off. In the middle the equator cuts across Africa, and the whole continent lies mainly within the tropics.

Of the physical aspects of Africa, its relatively unbroken coastline has had the greatest effect upon its history. Although Africa is about three times larger than Europe in area, the coastline of Europe is four thousand miles longer than that of Africa. In other words, Africa has almost no peninsulas, deep bays, or natural harbors. Its low and narrow coast, almost level, rises rapidly to a central plateau with a depression in the center. Thus the great rivers fall suddenly to the ocean, and their navigation is impeded by rapids and falls.

Its five areas include the original Great Plateau with an average elevation of over thirty-five hundred feet, where mountains crowned with snow rise from thirteen to twenty thousand feet. Over these open spaces have always roamed herds of wild animals -- elephants, rhinoceroses, and buffaloes.

40-3-144

The second area is the Great Depression, the basin of the Congo River draining nearly a million and a half square miles. Its average altitude is a thousand feet and it is the bed of a former inland sea. As Stanley described it: "Imagine the whole of France and the Iberian peninsula closely packed with trees varying from twenty to a hundred and eighty feet in height, whose crowns of foliage interlace and prevent any view of sky and sun, and each tree from a few inches to four feet in diameter." In this area lies the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa, Liberia and the British West African colonies.

The fourth area is the Sahara, extending from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. It covers three and a half million square miles and is divided into desert and fertile islands. In the past the Sahara was fertile and had a large population. Its surface today is often a hundred feet below sea level. In the east is Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan. North Africa lies on the Mediterranean with Algeria and Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. There are sense in which it is true that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," and also that "Europe ends at the borders of the Sahara."

Sixty million years ago vast reptiles and dinosaurs wandered over this continent. It became, as the years passed, a zoological garden with wild animals of all sorts. Finally there came domesticated cattle, sheep, and goats, and a tremendous development of insects. As Sir Harry Johnston well remarks, WAfrica is the chief stronghold of the real Devil -- the reactionary forces of Nature hostile to the uprise of Humanity. Here Beelzebub, King of the Flies, marshals his vermiform and arthropod hosts -- insects, ticks, and nematode worms -- which more than in other continents (excepting Negroid Asia) convey to the skin, veins, intestines, and spinal marrow of men and other vertebrates the microorganisms which cause deadly, disfiguring, or debilitating diseases, or themselves create the morbid condition of the persecuted human being, beasts, bird, reptile, frog, or fish."

40-3-145

Africa is a beautiful land; not merely comely and pleasant, but haunted with swamp and jungle; sternly beautiful in its loveliness of terror, its depth of gloom, and fullness of color; its heaven-tearing peaks, its selver of endless sand, the might, width, and breadth of its rivers, depth of its lakes and height of its hot, blue heaven. There are myriads of living things, the voice of storm, the kiss of pestilence and pain, old and ever new, new and incredibly ancient.

The anthropoid ape with the great brain who walked erect and used his hands as tools developed upon earth not less than half a million years ago. Traces of him have been found in Africa, Asia, and Europe and in the islands of the sea. Many types which developed have doubtless been lost, but one species has survived, driven hither and yon by cold and hunger, segregated from time by earthquake and glacier and united for defense against hunger and wild beasts.

Groups of this species must have inbred and developed sub-types over periods of tens of thousands of years. Of the sub-species thus developed, scientists have usually distinguished at least three, all of which were fertile in their cross-breeding with one another. In course of time they have given rise to many transitional groups and intermediary types, so that less than two-thirds of the living peoples of today can be decisively allotted to one or the other of the definite subspecies. These subspecies include the long-headed dark people with more or less crinkled hair whom we know as Negroids; the broad-headed yellow people with straight and wiry hair whom we call Mongoloids; and a type between these, possibly formed by their union, with bleached skins and intermediate hair, known as the Caucasoids.

No sooner had these variant types appeared in Central Africa, on the steppes of Asia, and in Europe than they merged again. The importance of these

types was not so much their physical differences and likenesses as their cultural development. As Frobenius says: "With vast and growing weight there begins to emerge today out of the microscopic spectacles of blind eyes, a new conception among living men of the unity of human culture." Inquiring search has made clear "here Greek, there old Mexican spirituality; here European economic development, there pictures of the glacial age; here Negro sculpture, there shamanism; here philosophy, there machines; here fairy tale, there politics."

10-3-1416

Was Africa the cradle of the human race? Did it witness man's first evolution from the anthropoid ape to Homo sapiens? We do not know. Charles Darwin thought that "it is somewhat more probable that our early progenitors lived on the African continent than elsewhere." Sir G. E. Smith agrees with this and says that Africa "may have been the area of characterization, or, to use a more homely phrase, the cradle, both of the anthropoid apes and the human family." From Africa, Negroids may have entered Asia and Europe. On the other hand, the human race originating in Asia or even in Europe may have invaded Africa and become Negroid by long segregation in a tropical climate. But all this is conjecture. Of the origin of the Negro race or of other human races, we know nothing. But we do know that human beings inhabited Africa during the Pleistocene period, which may have been half a million years ago.

"There was once an 'uninterrupted belt' of Negro culture from Central Europe to South Africa. 'These people,' says Griffith Taylor, 'must have been quite abundant in Europe toward the close of the Paleolithic Age. Boule quotes their skeletons from Brittany, Switzerland, Liguria, Lombardy, Illyria, and Bulgaria. They are universal through Africa and through Melanesia, while the Botocudos and the Lagoa Santa skulls of East Brazil show where similar folk penetrated to the New World.' Massey says: 'The one sole race that can be traced among the aborigines all over the earth or below it is the dark race of a dwarf, Negrito type.'"

40-3-147

It seems reasonable to suppose that Negroids originating in Africa or Asia appeared first as Negrillos. The Sahara at that time was probably covered with rivers and verdure and North Africa was in close touch with Mediterranean Europe. There came upon the Negrillos a wave of Negroids who were hunters and fishermen and used stone implements. The remains of an African stone age are scattered over a wide area with amazing abundance, and there is such a resemblance between implements found in Africa and those in Europe that we can apply, with a few differences, the same names. The sequence in culture in Europe resembles the sequence in Africa although they may not have been contemporary.

The most primitive type of stone implement was found in Uganda and is known as the pebble tool. The same pebble industry extended to Tanganyika and the Transvaal. This gave way to the hand-ax culture, which extended over North Africa, the Sahara, Equatorial Africa, West and South Africa. Superb hand axes and other tools are the evidence. Then the middle Paleolithic flake-tool culture spread over wide areas of Africa and is shown by perfect implements in South Africa and other places. The remains indicate a cave-dwelling people with a great variety of tools as well as beads and pottery.

During the Pleistocene period came a new Stone Age, with agriculture, domestic animals, pottery, and the grinding and polishing of stone tools. Evidence of this culture is found in Egypt and North Africa, the Sahara in West Africa, East and South Africa.

The Neolithic culture is of great significance. In Egypt it is found five thousand years before Christ. A thousand years later it changed from flint to copper. The Predynastic Egyptians who represented this culture were settled folk; they hunted and fished, and cultivated grain; made clothes and baskets, used copper, and were distinctly Negroid in physique. Probably they came from the

south, from what is now Nubia. Later there came to Egypt other people of the type corresponding to the modern Beja, who lived in settled communities and used copper and gold. This brown Negroid people, like the modern Beja, Galla, and Somali, mixed increasingly with Asiatic blood, but their culture was African and extended by unbroken thread up the Nile and beyond the Somali peninsula.

10-3-1417

The first wave of Negroes were hunters and fishermen and used stone implements. They gradually became sedentary and cultivated the soil and must have developed early artistic aptitudes and strong religious feeling. They built the stone monuments discovered in Negro Africa and the raised stones and carved rocks of Gambia. They did not mix with the Negrillos nor did they dispossess them, but recognized their ancestral land rights and seized unoccupied land. Thousands of years after this first wave of Negro immigrants there came another Negroid migration. The newcomers pushed north and west, dispossessed the Negrillos, and drove them toward the central forests and the deserts. They mixed more with the Negrillos, developed agriculture, the use of cattle and domestic fowl. They invented the working of iron and the making of pottery. Also, those who advanced farthest toward the north mixed with the Mediterranean race in varying degrees, so that sometimes the resulting population seemed white mixed with Negro blood and in other cases blacks mixed with white blood. The languages were mixed in various ways. Thus we had the various Libyan and Egyptian populations. All this migration and mixture took place long before the epoch of the first Egyptian dynasty.

The name "Negro" originally embraced a clear conception of ethnology -- the African with dark skin, so-called "woolly" hair, thick lips and nose; but it is one of the achievements of modern science to confine this type to a small district even in Africa. Gallas, Nubians, Hottentots, the Congo races, and the Bantus are not "genuine" Negroes from this view, and thus we find that the continent of Africa is peopled by races other than the "geniune" Negro.

40-3-149

Nothing then remains for the Negro in the "pure" sense of the word save, as Waitz says, "a tract of country extending over not more than ten or twelve degrees of latitude, which may be traced from the mouth of the Senegal River to Timbuktu." If we ask what justifies so narrow a limitation, "we find that the hideous Negro-type, which the fancy of observers once saw all over Africa, but which, as Livingstone says, is really to be seen only as a sign in front of tobacco-shops, has on closer inspection evaporated from almost all parts of Africa, to settle no one knows how in just this region. If we understand that an extreme case may have been taken for the genuine and pure form, even so we do not comprehend the ground of its geographical limitation and location. We are here in presence of a refinement of science which to an unprejudiced eye will hardly hold water."

Palgrave says: "As to faces, the peculiarities of the Negro countenance are well known in caricature; but a truer pattern may be seen by those who wish to study it any day among the statues of the Egyptian rooms in the British Museum: the large gentle eye, the full but not overprotruding lips, the rounded contour, and the good-natured, easy, sensuous expression. This is the genuine African model; one not often to be met with in European or American thoroughfares, where the plastic African too readily acquires the careful look and even the irregularity of the features that surrounded him; but which is common enough in the villages and fields where he dwells after his own fashion among his own people; most common of all in the tranquil seclusion and congenial climate of Surinam plantation. There you may find, also, a type neither Asiatic nor European, but distinctly African; with much of independence and vigour in the male physiognomy and something that approaches, if it does not quite reach, beauty in the female. Rameses and his queen were cast in no other mould."

What are the peoples who from vague prehistory emerged as the Africans of today? The answer has been bedeviled by the assumption that there was in Africa a "true" Negro and that this pure aboriginal race was mixed with a mythical "Hamitic race"

40-3-150

which came apparently from neither Europe, Asia, nor Africa, but constituted itself as a "white element" in Negro Africa. We may dismiss this "Hamitic" race as a quite unnecessary assumption and describe the present African somewhat as follows:

At aperiod as early as three thousand years before Christ the people of the North African coastal plains were practically identical with the early Egyptians and present two types: long-headed Negroid people and broad-headed Asiatics. Among the Berber types today are tall and medium long-headed people with bread faces, swarthy skin, and dark eyes. They have many Negroid characteristics, especially toward the south. Beside these there are short, broad-headed people.

These Berbers are the ones who correspond to the ancient Egyptians and who have close relationship to the Neolithic inhabitants of France. Among them today the Negro element is widely represented. It is in every part of Mauritania, where the reigning family itself is clearly of Negro descent. A large strain of Negro blood may also be found in Algeria.

In East Africa we have the Massai, Nandi, Suk, and others, tall, slender, and longheaded. In the case of the Massai the nose is thinner and the color tinged with reddish-brown. The Bari people are tall and the Lutoko very tall. Then there are the Nilotics in the Nile valley, extending south of Khartoum to Lake Kioga. Physically, as in the case of the Shilluk and Dinka, they are tall, very black, long-headed people, often with well-shaped features, thin lips, and high-bridged noses. The Nuba, tall, long-headed men, live in the hills of Kordofan. East of Kordofan are the Fung, with many tribes and with much Asiatic blood; and also broad-headed tribes like the Bongo and the Asande, a mixed people of reddish color with long heads.

On the other side of Africa, the lower and middle portion of the Senegal River forms a dividing line between West African types of Negroes and the Negroes of the Sudan. South of the river are the Jelofs and the Serers. With these are the

40-3-151

Senegalese, including the Tukolor and Mandingo tribes. They are dolichocephalic with broad and narrow noses. They are rather tall, some of them very tall, and their skin is very dark. The Mandingo, or Mandi, are among the most important groups of French Senegal and live between the Atlantic and Upper Niger. They are tall and slender with fine features, beards, and rather lighter skin than that of neighboring Negroes.

Among the most interesting of the West African people south of the Sudan are the Fulani, stretching from the Upper Niger to the Senegal River. They are Negroids, perhaps with Asiatic blood. They are straight-haired, straight-nosed, thin-lipped and long-headed, with slender physiques and reddish-brown color. The Songhay are tall and long-headed with well-formed noses and coppery-brown color. The people of Kanem and the Bagirmi cluster around Lake Chad. They are broad-nosed and dolichocephalic and resemble the Negroes on the Nile. In the east and South Africa are the Wachagga and the Fang and especially the Swahili, mixed people whose language dominates East Africa. They have all possible degrees of physical characteristics from Arabic to Negro. In South Africa there are the Bushmen, short, yellow, with closely-curled hair. Beside them live the Hottentots, probably Bushmen with Bantu admixture and later with white Dutch admixture which gave rise to the so-called "coloured" people.

The Negroes in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Guinea can be differentiated at present chiefly by their languages, which have been called Sudanic. Three great stocks prevail: the Twi, Ga, and Ewe. Belonging to these are the Ashanti, moderately tall men, long-headed with some broad heads; the Dahomey, tall, long-headed, and black; the Yoruba, including the peoples of Benin and Ibo, dark brown or black, closely curled hair, moderate dolichocephaly, and broad-nosed. Their lips are thick and sometimes everted, and there is a considerable amount of prognathism. The Kru, hereditary sailors, are typically Negroid with fine physiques. The Haussa of the Central Sudan are very black and long-headed but not prognathic and with thin noses.

40-3-152

Finally there are the Bantu, who are a congeries of peoples, belonging predominantly to Central and South Africa in occupying the southern two-thirds of black Africa. The Bantu are defined on purely linguistic criteria. The term "Bantu" primarily implies that the tribes included speak languages characterized by a division of nouns into classes distinguished by their prefixes (usually twelve to fifteen), absence of sex-gender in the grammar, and the existence of alliterative concord, the prefix of each class (noun-class) being repeated in some form or another in all words agreeing with any noun of that class in the sentence. It is the reappearance of the prefix in every word in agreement with the noun that gives the alliterative effect.

The southern Bantu outnumber all other groups of South Africa and are about four times as numerous as the Whites. They are divided into a large number of tribal units, each with its own distinctive name. In social organization and religious system they show broad resemblances to one another, but in details of history there are a number of important differences which permit of their being classified into four groups:

1. The Shona peoples of Southern Rhodesia and of Portuguese East Africa.
2. The Zulu-Xosa, chiefly in the coastal region south and east of the Drakensberg Mountains.
3. The Suto-Chwana occupy the greater portion of the high plateau north of the Orange River.
4. The Herero-Ovambo, in the northern half of Southwest Africa and in southern Angola.

In skin color the range is from the black of the Amaswazi to the yellowish-brown of some of the Bechuana. The prevalent color is a dark chocolate, with a reddish ground tint. The hair is uniformly short and woolly. The head is generally low and broad with a well-formed bridge and narrow nostrils. The face is moderately prognathous, the forehead prominent, cheekbones high, lips fleshy. The Negro facial type predominates in all groups, but side by side with it in the Zulu and

40-3-153

the Thonga sections are relatively long, narrow faces, thin lips, and high noses.

The inhabitants of Natal and Zululand, divided originally into more than a hundred small separate tribes, are all now collectively known as "Zulus," a name derived from one of the tribes which, under the domination of Chaka, absorbed and conquered most of the others and so formed the Zulu nation which played so important a part in the political history of South Africa during the nineteenth century.

Tribes vary in size, some having from a few hundred to a couple of thousand members. Others are much larger, for example, the Bakwena, 11,000; the Batawana, 17,500; the Bamagwato, 60,000; the Ovandonga, 65,000; the Ovakwanyama, 55,000; the Amaswazi, again, number 110,000; while the Basuto, by far the largest of all and might be called a nation, number nearly half a million.

The area of the western Bantu includes the Cameroons (French), Rio Muni (Spanish), the Gaboon (French), French Equatoria, the Congo (Belgian), Angola (Portuguese), and Rhodesia, with the fraction of Portuguese East Africa north of Zambesi. This vast area is the true "Heart of Africa," the tropical rain forest of the Congo. Johnston enumerated over one hundred and fifty tribes in this area who spoke Bantu or semi-Bantu tongues. The southern limit of the western Bantu is vague; the formation of the Lunda empire, the Yagga raids, and the subsequent encroachments of the Bajokwe (Kioko) have played havoc with tribal organisation. The Bateke occupy a vast region on the right bank of the Congo which is now largely peopled by the Fang, who in their various expeditions and conquests have left their mark on most tribes north of the Ogowe River. Finally, in the midst of Africa are the Negrillos or pygmies, small men with reddish-brown or dark skin and brachicephalic heads.

pp. 98 - 114

40-3-154

Civilization has flowed down to man along the valley of great rivers where the soil was fertile and man need not fear hunger, and where the waters carried him to other peoples who were thinking of problems of human life and solving them in varied ways. Some say that human culture started in the valley of the Yangtze and of the Hoang Ho. Some say it came up from Black Africa; some that it came west from the Euphrates; but it had begun more than four thousand years before Christ.

The development in Mesopotamia in the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates, which flows into the Persian Gulf and thence to the Indian Ocean, is striking. Before the year four thousand B.C. there is evidence that Negroid Davidians and Mongoloid Sumerians ruled in southern Asia, in Asia Minor, and in the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates. Negroids followed them under Sargon, and Sargon boasted that "he commanded the black heads and ruled them."

But it was in the valley of the Nile that the most significant continuous human culture arose, significant not necessarily because it was absolutely the oldest or the best, but because it led to that European civilization of which the world boasts today and regards in many ways as the greatest and last word in human culture.

Despite this, it is one of the astonishing results of the written history of Africa, that almost unanimously in the nineteenth century Egypt was not regarded as part of Africa. Its history and culture was separated from that of the other inhabitants of Africa; it was even asserted that Egypt was in reality Asiatic, and indeed Arnold Toynbee's Study of History definitely regarded Egyptian civilization as "white," or European! The Egyptians, however, regarded themselves as African. The Greeks looked upon Egypt as part of Africa not only

40-3-155

geographically but culturally, and every fact of history and anthropology proves that the Egyptians were an African people varying no more from other African peoples than groups like the Scandinavians vary from other Europeans, or groups like the Japanese from other Asiatics. There can be but one adequate explanation of this vagary of nineteenth-century science: it was due to the slave trade and Negro slavery. It was due to the fact that the rise and support of capitalism called for rationalization based upon degrading and discrediting the Negroid peoples. It is especially significant that the science of Egyptology arose and flourished at the very time that the cotton kingdom reached its greatest power on the foundation of American Negro slavery. We may then without further ado ignore this verdict of history, widespread as it is, and treat Egyptian history as an integral part of African history.

The Negroids came as hunters and fishermen. Probably they came up from Nubia. They began to settle down and till the soil. They were the Tasians, five thousand and more years ago; the people of the Fayum and the Marimde, the Badarians, settled folk, who hunted and fished but also cultivated crops. They made cloth from flax and skins, wove baskets, fashioned pottery, and ground ax heads and vessels. They had copper and varied tools of flint capable of working timber. Ivory was used for tools.

The Nile valley may be said to have invented agriculture. It was so obvious a way to make an easy living under pleasant conditions. Fresh rich soil rolled in each year, and the waters that brought it kept it moist and fertile. Irrigation became a prime necessity, and flood control. The use of near-by building materials -- wood, brick, and stone -- became natural; fibers were woven into cloth; architecture followed in the attempt to honor the dead with buildings which the dry climate preserved.

Tools were invented. The first tools were stone, the eolith and the stone ax. Then came metals; copper, especially from Nubia, and then iron. Boats and ships

40-3-150

sailed the river and the seas. The list of things which Egypt learned and handed down to us from that far day is enormous: the art of shaving, the use of wigs, the wearing of kilts and sandals, the invention of musical instruments, chairs, beds, cushions, and jewelry. The burial customs discovered in Europe came without reasonable doubt from Africa, brought by African invaders. Later the improvements made by the Egyptians were imitated in Sicily and Italy. Egyptian culture was in this way the forerunner of Greece.

In the meantime, other people, Mongoloids, filtered in from Asia. As the years passed a fixed type of Egyptian began to develop. In Egypt were all the requirements for the first long experiement in civilisation in ancient times: a well-watered valley, deserts and mountains on the outskirts to keep back the enemy and the beast; a favorable warm climate and a chance for contact with foreigners which could be regulated so as to keep out the invader and trade with him in goods and ideas. The civilization of Egypt began with their invention of fixing a calendar, 4241 B.C.

The predynastic Egyptian was short, scarcely over sixty-four inches, dolichocephalic, with a nasal index of about 50, all characteristics of a group of people known as Beja, a black people who inhabit the eastern desert of Egypt, the Red Sea province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and extend through the Italian colony of Eritrea to Abyssinia. The Beja are divisible into four groups, one of which is the "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" of the British soldier. They are the least modified of the Beja tribes and are the modern representatives of the old predynastic Egyptian stock.

In Egypt there is evidence of a gradual modification in the population from the beginning of dynastic times, so that by the Pyramid period Egyptians were of heavier build, with broader skulls and faces and heavier jaws. These are the people portrayed in such magnificent works of art of the Pyramid period as the sphinxes of Gizeh and the Louvre, and they are no doubt representative of a considerable part of

40-3-157

the population of the Ancient Kingdom. They were the creators of the finest statuary, wall paintings, and sculptures in low relief to which Egypt attained, and the consciously archaistic Egyptians of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty endeavored to imitate their work as representing the highest development of national art. This applies to Upper Egypt. We have no knowledge of what was happening in the delta through dynastic and predynastic times; the remains are hidden under great masses of alluvial deposits.

The type described persisted and probably increased in number through dynastic times, and it is that of the fellahin of the present day. The modern Egyptian, with a stature of about sixty-six inches, shows no great variation between Upper and Lower Egypt. He is long-headed. Moreover, in passing southward, it has been pointed out that the eye and skin color darken, that the proportion of unusually broad noses increases, and spiral and crisp hair become more frequent.

The history of civilization which began in Egypt was not so much a matter of dynasties and dates. It was an attempt to settle certain problems of living together -- of government, defense, religion, family, property, science, and art. What we must remember is that in these seven lines of human endeavor, it was African Egypt that made the beginning and set the pace.

In some respects what they did has not been greatly improved upon even down to the twentieth century. In a primitive tribe, government was the family. But the valley of the Nile had to expand, rebuild, and implement this. It devised a ruler, a ruling family, and a ruling caste. It put them permanently upon a throne which became so old and stable that no man remembered when there was not an Egypt, and when there had been another world worth knowing. This government had to be built up from the family and clan, and this was accomplished through religion.

The Egyptian religion came naturally from the primitive animism of the African forest and progressed to the worship of Ra, the sun god, giver of life and beauty to the Nile valley which was the world. Opposite Ra was Osiris, god of waters and

40-3-158

fertility, and his sister and wife Isis, the black woman. Thus from earliest times women in Egypt had singular prominence and power. The gods reflected the physical facts of the valley. The Greeks called the Egyptians "the most religious of men." There developed an oligarchy of gods and a priesthood which became a center of scientific knowledge; the laws of nature were studied and mathematical formulas devised.

The work of the nation had to be organized, the toil of planting and reaping, irrigation, burden-bearing. Work was organized so that the great mass of the laborers toiled under the whip but toiled according to plan. From their toil arose the concept of property, of wealth to be used by king and priest and noble. Power became concentrated in the hands of the Pharaoh, who headed the clans and nomes. There was a long prehistoric period when many kings fought for supremacy in the valley, but at last there came concentration and unity which existed for an extraordinary length of time.

Egypt did not remain a tyranny; an oligarchy of priests and nobles eventually took power from the Pharaoh. Then in time a popular revolution emancipated the masses. The people of Egypt were not enslaved. They have been described as a "submissive lighthearted race content with little, singing at their toil, working with taste and patience." This was the result of an unusually favorable economic organization. There was no need of starvation, exposure, or want. There was plenty in the valley if the river flow was controlled.

The first duty of government was this control of the river, which led to the power of the king, to the science of the priest, to the independence of the laborer. Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1500 B.C., has been called the first human example of state socialism, which was developed to an astonishing degree. Nor was the Egyptian formal and conventionalized. From a stiff traditional art in the earliest days, he developed individuality in expression. His spirit inquired into fresh

40-3-159

knowledge in this land hwere knowledge as "old as the world." The art of hieroglyphic writing was complete at the dawn of history, 3500 B.C., and it lasted three millenniums, until in the fourth century B.C., it was replaced by Coptic and Greek.

It would be interesting to know what the Egyptians, earliest of civilized men, thought of the matter of race and color. Of race in the modern sesne they seemed to have had no conception. On their monuments they depicted peoples by the color of their skin and their hair. The hair was treated in many ways: sometimes it was straight and Mongoloid; perhaps more often it was curled and Negroid. Now and then it was curly and hidden by wigs. The Egyptians painted themselves usually as brown, sometimes dark brown, sometimes reddish-brown. Other folk, both Egyptians and non-Egyptians, were painted as yellow. Often brown Egyptians were coupled with yellow women, either signifying less exposure to the sun or intermarriage with Mongoloids and whites. A few were painted as white, referring to some parts of North Africa and Europe.

Gradually, of course, the Egyptians became a separate inbred people with characteristics quite different from their neighbors. They were brown in color and painted themselves as such, but they recognized other colors and sorts of men. They were in continuous contact with the blacks to the south. Now and then they enslaved the blacks as they did the whites to the west and the yellow people to the east. But in the main their intercourse with the blacks consisted of trading and fighting with a people against whom they must defend themselves fiercely, but upon whom they depended for trade and for immigrants. Continually, black faces appear as Egyptian citizens. Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. described the Egyptians as black with curly hair. "The more we learn of Nubia and the Sudan," wrote Dr. D. Randall-MacIver, "the more evident does it appear that what was most characteristic in the predynastic culture of Egypt is due to intercourse with the interior of Africa and the immediate

40-3-160

influence of that permanent Negro element which has been present in the population of southern Egypt from remotest times to our own day."

Sir Flinders Petrie, in the same vein, wrote that it was remarkable how renewed vitality came to Egypt from the south.

For the period extending from the Sixth to the Eighteenth Dynasty, of the specimens studied about 20 percent of the males and 15 per cent of the females are grouped wiht the Negroes. For both periods there was a goodly per cent of specimens, the "intermediates," that show some Negroid traits, but in the "intermediates" the Negro features were not sufficiently numerous or distinct enough to warrant such skeletons being classed with the Negroes. In the United States all these would be legally Negroes.

Before the First Dynasty there must have been a long series of rulers who came out of the south, conquered the people, and consolidated their powers. Upper Egypt historically always had precedence over Lower Egypt, and the First Dynasty came from the direction of the heart of Africa. Eight kings are known in this dynasty, during which there was gradual advance in use of writing. Memphis was established as capital, and the eastern borders of the valley firmly conquered.

The First Dynasty appears to have moved up from Punt. The Third Dynasty, which led to the Fourth, shows a strongly Ethiopian face in Sa Nekht; the Twelfth Dynasty we can trace to a Galla origin; the Eighteenth Dynasty was Ethiopian paled by marriage; the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was from distant Meroe.

Among the Pharaohs of the earlier dynasties whose statues or recovered bones show them to have been deeply tinged with Negro blood are King Den of the First Dynasty, King Khasekhemui of the Second Dynasty.

In the Fourth Dynasty was erected the well-known statue of the Sphinx with the lion's body and Negro head entirely carved in native rock. It must have been carved

10-3-121

out of the rocky knoll of a hill. In this dynasty too there was the artistic attempt of man to rival nature. Vast buildings were placed before a background of hills or on a natural height. An artificial hill was built on which some great work of man was placed. Vast masses were used in construction. The sculptor sought to rival and even surpass nature. The painter used coloring and tints.

In the Fifth Dynasty the power of the priests was evidently growing, and religious foundations appear and with it a decline in the boldness of assertion of the earlier architecture. In the Sixth Dynasty came some of the great raids upon the Libyans to the east of Egypt. Tens of thousands of soldiers, Negroes particularly from the Sudan, beat this part of the land into subjection. Then the Pharaoh's army turned south and west and went through Nubia to force into subjection Negroes who were pressing northward upon the Egyptian state. Trading expeditions were sent to Punt. This was a time of active foreign conquest and exploration. One of the kings brought back to Egypt a dwarf from the Sudan.

The Seventh and Eighth Dynasties form an early intermediate period. The power of the kings at Memphis seems to have fallen into decay, perhaps through foreign invasion in the delta. During the Ninth and Tenth dynasties the invading race spread their rule over Upper Egypt. The Middle Kingdom began with the Eleventh Dynasty, when the Princes of Thebes became independent again. The ruler, Usertesen I, is pictured as triumphing over Asiatic and Negro. Evidently the defense of the kingdom from invaders became a serious problem when Egypt grew great and rich. A new vigor came into the administration with Amenemhat, who fought the Nubians and the Asiatics. The history of Sanehat (Sinuhi) is illustrative of the time. Because of the death of his father, he fled to Syria, where he became a ruler. "It gives a very curious view of the relation of Egypt to Syria at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. A fugitive Egyptian was superior to the Syrians, and by his education and ability might rise to high power, much like some English adventurer in Central Africa at the present time."

40-3-120

One king of the Twelfth Dynasty, Usertesen III, was especially triumphant over the Negroes who were threatening Egypt from the south, and this Pharaoh set up a boundary across which the Nubians must not come. To celebrate this clash between the Negroid Egyptian and the Central African, we have the first specimen of Egyptian poetry extant...

From the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Cynasties there comes a period which is obscure. During this time Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos kings, who were probably from the Arabian desert; but whether at the beginning or at the end of this period we are not certain. At the end of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty comes Ra-Nehesi, the king's eldest son, who is clearly called a Negro. This shows, of course, the development that had taken place in Egypt during two thousand years. There had grown up an Egyptian mulatto race differentiated in color and other physical characteristics from the Central Africans. So much so that the great triumph of Egypt was the conquest over these Africans.

The redemption of Egypt from the Hyksos came in the Eighteenth Dynasty through an Ethiopian power. The hyksos held Egypt perhaps five hundred years; then came Aahmes of the Thebaid. With Aahmes was associated the black Queen Nofritari, or Nefertari.

The stream of Egyptian history in the day of its proudest triumphs now merges into that of Ethiopia, the Land of the Blacks; in such wise that Ethiopian history is seen to be the main current of Negro culture, from the Mountains of the Moon to the Mediterranean, blossoming on the lower Nile, but never severed from the Great Lakes of Inner Africa.

40-3-162

pp. 115 - 147

In Greek legend, Ethiopia, "land of the burnt faces," lay either side of the Red Sea in Africa and Asia and was inhabited by black folk. Eventually the blacks mixed with yellow Asiatics. After the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the term Ethiopia was used usually to designate regions in Africa corresponding to what we now know as Nubia or the Egyptian Sudan. The Sudan was known to the Egyptians and Hebrews as Kash or Cush. In Hebrew folklore the descendants of Ham "were Cush and Egypt."

If efforts have been made to separate the history of Egypt from Africa and the Negro race, a similar determination with regard to Ethiopia is even more contradictory. Science for years tried to separate men into great groups called races; at first the object was to explain human history by human differences. The scientific basis of race difference, however, appeared increasingly difficult as observation and measurement became more accurate. Three, five, twenty races were differentiated, until at last it was evident that mankind would not fit accurately into any scientific delimitation of racial categories; no matter what criteria were used, most men fell into intermediate classes or had individual peculiarities. The theory of absolutely definite racial groups was therefore abandoned, and "pure" racial types came to be regarded as merely theoretical abstractions which never or very rarely existed.

On the other hand, individual variations among men were extraordinary and intriguing; and group differences in physique and cultural habits were equally interesting. It would therefore be helpful to science if the broad hypothetical division of men into three or five great groups in accord with physique and culture were provisionally maintained to facilitate, but certainly not to obstruct, further study. This was the scientific status of the race theory early in the twentieth century, and in accord with this we spoke of three "races" -- Caucasoid, Negroid, and Mongoloid -- as comprising mankind, knowing well that no scientifically accurate definition of these races

40-3-163

could be made which would not leave most of mankind outside the limits.

There was, however, persistent exception to this general agreement; under Caucasoid were included men of widely different physique inhabiting Europe; the term Mongoloid was even more vague and indefinite and nearly fell into disuse. But the term "Negro," as a definite and scientific race designation, persisted, and its use was defended with bitter determination by men who otherwise ranked as leading scientists. Despite the fact that the number of human beings corresponding to the current definition of the word "Negro" was narrowed again and again in space and number to a small remnant even in Africa, nevertheless in the usage of many distinguished writers there really emerged from their thinking two groups of men: Human Beings and Negroes. And the thesis of this book is that this extraordinary result came from the African slave trade to America in the eighteenth century and the capitalistic industry built on it in the nineteenth. The facts referred to are illustrated by the treatment of Ethiopia in archaeology, anthropology, and history. The contradictions concerning this land and people would be ludicrous if the results were not so tragic.

If we follow inherent probability, ancient testimony, and legend, this would seem to have been the history of northeast Africa:

In Ethiopia the sunrise of human culture took place, spreading down into the Nile valley.

Ethiopia, land of the blacks, was thus the cradle of Egyptian civilisation.

Beyond Ethiopia, in Central and South Africa, lay the gold of Ophir and the rich trade of Punt on which the prosperity of Egypt largely depended.

Egypt brought slaves from black Africa as she did from Europe and Asia. But she also brought citizens and leaders from black Africa.

When Egypt conquered Asia, she used black soldiers to a wide extent.

When Asia overwhelmed Egypt, Egypt sought refuge in Ethiopia as a child returns to its mother, and Ethiopia then for centuries dominated Egypt and successfully invaded Asia.

40-3-164

Neither Greece, Rome, nor Islam succeeded in conquering Ethiopia, although they pushed her back and shut her up in East and Central Africa, and hindered all contact between her peoples and the world until the day of colonial imperialism.

But this interpretation of Negro history contradicts the theory of the natural and eternal inferiority of black folk, which rendered them natural slaves and a cheap labor force for nineteenth-century industry. Those who depended on slavery and colonialism for living and luxury naturally, and often without conscious intent, sought eagerly for a science and history which would deny this interpretation of African history. They came gradually to declare vehemently that Egypt began her culture in the delta region, and Ethiopia was a far-off frontier and slave mart; that Punt and Ophir were in extreme East Africa or Asia; that the Asiatic conquest of Egypt marked her decline and the feeble efforts of Ethiopia showed an era of decadence; that even if Ethiopia showed some imitative culture, this was not due to black folk, since the Ethiopians were not Negroes!

The attitude of scientists toward these questions has thus been colored almost entirely by their attitude toward modern Negro slavery. The Frenchman Volney called the civilisation of the Nile valley Negro after his visit. But such a barrage of denial from later men met him that he withdrew his earlier conclusions, not because of further investigation, but because of scientific public opinion in the nineteenth century. Reisner unearthed a civilisation of black folk in Ethiopia, but hastened to declare that they were not Negroes! Reisner was born in sight of Negro slavery in America and never forgot it. Flora Shaw wrote of the blackest men of the Sudan and their brilliant civilisation, but warned her readers that they were not Negroes!

So here in Ethiopia, "Land of the Blacks," country of the "Burnt Faces," we are continually faced with the silly paradox that these black folk were not Negroes. What then are Negroes? Who are Africans? Why has the whole history of Ethiopia been

40-3-165

neglected or ascribed to white "Hamites"? And why does every historian and encyclopedist, whenever he writes of the civilization of the upper Nile, feel compelled to reiterate that these black people were "not Negroes"?

Again, the mixture of blood among the three races is always referred to as an explanation of the advance among Negroes and the retrogression among whites. Is this scientific? A "white" or Asiatic aristocracy is repeatedly adduced as accounting for the rise of the Sudan, the government of Uganda, the industry of the Bushongo, and even the art of the Ashanti. Nothing is ever said of the influence of Negro blood in Europe and Asia, yet distinct Negroid features can be seen today all over Europe. When a black Jew boasts to his fellow religionists "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem," he is supposed to be tanned; when Syria and Arabia show in hair and color their Negro blood, this is completely ignored and their culture called "white." When Buddha appears all over Asia portrayed as black and curly-haired, science makes little effort to investigate or explain.

There was and is wide mingling of the blood of all races in Africa, but this is consistent with the general thesis that Africa is predominantly the land of Negroes and Negroid peoples, just as Europe is a land of Caucasoids and Asia of Mongoloids. We may give up entirely, if we wish, the whole attempt to delimit races, but we cannot, if we are sane, divide the world into whites, yellows, and blacks, and then call blacks white.

As in the case of Egypt, I shall hereafter assume that the Ethiopians were Negroids and shall try to let the facts prove their contribution to civilization.

In the eyes of the Greeks a thousand years B.C. and even in the age of Pericles, black Africans were considered equal to though different from Greeks, and superior to European and Asiatic barbarians. Significant indeed was the attitude of the early Greeks toward Africa. It was to them a land of ideals. Here in legend their gods retired to rest and recuperate. In the dawn of Greek literature, in the Illiad, we

40-3-166

hear of the gods feasting among the "blameless Ethiopians."

According to mythology, the Greek people themselves came into being as the result of miscegenation. Zeus, the father of the Gods, mates with the [redacted] Greek maiden Io, and has a mulatto son, Epaphus, who is born in Egypt. Aeschylus says of this union, "And thou shall bring forth black Epaphus, thus named from the manner of Zeus' engendering. . . . Fifth in descent from him fifty maidens shall return to Argos [Greece], not of their choice but fleeing marriage with their cousin kin. Also, "Call this the work of Zeus, and that his race sprang from Epaphus, and thou shalt hit the truth."

Two of the most illustrious writers of Greece were called Negroes -- Aesop and Sappho. Planudes asserts this; Zundel, Champfleury, and others think that the woolly-haired Negro" on the coins of Delphos was Aesop. Ovid makes it clear that the ancients did not consider Sappho white. She is compared with Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, black king of Ethiopia. Ovid says: "Andromede patriae fusca colore suae." In Epistle XV of the Heroides of Ovid (translated by Ridley), Sappho says to Phaon, "I am small of stature but I have a name that fills all lands. I myself have produced this extended renown for my name. If I am not fair, Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, was swarthy though the complexion of her country was pleasing to Perseus. White pigeons, too, are often mated with spotted ones and the black turtledove is often beloved by a bird that is green."

Paul Lacroix says of Sappho: "Although Plato graces her with the epithet of beautiful and although Athenaeus is persuaded of her beauty on the authority of Plato, it is more probable that Maximus of Tyre who paints her for us as little and black is in conformity with more authentic tradition."

Pope's translation of Ovid reads: "Brown as I am, an Ethiopian dame."

Another Negro is mentioned in the Homeric legends, Eurybiates. Homer speaks of his "woolly hair" and "sable skin" and compares him with Ulysses, greatest of the heroes.

> Eurybiates in whose large soul alone
> Ulysses viewed an image of his own.

40-3-167

The Ethiopian Tithonus of Greek legend has been identified with Dedun, the Negro god of the Second Cataract.

"Of all the classical countries Ethiopia was the most romantic and the most remote. It was situated, according to the Greeks, on the extreme limits of the world; its inhabitants were the most just of men, and Jupiter dined with them twice a year. They bathed in the waters of a violet-scented spring, which endowed them with long life, noble bodies, and glossy skins. They chained their prisoners with golden fetters; they had bows which none but themselves could bend. It is certain that Ethiopia took its place among the powers of the ancient world. It is mentioned in the Jewish records and in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions."

In Africa were great and powerful kingdoms. When Greek poets enumerated the kingdoms of the earth, it was not only natural but inevitable to mention Memnon, King of Ethiopia, as leader of one of the great armies that besieged Troy. When a writer like Herodotus, father of history, wanted to visit the world, he went as naturally to Egypt as Americans go to London and Paris. Nor was he surprised to find the Egyptians, as he described them, "black and curly-haired."

Herodotus says that the names of nearly all the Greek gods are derived from Egypt, and certainly the Greeks continually turned toward Egypt for cultural inspiration and scientific information. Homer openly borrowed from Egypt his story of Ulysses, and the islands of forgetfulness were based on Egyptian stories.

The Ethiopians are closely linked with the rising and setting of the sun. Memnon, the son of Eos, says Hesiod, is their king. Aeschylus describes the Ethiopians as dark and living near the springs of the sun. Arctinus of Melitus writes of Memnon celebrating his participation on the side of the Trojans and his victory over Antilochus, the son of Nestor, and his eventual death at the hands of Achilles. In a myth of the fifth century B.C., Andromeda was pictured as the black daughter of Cepheus and Cassiopeia, rulers of Ethiopia. She was bound to a rock and saved by Perseus on

40-3-168

his return from his battle with the Medusa. Both Sophocles and Euripides wrote plays Andromeda, and Perseus, Memnon, and Andromeda were worshiped as heroes in Africa and Ethiopia.

The culture of Egypt went out across the Mediterranean, lighting fires in Crete, inspiring Asia from southern Arabia to Syria and western Asia Minor. In Cretan art Negro heads appeared, and in the late Minoan Age, at the time of the expansion overseas, a black Minoan captain led Negro troops. Doubtless Minoans made use of black regiments in their final conquest of Greece, and from vases dated the latter part of the sixth century B.C. it seems clear that Ethiopians entered Greece even before the time of Xerxes. Herodotus tells that in the army of Xerxes there were Ethiopians clothed in leopard and lion skins and armed with bows and arrows. He distinguishes between oriental Ethiopians and western Ethiopians; both were black, but the hair of the former was straighter than the close curled-hair of the latter and they spoke different languages.

Herodotus reduced the races of Ethiopia to four: two native and two foreign; the native were the Ethiopians and the Libyans, and the foreign, the Phoenicians and the Greeks. Among the Libyans, Herodotus and the Egyptians distinguished between Negroids and the Mongoloids: the Negroids came from the south and the Mongoloids from the east. They had mingled in various ways so that one reads of black Getuli and white Ethiopians. The Periplus of Scilex records four Libyan populations, and Diodorus Siculus speaks of three Libyan tribes of which one is Negroid. Thus the Negroid peoples of Africa were represented in neighboring Asia and in North Africa, as well as in the valley of the Nile and Central and West Africa.

Greek culture affected Africa at an early period, and Africa in turn affected Europe. According to Frazer: "It is no longer possible to regard the rule of succession to the priesthood of Diana at Aricia as exceptional; it clearly exemplifies a widespread institution, of which the most numerous and the most similar cases have thus far been found in Africa. How far the facts point to an early influence of Africa

40-3-169

on Italy, or even to the existence of an African population in southern Europe, I do not presume to say."

It is admitted today that pre-Greek peoples assembled a considerable body of notable scientific knowledge. Individuals approached their problems with logical powers of deduction and methods of systematization. Two thousand years before Christ an Egyptian physician had made the heart the center of the human system, measured the pulse, and had written down his observations and advice.

In art no race was so interesting to the artists of Greece and Rome as the black man. Other races in the classical world were pictured far less often in Hellenistic and Roman times; the Negro was rendered with fidelity during the most idealistic period of Greek art and with full appreciation of his type of beauty. Appearing at the earliest time, the Negro type continued to be popular throughout the whole period of Greek classical art. The myths of Hercules and of Busirus are painted on a vase dating from the sixth century B.C. Hercules is represented as black and curly haired; the Egyptians of Busirus are represented as both black and yellow, and a bodyguard of five Ethiopians are marching to the defense of Busirus.

There was close and fairly frequent connection between Europe and Africa. In prehistoric times the continents were connected by land. They were separated by no obstacles which hinder migration. The large number of islands scattered through the Mediterranean served as bridges, and peninsulas stretched out from Europe toward Africa. African colonists passed over to Greece by way of the islands beginning with Crete. From Numidia they crossed into Sicily, Italy, and southern France; by Gibraltar into Spain. There is evidence of Negro blood in Asia Minor as far as the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains.

The history of early Egypt was that of a duel between Ethiopia and Egypt, that is, between the ancient African cultures of the Upper Nile and the settled Egyptian

40-3-170

culture entrenched in the Nile valley. Over this long stretch of Egyptian history, biological as well as cultural differences appeared. The Egyptians became a settled race-type, brown and yellow in color, with a splendidly developed civilization.

The Ethiopians, on the other hand, were more purely Negroid, brown and black of skin and curly-haired. They were divided into various kingdoms and tribes and were continually raiding Egypt or defending themselves from Egypt, chiefly for the advantages of trade. They eventually became traders and middlemen between Egypt and Central and South-central Africa, and indirectly between Egypt and India. Their own development was in a way changed and directed by the fact that their leaders of ambition and ability were continually drawn off into the Egyptian civilization and rose in many cases to be leaders in Egypt. As Egypt expanded the Ethiopians were pushed back from the First to the Second, Third, and Fourth Cataracts.

During the middle kingdom of Egypt an independent Ethiopian culture developed, centered at Napata and Meroe, which carried on widespread trade in gold, ivory, precious stones, wood, and handicrafts. When at the end of this time the Asiatic Hyksos overthrew Egypt, Ethiopia became a refuge for the conquered Egyptians both physically and culturally. Noble Egyptian families migrated to Ethiopia and intermarried, and one such family formed the great Eighteenth Dynasty which rescued Egypt, and the son of a Pharaoh took the title of Royal Son of Kush. When, however, the Libyans in the Twenty-first Dynasty overthrew Egypt, the Ethiopians organized independently, and from 750 B.C. to A.D. 355 there are records of seventy-six rulers of Ethiopia.

With the Eighteenth Dynasty came the New Empire, and we are on firm historical grounds as to dates. It came to power in 1580 B.C. and lasted until 1345. Its center of power was Thebes, three hundred miles from Memphis and four hundred miles south of the Mediterranean. It was less than one hundred miles from the First Cataract, the legendary southern boundary of Egypt. The power of Aahmes was probably reinforced by his marriage with an Ethiopian princess, Nefertari, or Nefritari, who was invariably

40-3-171

painted black in Egyptian art and yet who was, as Petrie says, "the most venerated figure of Egyptian history."

Her statue in the Turin Museum represents her as having black skin. She is also painted black standing before Amenothes in the Deir el Medineh tomb, now in the Berlin Museum. This queen with a black skin has therefore been regarded as a Negress, the daughter of an Ethiopian Pharaoh, or at any rate the daughter of a chief of some Nubian tribe; it was thought that Aahmes must have married her to secure the help of the Negro tribes in his wars, and that it was owing to this alliance that he succeeded in expelling the Hyksos.

Naturally the legend of this black queen has caused heart-failure among white Egyptologists; they have called her "Libyan"; and Libya was certainly partly Negroid in race; but since the Libyans have usually been counted "white," why was the Libyan Nofritari black?

Nofritari reigned for a time conjointed with Amenothes, and we know that her rule was a prosperous one and that she was revered by her subjects. The remembrance of Nofritari always remained distinct in their minds, and her cult spread until it became a kind of popular religion.

Aahmes reigned from 1580 B.C. to 1577 B.C., and his son, Amenophis I, from 1577 B.C. to 1536 B.C. Amenophis I finally conquered an Ethiopian Kingdom named Kerma, which had been threatening Egypt since the Twelfth Dynasty, or about 1785 B.C. Then came by marriage Tuthmosis I, the conqueror of Syria and the valley of the Euphrates, where the Egyptians probably for the first time in their history saw mountains covered with snow. Tuthmosis I pushed Egyptian domination beyond the Third Cataract. After Tuthmosis I came his son Tuthmosis II, who reigned conjointly with his half-sister Hatshepsut for two or three years, then associated upon the throne a son by a concubine, Tuthmosis III. After the death of Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut assumed full power and was the acknowledged ruler of Egypt. The temple of Deir el Bahri, "Sublime of

40-3-172

the Sublime," designed by Tuthmosis II was completed by her in 1500 B.C., and it represented her expedition to Punt. The king and queen of Punt are represented as of the modern Hottentot type, and the queen with the characteristic steatopygia. After Hatshepsut's death Tuthmosis III came into full power.

His granite head in the British Museum has distinct Negro features. He extended Egyptian power east and south. He conquered Syria in seventeen campaigns and crossed the Euphrates. He fought in Libya and in Ethiopia. His reign was without doubt, as Petrie said, "one of the grandest and most eventful in Egyptian history." He repressed robbery and injustice, did much building and adorning of temples with the labor of his captives; and by taking the children of subdued kings in Asia as hostages to Egypt, established his empire on a sound basis perhaps for the first time in history. His empire extended from Napata to the Euphrates. The Assyrians and Babylonians sent their daughters to him in marriage, and the descendants of Syrian rulers, conquered by his father and educated in Egypt, rules as slaves of the Pharaoh. Tribute poured into Egypt. He reigned thirty-six years until the Hittites from the north and the Khabiri from the east began to press down upon Syria. His son Amenophis II, whom he had associated on his throne, reigned twenty-six years, leaving his throne to Tuthmosis IV.

This monarch married a black woman, Mutemua. Their son, Amenophis III, succeeded about 1400 B.C. He built the temple of Luxor at Karnak. He inherited his mother's Negroid features and married the brilliant Taia. It is possible that the Greeks derived the name of "Memnon, king of the Ethiopians," from this Pharaoh. J. G. Wilkinson says of Amenophis III: "The features of this monarch cannot fail to strike everyone who examines the portraits of Egyptian kings as having more in common with the Negro than those of any other Pharaoh." Anna Graves says: "Amenophis, or Amenhotep, III (1411-1375 B.C.) was evidently what, south of Mason and Dixon would be called a 'colored

40-3-173

many and his chief queen Taia must have had much more Negro blood than her husband. Indeed, judging from her portrait bust in the Berlin Gallery. . . she may have been very nearly pure Nubian. Their son, Amenophis, or Amenhotep, IV (1375-1358 B.C.), who later took the name Akhnaton, or Akhenaton, though less Negroid than his mother was more of the mulatto type than his father, and the portrait bust of his daughters show them all to be beautiful quadroons, though perhaps octoroons. And this mulatto Pharaoh, Akhenaton, was not only the most interesting Pharaoh in all the long lines of the many dynasties; but he was in many ways one of the most remarkable human beings who ever lived."

It was this ruler who brought profound revolution in the religion of Egypt, changed it to an imperial monotheism, and introduced a philosophical worship of the powers of nature.

The founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Rameses I, and his son, Seti I, became great builders of temples at Karnak and elsewhere. Then came the long reign of sixty-seven years of Rameses II, the Conqueror, who built monuments all over Egypt and Nubia and fought against the Libyans, Syrians, and Hittites. His conquests eventually exhausted the nation, which became prey to the Libyans and the peoples pressing down from the delta.

It was around 2500 B.C. that the Hebrew nation had begun to arise. It became enslaved in Egypt, perhaps in the times of Rameses I. Its history touched Ethiopia at many points, and Jews showed the blacks the highest respect.

The writer of the Song of Solomon defended the color of the Ethiopians:

I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem;

Jewish writers pictured Ethiopia as one of the most powerful countries of their day, equal in strength to Egypt, Persia, Assyria, and Babylon:

In Rome the spread of the ~~xspreadxofxthe~~ plantation system after the Second Punic War led to the wide use of slaves, but these slaves were from Greece and from Spain.

There are legends of the visit of Alexander the Great to Candace, Queen of of Meroe. Fabulous perhaps, but they show her fame. It is said that Candace would not let Alexander enter Ethiopia and ~~wasnod~~ him not scorn her people because they were black, for they were whiter in soul than his white folk. "She sent him gold, maidens, parrots, sphinxes, and crowns of emeralds and pearls. She ruled eighty tribes, who were ready to punish those who attacked her." The Ptolemies were in contact with the Abyssinians. The earliest Ptolemies were white; but as time went on they changed more and more toward the Negroid. "The Negro strain in Alexander II is apparent, and still more so in Ptolemy XIII, the flute-playing father of the most celebrated of the Cleopatras. Ptolemy's mother was a slave. Cleopatra herself is known through tradition as having been of a tawny, or mulatto color."

46-3-140

14. EUROPE AND AFRICA

The duel between Europe and Africa came with the Punic Wars: the first from 264 to 241 B.C.; the second from 218 to 201 B.C.; and the final one from 149 to 146 B.C. These years started as efforts to defend Italy against migration and conquest from Africa, where Mongoloids and Negroids with some infiltrating of Europeans had built the city of Carthage. Within this city all races were represented, and Carthage secured a stronghold in Sicily which the first Punic War was fought to break.

40-3-161

The Second Punic War began with the invasion of Spain by Carthage and the eruption of the Carthaginian army into Italy. Hannibal and his African troops must have brought a strong Negro strain into the Roman population. For thirteen years they dominated the Italina penisula from Naples to the Alps. Quite possibly this was the first world fight across the color line although, naturally, the world was not then conscious of mere skin color and did not emphasize it.

Among the Carthaginian troops were the dark Numidians streaming down across the desert which then had only begun to separate Central from North Africa. Curiously enough, on at least some of the coins minted while Hannibal ruled in Italy, was the figure of what we call a full-blooded Negro king on the obverse and an African elephant on the reverse. Was this a picture of Hannibal himself which would be according to Roman custom, or was it a picture of the character of most of his troops? Do the dark features of modern Italy come from this and other infiltration of Negro blood? The mere fact that the color line is not specifically mentioned or emphasized in the history of the Punic Wars means nothing. The world did not then regard it of paramount importance as it does today.

pp. 176 - 200

dale

The connection between Asia and Africa has always been close. There was probably actual land connection in prehistoric times, and the black race appears in both continents in the earliest records, making it doubtful which continent is the point of origin. Certainly the Negroid people of Asia have played a leading part in her history. The blacks of Melanesia have secured the seas, and Charles Tatlber makes them inventors of one of the world's first written languages: thus "this greatest of all human inventions was made by aborigines whose descendants today rank among the lowest, the proto-Australians."

40-80-10

The ethnic history of India would seem to be first a pre-historic substratum of Negrillos or black dwarfs; then the pre-Dravidians, a taller, larger type of Negro; then the Dravidians, Negroes with some mixture of Mongoloid and later of Caucasoid stocks. The Dravidian Negroes laid the bases of Indian culture thousands of years before the Christian era. On these descended through Afghanistan an Asiatic or Eastern European element, usually called Aryan.

The culture of the black Dravidians underlies the whole culture of India, whose greatest religious leader is often limned as black and curly-haired. According to Massey: "It is certain that the Black Buddha of India was imaged in the Negroid type. In the black Negro God, whether called Buddha or SutMahsi, we have a datum. They carry their color in the proof of their origin. The people who first fashioned and worshipped the divine image in the Negroid mould of humanity must, according to all knowledge of human nature, have been Negroes themselves. For blackness is not merely mystical, the features and hair of Buddha belong to the black race and Mahsi is the Negro name. The genetrix represented as the Dea Multimammia, the Diana of Ephesus, is found as a black figure, nor is the hue mystical only, for the features are Negroid as were those of the black Isis in Egypt."

Of the thirty apostles who took Buddhism to China, ten are represented as yellow, ten brown, and ten black. The Indian blacks, mingling with the straight-haired yellow Mongolcids, tended to have straighter hair long with their dark color than Africans, although this was not true in the case of the island Negroes.

According to Balfour: "Ethnologists are of the opinion that Africa has had an important influence in the colonisation of Southern Asia, of India, and of the Easter Islands in time prior to authentic history or tradition. The marked African features of some of the people in the extreme south of the Peninsula of India, the Negro and Negrito races of the Andamans and Great Nicobar, the Semang, Bila, and Jakun of the Malay Peninsula, and the Negrito and Negro, Papuan and Malagasi races of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, Australia, and Polynesia, indicate the extent which characterizes their colonization.... The spiral-haired Negro race seem to have preceded the lank-haired brown race....When we consider the position if India between the two great Negro provinces, that on the west being still mainly Negro, even in most of its improved race, and that on the east preserving the ancient Negro basis in points so near Indi as the Andamans and Kedah, it becomes highly probable that the African element in the population of the Peninsula has been transmitted from an Arabian period before the Semitic, Turanian, and Iranian races entered India and when the Indian Ocean had Negro tribes along its northern as well as its eastern and western shores....Perhaps all the original population of southern Arabia, and even of the Semitic lands, gerrally was once African."

Widney has said: "They (the Negroes) once occupied a much wider territory and wielded a vastly greatly influence upon earth than they do now. They are found chiefly in Africa yet traces of them are to be found through the Islands of Malaysia, remnants, no doubt, of that more numerous black population which seems to have occupied tropical Asia before the days of the Semites, the Mongols, and the Brahminic Aryan. Back in the centuries which are scarcely historic, where history gives only vague hintings, are traces of a widespread, primitive civilization, crude, imperfect,

40-8-0-11

garish, barbaric, yet ruling the world from its seats of power in the valley of the Ganges, the Euphrates, and the Nile, and it was of the Black races. The first Babylon seems to have been of a Negroid race. It was in the days before the Semite was known in either land. The Black seems to have built up a great empire, such as it was, by the waters of the Ganges before Mongol or Aryan. Way down under the mud and slime of the beginnings.... is the Negroid contribution to the fair superstructure of modern civilisation."

21-08-04

The Asiatic and African blacks were strewn along a straight path between tropical Asia and tropical Africa, and there was much racial intermingling between Africa and western Asia. In Arabia particularly the Mongoloids and Negroids mingled from earliest times. The Mongoloids invaded North Africa in prehistoric times, and their union with the Negroids formed the Libyans. Later there was considerable commerce and contact between the Phoenicians of North Africa, especially Carthage, and the black peoples of the Sudan.

Speaking of the mixture that went on in this area between Elamite black and Aryan white, Dieulafoy has said: "The Greeks themselves seemed to have known these two Susian races, the Negroes of the plains and the scythian whites of the mountains. Have not their old poets given to the direct descendants of the Susian, Memnon, the legendary hero who perished under the walls of Troy, a Negro father, Tithon, and a white, mountain woman as mother -- Kissia? Do they not also say that Memnon commanded an army of black and white regiments? 'Memnon went to the succor of Priam with ten thousand Susians and ten thousand Ethiopians.'. . . I shall attempt to show to what distant antiquity belongs the establishment of the Negritos upon the left bank of the Tigris and the elements constituting the Susian monarchy. . . .Towards 2300 B.C., the plains of the Tigris and AnsanSusinka were ruled by a dynasty of Negro kings.

"The coming of this dynasty of Medes corresponded perhaps to the arrival in the south of an immense Scythian invasion. Pushed back by the black Susians after having

possession of the mountains, the whites poured into the plains of the Tigris and remained master of the country until the time when Kudur Nakhunta subdued Chaldea and founded AnsanSusinka. He added to the territory of the blacks -- Nime, Jussi, Habardip -- all the mountainous districts once inhabited by the whites of the Scythian race."

40-8U-13

Herodotus, who visited this region in the fifth century B. C., mentioned the dark skins of the people. He called them Ethiopians, but said their hair was straighter than those of the western Ethiopians, who had woolly hair. The Elamites, however, seemed rather to have belonged to the more Negroid stock of the west; their hair, as seen on the monuments, is short and woolly. " The Elamites," said Sir Harry Johnston, "appear to have been a Negroid people with kinky hair and to have transmitted this racial type to the Jews and Syrians. There is curliness of the hair, together with a Negro eye and full lips in the protraiture of Assyria which conveys the idea of an evident Negro element in Babylonia. Quite probably the very ancient Negro invasion of Mediterranean Europe (of which the skeletons of the Alpes Maritimes are vestiges) came from Syria and Asia Minor on its way to Central and Western Europe."

Professor Toynbee also says, "The primitive Arabs who were the ruling element of the Omayyad Caliphate called themselves 'the swarthy people' with a connotation of racial superiority, and their Persian and Turkish subjects, 'the ruddy people,' with a connotation of racial inferiority, that is to say, they drew the distinction that we draw between blonds and brunets but reversed the value."

Carthage especially traded with the Sudan for gold dust, ostrich feathers, and ivory in exchange for textiles, cloth, copper, and beads. Often the Carthaginians settled among the Negroes and the Negroes among them. As a result the horse became known in the Sudan, textiles were made from cotton, and gold was gathered and worked. The glass industry was born and spread. The Libyans, or Berbers, were descendants from the populations of North Africa which consisted of an Asiatic element that came in prehistoric times and mixed with the Negroids. From these mixed races came the Sudan stone houses and the cemented wells and the spread of cattle-raising and gardening.

The whole population becomes darker and darker toward the south, until it merges into the blacks of the Sudan. The divisions, especially the political units -- Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco -- have no anthropological significance and do not correspond to any ethnic division. There are many striking groups: the Negroid Tuareg, or people of the Veil; the Tibu, or rock people, Negroids with mixed Mongoloid or Caucasoid blood; the dark Fulani, scattered all over North Africa from the Upper Niger to the Senegal and forming ften the dominant political pwer in the lands toward the coast.

Mohammedanism arose in the Arabian deserts, starting from Mecca which was in that part of the world which the Greeks called Ethiopia and regarded as part of the African Ethiopia. It must from earliest time have had a large population of Negroids.

The two greatest colored figures in the history of Islam are Bilal-Habesh (Bilal of Ethiopia) and Tarik-bin-Ziad: "Bilal-i-Habesh was Mohammed's liberated slave and closest friend to whom he gave precedense over himself in Paradise. The Prophet liberated all his slaves, and they were all well-known figures in the early Islamic history. He adopted as his own son another Negro, Zayd bin Harith, his third convert, who rose to be one of his greatest generals. Later, to show his regard for Zayd, he took one of Zayd's wives, the beautiful Zainab, as his own. But Bilal stands out in greatest relief. Apart from his services in the cause of Islam, it was through him that the Moslems decided to use the human voice instead of bells to call the Moslems to prayer. He had evidently a marvelous voice and was the first who called for prayers in Islam.

"Tarik-bin-Ziad also was a slave and became a great general in Islam and was the conqueror of Spain as the commander of the Moorish Army which invaded Spain. Jebel-u-Tarik (the mount of Tarik), that is Gibraltar, is named after him. One of the greatest Turkish classics is called 'Tarik-bin-Ziad' and has him as its hero. It was written by Abdul-Hak-Hamid, our greatest poet (alive though 84) and equals any tragedy of Corneille. I do hope that some time the biographies of these great figures will be written in English."

40-80-14

The Arabs brought the new religion of Mohammed into North Africa. During the seventh century they did not migrate in great numbers. Spain was conquered not by Arabs, but by armies of Berbers and Negroids led by Arabs. Later, in the eleventh century, another wave of Arabs came, but the number was never large and their prestige came from their religion and their language, which became a lingua franca for the peoples north and south of the Sahara. The total substitution of Arabian for Berber or Negro blood was small.

Anyone who has traveled in the Sudan knows that most of the "Arabs" he has met are dark-skinned, sometimes practically black, often have Negroid features, and hair that may be almost Negro in quality. It is then obvious that in Africa the term "Arab" is applied to any people professing Islam, however much race mixture has occurred, so that while the term has a cultural value it is of little ethnic significance and is often misleading.

The Arabs were too nearly akin to Negroes to draw an absolute color line. Antar, one of the great pre-Islamic poets of Arabia, was the son of a black woman; and one of the great poets at the court of Harun-al-Rashid was black. In the twelfth century a learned Negro poet resided at Seville.

The Mohammedans crossed the Pyrenees in A.D. 719 and met Charles Martel at Poitiers; repulsed, the invaders turned back and settled in Spain. The conflict for the control of the Mohammedan world eventually left Spain in anarchy. A prince of the Omayyads arrived in 758. This Abdurahman, after thirty years of fighting, founded an independent government which became the Caliphate of Cordova. His power was based on his army of Negro and white Christian slaves. He established a magnificent court and restored order, and his son gave protection to writers and thinkers.

Eventually rule passed into the hands of a mulatto, Almansor, who kept order with his army of Berbers and Negroes, making fifty invasions into Christian territory. He died in 1002, and in a few years the Caliphate declined and the Christians began to reconquer the country. The Mohammedans looked to Africa for refuge.

In the eleventh century there was quite a large Arab immigration. The Berbers and some Negroes by that time had adopted the Arab tongue and the Mohammedan religion, and Mohammedanism had spread slowly southward across the Sahara.

The invasions of the eleventh century were launched in 1048 by the Vizier of Egypt under the colored Caliph Mustansir. Each man was provided with a camel and given a gold piece, the only condition being that he must settle in the west. In two years they pillaged Cyrenaica and Tripoli and captured Kairwan. The invaders for the most part settled in Tripoli and Tunis, while their companions pressed on westward into Morocco. This exemplifieds the process of arabization in North Africa, and it was to a large extent a reflex from the infusion that had most to do with the arabisation of the Nile valley. It is thus responsible for much of the present-day distribution of the "Arab" tribes of the Sudan.

40-8-04-16

We know that in 850 four hundred black East Africans had been enrolled in the army of Abu'l Abbas, ruler of Bagdad, and that they rose in revolt with a Negro, called "Lord of the Blacks," at their head. In 869 the Persian adventurer, Al Kabith, summoned the black slaves to revolt, and they flocked to his side in tens of thousands. In 871 they captured Basra and for fourteen years dominated the Euphrates delta. When Masudi visited this country fourteen years later, he was told that this conquest by famine and sword had killed at least a million people.

~~pp. 79-81~~ 80

40-3-51

The rebirth of civilisation in Europe began in the fifteenth century. At this time African and Asiatic civilisations far outstripped that of Europe. In the black Sudan nations, civilisations had risen and fallen even earlier. Melle, which flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, fell before the empire of the Songhay, which in the fifteenth century became a vast, organised government two-thirds the size of the United States, with trade and commerce and cultural connections, through its University of Sankoré, with Spain, Italy, and the Eastern Roman Empire. The city-states and Atlantic culture of the West Coast of Africa had fought back triple pressure from the Sudan, the Arabs in the Nile valley, and the emigrating Bantu sweeping down on the kingdoms of the Congo.

It was here that the rape of Africa began and transformed the world. There can be little doubt but that in the fourteenth century the level of culture in black Africa south of the Sudan was equal to that of Europe and was so recognized. There is even less doubt but that Negroid influence in the valley of the Nile was a main influence in Egypt's development from 2100 to 1600 B.C.; while in East, South, and West Africa human culture had from 1600 B.C. to A.D. 1500 its monuments of a vigorous past and a growing future. What changed all this? What killed the Sudanese empires, brought anarchy into the valley of the Nile, decimated the thick populations of East and Central Africa, and pressed the culture of West Africa beneath the ruthless heel of the rising European culture?

In Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there began to appear national integration of culture patterns, with no little inspiration from the East and from Africa. There followed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries increased freedom of thought and impatience with dogma; and in the seventeenth, came scientific inquiry and the beginning of a demand for democratic control of government.

40-3-52

But from 1400 to 1800 also came discovery, trade, and the beginnings of a new enslavement of labor. In the eighteenth century these developments leaped into opposition. The slavery of labor expanded enormously in the New World, concurrent with a new development of trade, industry, and wealth in the Old. These trends met head on with a revolutionary demand for democracy and social freedom in Europe. The clash of ideals was revealed in the nineteenth century by freedom for exploitation of slaves in America and a consequent reaction against the demands of European labor led by Napoleon and British Capital. Let us follow the details of this story.

The importance of the discovery of America was not the treasure of precious metals it provided, but the new and widening market and source of supply it offered European manufacturers by the exchange of tobacco, sugar, and cotton for manufactured goods. Its first effect was to raise the mercantile system to glory and splendor. World trade increased enormously. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the centuries of trade, and eventually, by the rise of capitalism, the nineteenth century became the century of production.

During the Middle Ages there had been little direct commerce between Europe and West Africa. Arabs, Berbers, and eventually Negroids like the Mandingos became intermediaries for the trade between Europe and the Sudan. Rumors filtered through the Moroccan ports regarding the Kingdom of Ghana, the Niger, "the western Nile," and the black peoples round about. The Arabs bought gold from the Negroes and sold it to the Jewish merchants in Majorca.

The demand of Europe in the fifteenth century was for new and shorter paths to the East, to the spices, silks, and other luxurious articles of the East. In this quest Spain found silver in the New World, and Portugal triumphed when she found gold in Africa. The Portuguese trade monopoly with Africa and thence to India extended over half a century. She developed an empire of tremendous wealth.

40-3-97

The object of Prince Henry (1394-1460) of Portugal was mainly trade to India. At the same time he hoped by union with Prester John of Ethiopia to evangelise the Negroes of all Africa and make common cause against the Mohammedans. Henry heard of the gold for which the Carthaginians had bartered at Timbuktu. Having seized Ceuta, he began to explore, and after nineteen years his seamen rounded Cape Bojador.

In 1441 Goncalves brought to Lisbon the first cargo of slaves and gold. Very shortly a flourishing trade in gold, slaves, ostrich feathers, amber, and gum opened up between Portugal and black Africa. The Portuguese tried to conceal this trade from the rest of Europe. They did not actually find the black kingdom of Ghana, but they called the coast which did discover "Guinea," after mysterious Ghana. They heard of the empire of Melle at Timbuktu but did not actually reach it. They had commerce with the kingdom of the Jolofs and with other coast tribes. Eventually they reached the Gold Coast, or as they called it, "the Mine," where gold could be had in large quantities. They found that these Negroes were great traders who brought the gold from the interior when they could persuade the coast tribes who lived by fishing to let the gold bearers through. Eventually they came in contact with the kingdom of Benin and a mighty interior empire whose sovereign was the Ogani.

For fifty years, from 1480 to 1530, the Portuguese had a monopoly of the Guinea trade and reaped huge profits, seldom less than 50 per cent and sometimes as high as 800 per cent. Between 1450 and 1458 ten or twelve ships a year were sent to Guinea, and the amount of gold dust reached a value of over two million dollars a year, and after 1471 rapidly exceeded this.

Next to the trade in gold came the highly important importation of labor into Portugal. By the middle of the fifteenth century nearly a thousand blacks had been imported. A century later a vast majority of the inhabitants of the southernmost province were Negroids, and even up as far as Lisbon, Negroes outnumbered the whites. The two races intermingled, resulting in the Negroid characteristics of the Portuguese nation even today.

40-3-98

The Guinea trade was at first mainly in gold, pepper, and other commodities, with some trading in slaves which went to Europe. In the sixteenth century, however, it began to change, and slaves began to be sent to South America. This was not at first a large trade and did not compete with legitimate commerce; but it grew, and by 1540 reached ten thousand slaves a year. The reason for this was not far to seek. Between 1480 and 1578 the peoples of Guinea enjoyed a vigorous life with economic independence based on foreign trade. Gold, ivory, and pepper were valuable as exports before the discovery of America and continued long afterward. But by the middle of the sixteenth century there was trouble in West Africa. A vast migration of black people, the Limbas, moved slowly westward from Central Africa. They were a part of the migration of the Bantu moving down from the Mohammedan invasion of the Nile Valley and the empire-building of the black kingdoms of the Sudan. They destroyed villages, massacred the inhabitants, and were soon in fierce competition with the Sousas, who possessed the most formidable native army in West Africa at that time. Migration and native wars lasted for a generation. This meant that the cheap labor of captives became available on the West Coast and opened the way for the beginning of the American slave trade. With this slave trade came trouble, not simply among native tribes but also between the Portuguese and the natives.

After 1530 the Portuguese empire in Guinea was a vast commercial enterprise, but the overhead charges, caused by difficulties with the natives and the beginning of European competition, equaled and began to exceed production. The first threat to Portuguese dominance in Guinea came from the French. By the Treaty of Crespy in 1544 the right of Frenchmen to trade in the Indies, east and west, was proposed but not ratified. French trade began to multiply after 1555; relations between Portugal and France became strained on account of the French pirates and privateers. The monopoly of the Portuguese in West Africa practically ended in 1555. The French Huguenots forced themselves into the Guinea trade after 1571, under the inspiration of Admiral

Coligny. British merchants during the reign of Queen Mary became interested. Queen Elizabeth fought the monopoly claims of Portugal and Spain and herself participated in the Guinea trade.

40-3-99

Between 1559 and 1561 the British explorer, Martin Frobisher, took part in piracy and trade. From 1561 to 1571 the British trade increased over the French and there was direct traffic between England and Africa. "The first Englishman of note to engage in the traffic was the celebrated John Hawkins, afterwards knighted by Elizabeth and appointed Treasurer to the Navy. Froude calls him 'a peculiarly characteristic figure,' and he certainly presents that blending of piracy and piety, rascality and religion, so common in the days of Elizabeth and not altogether unknown in ours. Hawkins appears to have had his eye for a long time on the slave trade as a very lucrative business, and as the Spaniards claimed a practical monopoly, patriotic feeling -- the desire to bread down the Spanish claim -- went, as is again not unusual, with profit. At any rate, after a reconnoitering trip, Hawkins returned to England and fitted out an expedition of five vessels, to which were later added another three. In this venture, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Pembroke, and others took shares. So did Queen Elizabeth. She lent the ship Jesus, and Hawkins drew up rules for his men, the two first of which ran: 'Serve God daily,' and 'Love one another.' The piety of the expedition was beyond reproach. So was its practice, as we read that finding the natives of Cape Verde to be of 'a nature very gentle and loving,' and 'more civil than any others,' Hawkins prepared to kidnap a number of them. After sailing for some time, 'burning and spoiling,' he landed in the Spanish American settlements and compelled the colonists to purchase the slaves at his own price. Quite fittingly, Hawkins was granted a coat of arms consisting of 'a demi-Moor in his proper colours, bound and captive,' as a token of the new trade he had opened to Englishmen."

40-3-100

Meantime disaster overtook the Portuguese. King Sebastian attacked the Moors in North Africa and was killed. His death in 1578 changed the position of Guinea. Within two years Portugal had passed under the domination of Spain, and West Africa with some resistance submitted to Spain. Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) was able to defend to some extend his African empire, but eventually Spain was cut off from Africa by papal decree. Then came Portugal's annexation to Spain in 1581 and the loss of Spanish maritime power by the destruction of the Armada in 1588, which was a death blow to the commercial empire of Spain and Portugal.

The Protestants of England, the Huguenots of France, and the Calvinists of Holland started mortal struggle for Guinea. Eagerly the Dutch took over the Portuguese islands and settlements and formed in 1602 the East India Company.

With the seventeenth century the battle of commerce was on. The Dutch and the British fought to a finish in the Atlantic to dominate the Atlantic trade. The Portuguese, British, and Dutch fought in India. Between them they killed the trade of the German Hanseatic League and overthrew the economic dominance of Spain. Cromwell seized Jamaica as a center of British slavery and the slave trade. In Africa the kingdoms of the black Sudan moved east and displaced the Nilotic Negroes. From among these, peoples like those of the Fang and the Bambara kingdoms between the Nile and the West Coast pressed farther down upon the withdrawing Bantu.

In the seventeenth century the African slave trade to America expanded. It was not yet however a trade which made the word synonymous with Negro or black: during these years the Mohammedan rulers of Egypt were buying white slaves by the tens of thousands in Europe and Asia and bringing them to Syria, Palestine, and the Valley of the Nile. In the west, however, the character of world trade began subtly to change. While the theory of mercantilism still prevailed in academic circles and commerce continued to pour African gold into Europe, and while the Negroes and Arabs sent gold to India to bedeck the gorgeous moguls, in practical commerce the importation of gold from Africa and silver from Peru was losing its dominant attraction.

40-3-04

What was needed was human labor; labor to raise food in Spain and Portugal; labor to raise sugar and tobacco in the West Indies and North America.

The labor situation in Europe at the time made slave labor in America peculiarly profitable. The working population of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was limited. The devastation of the Thirty Years' War and the demand for labor and services on the feudal estates made any large-scale exportation of labor to America unthinkable. On the other hand, sugar, cotton, and tobacco were suitable to mass production on the plantations with conventional standards of work, simple tools, and comparatively small outlay for clothing and food. The organized slave gang was more profitable on the land than the peasant proprietor. The new capitalism as a method of production and trade began to supplant the farmer and merchant at home in Europe.

In 1660 the upheaval of Civil War in England was at an end, and England was ready to embark on the slave trade for the benefit of her sugar and tobacco colonies. The British increased the import of slaves to America, raised sugar, indigo, and cotton, and began to bring these goods to England for processing. They then exported some of these processed foods to Africa to buy more slaves. Trade began to change from a gambler's search for treasure to investment for permanent income; and this income consisted of goods for sale which were in practice found more valuable than treasure for hoarding. To perfect this arrangement slaves and more slaves must be had.

At the same time, the conscience of the world began to writhe. "Modern slavery was created by Christians, it was continued by Christians, it was in some respects more barbarous than anything the world had yet seen, and its worst features were to be witnessed in countries that were most ostentatious in their parade of Christianity. It is this that provides the final and unanswerable indictment of the Christian Church." There had been the splendor of the Catholic Church under Alexander VI and Leo X, and then the revolt led by Luther, the Reformation. Thus was the growing consciousness of

the dignity of the human soul brought face to face with slavery and a new slave trade. Gradually it was rationalized widely as a method of rescuing the heathen from perdition and saving his soul. However, this rationalization meant nothing when it conflicted with the profits of trade; and planters particularly, stoutly refused to release converts, and innumerable Christians often would not allow conversion. The profits of this new aspect of trade meant investment and the capitalist system.

40-3-60

Investment called for labor, and cheap labor, if the profit was to be high; but labor was beginning to be conscious and to revolt. This was the meaning of the Peasant War in Germany in the sixteenth century. But there was revolt and revolutionary thought not only in Europe; indeed it may be insisted that the revolt of labor against its modern degradation began in America rather than in Europe. This was the meaning of five slave revolts among the blacks in America and the beginning of the fateful dynasty of maroons, or free Negroes, hiding in organized rebellion in the mountains of Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti, in Mexico and Brazil. In the seventeenth century, with the increased importation of slaves, there were nine revolts, leading to pitched war in Jamaica and Barbados and Haiti and to the independent state of Palmares in Brazil.

Nevertheless, England had the bit in her teeth. "Royal adventurers trading to Africa" in 1667 had among them members of the royal family, three dukes, eight earls, seven lords, and twenty-seven knights. With the end of the civil war in England, British merchants crowded upon the landholding aristocracy for an increased share in the profits of industry. While the British were fighting ostensibly for dynastic disputes in Europe, they were really, in the War of Spanish Succession and in the Seven Years' War, fighting for profit through world trade and especially the slave trade. In 1713 they gained, by the coveted Treaty of Asiento, the right to monopolize the slave trade from Africa to the Spanish colonies. In that century they beat

Holland to her knees and started her economic decline. They overthrew the Portuguese in India, and finally, by the middle of the century, overcame their last rival in India, the French. In the eighteenth century they raised the slave trade to the greatest single body of trade on earth.

40-3-61

The Royal African Company transported an average of five thousand slaves a year between 1680 and 1686; but the newly rich middle-class merchants were clamoring for free trade in human flesh. Eventually the Royal African Company was powerless against the competition of free merchant traders, and a new organization was established in 1750 called the "Company of Merchants trading to Africa."

In the first nine years of this "free trade," Bristol alone shipped 160,950 Negroes to the sugar plantations. In 1760, 146 ships sailed from British ports to Africa with a capacity of 36,000 slaves. In 1771 there were 190 ships and 47,000 slaves. The British colonies between 1680 and 1786 imported over two million slaves. By the middle of the eighteenth century Bristol owned 237 slave trade vessels, London, 147, and Liverpool, 89.

Liverpool's first slave vessel sailed for Africa in 1709. In 1730 it had 15 ships in the trade and in 1771, 105. The slave trade brought Liverpool in the late eighteenth century a clear profit of £300,000 a year. A fortunate slave trade voyage made a profit of £8,000, and even a poor cargo would make £5,000. It was not uncommon in Liverpool and Bristol for the slave traders to make 100 percent profit. The proportion of slave ships to the total shipping of England was one in one hundred in 1709 and one-third in 1771. The slave traders were strong in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and a British coin, the guinea, originated in the African trade of the eighteenth century.

The Loot of India

In the midst of this, a tremendous treasure from India poured into England. The Battle of Plassey gave India to the British Empire for plunder on a scale seldom seen

40-3-111

before or since. The enormous extent of robbery of the Indians by British civil servants has been abundantly proved. Hewitt referred to "the scenes and transactions in our great Indian empire -- that splendid empire which has poured out such floods of wealth into this country; in which such princely presents of diamonds and gold have been heaped on our adventurers; from the gleanings of which so many happy families in England 'live at home at ease' and in the enjoyment of every earthly luxury and refinement. For every palace built by returned Indian nabobs in England; for every investment by fortunate adventurers in India stocks; for every cup of wine and delicious viand tasted by the families of Indian growth amongst us, how many of these Indians themselves are now picking berries in the wild jungles, sweltering at the thankless plough only to suffer fresh extortions, or snatching with the bony fingers of famine, the bloated grains from the manure of the high-ways of their native country!"

The directors of the East India Company themselves admitted: "We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants, and the universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement. The general relaxation of all discipline and obedience, both military and civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government. Our letter to the Select Committee expresses our sentiments of what has been obtained by way of donations; and to that we must add, that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country!"

However this wealth was obtained and however pious the regret at the methods of its rape, there can be no doubt as to what became of it. Its owners in the main were not royal spendthrifts, nor aristocratic dilettantes; and even if some were, their financial advisers put their funds largely into the safe investment of West Indian slavery and the African slave trade. Thus an enormous amount of free capital seeking

safe investment and permanent income poured into the banks, companies, and new corporations. The powerful British institution of the stock exchange was born.

40-3-112

It was Karl Marx who made the great unanswerable charge of the sources of capitalism in African slavery: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's anti-Jacobin war, and is still going on in the opium wars against China. . . ."

"With the development of capitalist production during the manufacturing period, the public opinion of Europe had lost the last remnant of shame and conscience. The nations bragged cynically of every infamy that served them as a means of capitalistic accumulation. Read, e.g., the naive Annals of Commerce of the worthy A. Anderson. Here it is trumpeted forth as a triumph of English statecraft that at the peace of Utrecht, England extorted from the Spaniards by the Asiento Treaty the privilege of being allowed to ply the Negro trade, until then only carried on between Africa and the English West Indies, between Africa and Spanish America as well. England thereby acquired the right of supplying Spanish America until 1743 with four thousand eight hundred Negroes yearly. This threw, at the same time, an official cloak over British smuggling. Liverpool waxed fat on the slave trade. This was its method of primitive accumulation. And, even to the present day, Liverpool 'respectability' is the Pindar of the slave trade which . . . has coincided with that spirit of bold adventure which has characterised the trade of Liverpool and rapidly carried it to its present state of prosperity; has occasioned vast employ-

ment for shipping and sailors, and greatly augmented the demand for the manufactures of the country.' Liverpool employed in the slave trade, in 1730, 15 ships; in 1751, 53; in 1760, 74; in 1770, 96; and in 1792, 132."

40-3-113

"Tantae molis erat, to establish the 'eternal laws of Nature' of the capitalist mode of production, to complete the process of separation between labourers and conditions of labour, to transform at one pole the social means of production and subsistence into capital, at the opposite pole, the mass of the population into wage-labourers, into 'free labouring poor,' that artificial product of modern society. If money, according to Augier, 'comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek,' capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

The method by which slavery and capital investment were developed by Great Britain can be clearly followed: the "triangular trade" flourished. It depended first mainly upon sugar and tobacco and later on cotton. The processing of these materials turned England into a manufacturing country, and the focusing of the attention of technicians upon methods of manufacture brought an astonishing series of inventions in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Negroes were purchased with British manufactures and transported to the plantations. There they produced sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and other products. The processing of these created new industries in England; while the needs of the Negroes and their owners provided a wider market for British industry. New England agriculture, and the Newfoundland fisheries.

By 1750 there was hardly a manufacturing town in England which was not connected with the colonial trade. The profits provided one of the main streams of that capital which financed the Industrial Revolution. The West Indian islands became the center of the British Empire and of immense importance to the grandeur of England. It was the Negro slaves who made these sugar colonies the most precious colonies ever re-

40-3-114

corded in the annals of imperialism. Experts called them "the fundamental prop and support" of the Empire. The British Empire was regarded as a "magnificent superstructure of American commerce and naval power on an African foundation."

William Wood said that the slave trade was the "spring and parent whence the others flow." Postlethwayt described the slave trade as "the first principle and foundation of all the rest, the mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion."

The triangular trade made an enormous contribution to Britain's industrial development. The profits fertilised the productive system of the country. The slate industry in Wales was revolutionised by a plantation owner. The British West Indies interest was back of the vast railway development. Cotton responded to new inventions. Between 1709 and 1787 the tonnage of British shipping in foreign trade increased four-fold. The British nobility benefited largely from the West Indian trade. The Lascelles were from Barbados, and one of their descendants is now brother-in-law of the King of England. The Earl of Chatham considered the sugar colonies as "the landed interest of this kingdom." West Indian investors bought seats in Parliament. The poetry of both Browning and Barrett with all its depth and beauty grew straight out of West Indian slavery.

While a profit of seven shillings per head per annum was sufficient to enrich a country, it was declared that each white man in the colonies brought a profit of over seven pounds. Sir Dalby Thomas declared that every person employed on the sugar plantation was a hundred and thirty times more valuable to England than one at home. Professor Pitman has estimated that in 1775 British West Indies plantations represented a valuation of fifty million pounds sterling, and the sugar planters themselves put the figure at seventy millions in 1788. In 1798 Pitt assessed the annual income from West Indian plantations at four million pounds as compared with one million from the rest of the world. As Adam Smith wrote in Wealth of Nations:

"The profits of a sugar plantation in any of our West Indian colonies are generally much greater than those of any other cultivation that is known either in Europe or America." According to Davenant, "Britain's total trade at the end of the seventeenth century brought a profit of £2,000,000. The plantation trade accounted for £600,000; re-export of plantation goods, £120,000; European, African, and Levant trade, £600,000; East India trade £500,000; re-export of East India goods, £180,000."

The Napoleonic wars widened the trade empire of Great Britain and extended the market for her manufactures. After twenty-two years of fighting, British merchants surpassed in wealth the landed aristocracy, and the Reform Bill of 1832 reflected this economic fact.

We may pause here to enumerate a series of events which have been too often looked upon as separate and unconnected. They are as follows:

1500-1600: The revolt of slaves in the West Indies

1655-1738: War between the British and the Maroons

1750: British free trade in human flesh

1757: The loot of India begins

1774: American association against the slave trade

1775: The American Revolution

1789: The French Revolution

1791-1798: Revolt of Toussaint L'Ouverture

1792-1815: Reaction in France and the rise and fall of Napoleon

1800-1900: Capitalism and the factory system in England

1807: Abolition of the British slave trade

1830: The Cotton Kingdom

1833-1838: British abolition of slavery

1846: Repeal of the British Corn Laws; free trade

1863: Emancipation in America

1884: Imperial colonialism.

40-3-116

The slave revolts were the beginnings of the revolutionary struggle for the uplift of the laboring masses in the modern world. They have been minimised in extent because of the propaganda in favor of slavery and the feeling that the knowledge of slave revolt would hurt the system. In the eighteenth century there were fifteen such revolts: in Portuguese and Dutch South Africa, in the French colonies, in the British possessions, in Cuba and little islands like St. Lucia. There were pitched battles and treaties between the British and the black Maroons and finally there was a rebellion in Haiti which changed the face of the world and drove England out of the slave trade.

These revolts show that the docility of Negro slaves in America is a myth. They fall into two groups: those before the French Revolution and those after. The revolt of Maroons in Jamaica and Cuba and the Bush Negroes in South America and the repeated attempts in Haiti frightened the slaveholders and threatened the stability of the whole system. In Jamaica the Maroons "continued to distress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of assembly were passed, and at least £240,000 expended for their suppression." The governor of Barbados wrote: "The public mind is ever tremblingly aware to the dangers of insurrection," and the statute books all over the slave territory testified to this fact.

The event that opposed the slave trade and slavery was the American Revolution. Not only did the colonists achieve their independence through the help of slaves and the promise of their freedom, and with the co-operation in money and men from Haiti, but they represented actual working classes rather than exploiters of labor. Finally, the French Revolution burst forth as a war against privilege based on birth and demanded freedom, especially economic freedom to trade and to enter industry without coercion.

The result was that the slave trade met distinct opposition based on humanitarian grounds; but this opposition would have been powerless to stop the trade if

40-3-117

it had not been evident that the trade itself as a source of profit was threatened. The revolt of America confirmed the superiority of the French sugar colonies. Between 1783 and 1789 the progress of San Domingo had been amazing. At the end of the eighteenth century the British sugar planters lost their supremacy to the French colonies. French colonial exports amounted to eight millions pounds while British colonial exports amounted to five million pounds.

When the American colonies won their independence, the Caribbean ceased to be a British sea and investments began to be transferred from the West to the East Indies. In 1783 Prime Minister William Pitt showed increased interest in India and encouraged Wilberforce to propose the abolition of the slave trade.

Then came the French Revolution and eventually the revolt of Haiti. The British made every effort to seize control of this famous French sugar colony. They tried both force of arms and bribery, but at last were compelled to recognize the independence of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whom they tried to divorce from allegiance to the French.

Nevertheless, with Haiti out of the world market, the British could have retained their hold upon the sugar industry had it not been for the increased cultivation of sugar in Spanish and Portuguese colonies. So long as these colonies could obtain cheap slaves, they threatened and even destroyed the investment in slave labor already made by British capital. Looked upon as machines or "real estate," as slaves legally were, the investment in Negro labor was being undermined so long as cheaper Negro labor could be had from Africa.

To keep the prices of slaves from falling, the slave trade had to be limited or stopped. Otherwise the whole slavery investment would totter, and that is what England faced after the revolution of Toussaint. Early in the nineteenth century, therefore, she began to change, and back of philanthropists like Sharpe and Wilberforce came the unexpected support of opportunist politicians like Pitt.

811-3-04

Moreover, capitalism was far enough developed to produce sufficient free finance capital to effect a transfer of investment from one field to another without such losses as would cripple the system. Losses there had to be, but they were part of the anarchy of business methods, which by large-scale gambling and periodic crises rushed blindly to newer and larger fields of profit. Eventually Negro slavery and the slave trade were abandoned in favor of colonial imperialism, and the England which in the eighteenth century established modern slavery in America on a vast scale, appeared in the nineteenth century as the official emancipator of slaves and founder of a method of control of human labor and material which proved more profitable than slavery.

For a long time the fiction of the slave trade as a method of conversion to Christianity had ceased to salve the conscience of honest-thinking men. Slavery and the slave trade were pouring such treasure into England, building her cities, railways, and manufactures, and making her so powerful a country that the defense of the system was fierce. England became mistress of the seas. The empire sang "Hail Britannia, Britannia Rules the Waves."

Before the American Revolution, English public opinion accepted the view of the slavetrader: "Tho' to traffic in human creatures, may at first sight appear barbarous, inhuman, and unnatural; yet the traders herein have as much to plead in their own excuse, as can be said for some other branches of trade. . . In a word, from this trade proceed benefits, far outweighing all, either real or pretended mischiefs and inconveniences."

The cruelty and inhumanity of the slave trade was a horrible fact. A committee of the House of Commons described the "Middle Passage": "The Negroes were chained to each other hand and foot, and stowed so close that they were not allowed above a foot and a half for each in breadth. Thus rammed together like herrings in a barrel, they contracted putrid and fatal disorders; so that they who came to inspect them in a

morning had occasionally to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their carcasses from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened." "During the hearing of a case for insurance, the following facts were brought out. A slave-ship, with four hundred and forty-two slaves, was bound from Guinea to Jamaica. Sixty of the slaves died from overcrowding. The captain, being short of water, threw ninety-six more overboard. Afterwards, twenty-six more were drowned. Ten drowned themselves in despair. Yet the ship reached port before the water was exhausted."

10-3-86

The revolt against the Protestants began to appear amont the Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers. Methodism condoned slavery but was sensitive to and alarmed over the slave trade. The Baptists, beginning in England in 1600, developed into an extremely democratic organization which appealed to workers and even to slaves; and the general philosophical and economic enlightenment of the eighteenth century brought men of learning and artists into a distinct anti-slavery movement.

The slave trade was abolished by England in 1807, and England undertook to make the rest of the world outlaw it too. The United States, Portugal, and Spain gave only lip service to this program, and the slave trade continued up to the middle of the nineteenth century although to a lessening extent.

With the stopping of the slave trade it was evident that investment in labor was different from investment in land, material, and machines; that labor, no matter how much it was degraded, had initiative and made demands. Revolt of the working classes, following the incentive of Haiti, spread. The spectacular and astonishing triumph of revolution in Haiti threatened the whole slave system of the West Indies and even of continental America. It was this revolt more than any other single thing that spelled doom not only of the African slave trade but of slavery in America as a basis of an industrial system. The revolt encouraged the abolition movement in the United States and in Brasil; it flamed in practically every island of the West Indies.

Unless the slave worker could be pacified, income based on slave labor would be destroyed. The result was that in 1833 England abolished slavery.

The Napoleonic wars did not ruin England; together with the African slave trade, Negro slavery, and the loot of India, they made the British government the most powerful in the world; they ruined England's industrial rivals; they left her in control of the chief sources of raw materials by colonial ownership and with the ready cash to outbid rivals; her vast store of finance capital enabled her to manufacture machinery and wait a generation for repayment; British knowledge of science and technique enabled the country to make the best machines and tools and render the whole world creditor for their purchase; Britain ruled the seas and thus monopolised transport. Even when in the earlier mad rush for profit on the new capitalism, she reduced her own labor to slavery in the factory system and faced revolution, she proved the only land able eventually to raise wages and yet maintain high profit by shifting the burden of pauperized toil to the colonies and dominated peoples; and at the same time, although author and chief supporter of modern slavery, Great Britain could hold up her head and, by suppressing a slavery now becoming unprofitable, lead world philanthropy as the great emancipator of the slave.

But even as this role rejoiced her greater souls, the British Empire became the victim of the worst legacy of Negro slavery: the doctrine of race superiority and the color line, which in a later century made civilised man commit suicide in a mad attempt to hold the vast majority of the earth's peoples in thrall to the white race -- a goal to which they still cling today, hidden away behind nationalism and power politics.

This was not a rake's progress of malevolence; it was a bitter struggle between Good and Evil -- between fine and noble souls and conscienceless desire for luxury.

40-3-87

40-3-88

power, and indulgence. The forces of Evil were continually reinforced by the vast power which slavery and the exploitation of men put into the hands of the betrayers of labor, making them the envied of the earth, until nations became willing to destroy the earth in order to gain it. Suppose that at any point in this Descent to Hell, Right had received help and reinforcement? Suppose that a free America had welcomed a free Haiti into a world that insisted on freedom for Africa and Asia? But no; slavery dominated the "free" republic of the west for half a century, with the slave cotton kingdom as foundation stone for British manufactures, while Great Britain seized land and labor in all the dark world. Suppose that England had freed and educated Africa, emancipated India, and joined hands with Japan to uplift China, instead of making ignorance compulsory for the majority of men even in England, in order to build up the most "comfortable" and envied aristocracy on earth? Suppose the technique and science of the nineteenth century had been used to raise the many instead of to enrich the few?

A dream? Perhaps, but even an unrealized dream would be better than the present nightmare.

The new era of capitalism dawned, springing from Calvinism: thrift, industry, honesty as the best policy, along with interest and profit. Capitalism passed into high capitalism at different periods in different nations: In England in 1846, when English capitalism needed no protective tariff, it smashed the agriculturists in Parliament and forced the adoption of free trade; in the United States invested capital passed the value of the land about 1850. The Revolution of 1848 in France revealed the power of organized labor as well as the power of capitalism, which later triumphed. In Germany capitalism began its full sway after World War I.

In the British Parliament, after the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, capitalism was paramount. The plantation trade had formerly meant everything; but

in the new capitalist system, plantation slavery had little place. Britain's mechanized might was still, however, making the whole world her footstool. She was clothing the world, exporting men and machines, and had become the world's banker. British capital, like British production, was thinking in world terms. "Between 1815 and 1830 at least fifty million pounds had been invested more or less permanently in the securities of the most stable European governments, more than twenty million had been invested in one form or another in Latin America, and five or six millions had very quietly found their way to the United States." But no new capital went to the West Indies.

This then was the history of the slave trade, of that extraordinary movement which made investment in human flesh the first experiment in organized modern capitalism; which indeed made capitalism possible. It accompanied the beginnings of democracy in the modern world, but that beginning was hindered and almost stopped by the result which black slavery had on Africa itself.

In Africa a new and supplementary means of control, developed by means of the Arab trade in ivory, led to exploration and eventual annexation under the pretense of attacking slavery. In this whole story of the so-called "Arab slave trade" the truth has been strangely twisted. Arab slave raiding was in the beginning, and largely to the end, a secondary result of the British and American slavery and slave trade and specifically was based on American demand for ivory. The Arabs had by the nineteenth century driven back the Portuguese opposite Zanzibar and had developed two profitable products of trade: ivory and slaves.

Ivory has a long history. Homer repeatedly mentions it. Ivory has been found in the ruins of Nineveh and in the days of Tuthmosis III; cargoes of ivory and ebony in addition to gold came down the Nile. In Kings and Chronicles we learn of the great throne of ivory which Solomon built and hear that once every three years ships

40-3-90

came to Israel with gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. Ezekiel laments the ruin of Tyre with its boxwood benches inlaid with ivory. In Greece the statue by Phidias of Jupiter Olympus, one of the seven wonders of the world, was made of ivory, marble, and gold. The seats of the Roman senators were made of ivory, and large quantities of ivory poured into Rome from Africa.

By the beginning of the Christian era the trade in ivory had decreased. The herds of elephants had disappeared, and there was no organised method of gathering the ivory or of brining it to market. Moreover, it was not until the Renaissance, in the fifteenth century, that renewed demand made search for it profitable. The Portuguese, both on the West Coast of Africa and in Mozambique, began to export it. They were so prodigal that the considerable store which the natives had collected was almost exhausted by the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Dutch began to collect ivory in South Africa, and there and in Central Africa a steady supply kept pace with the demand. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, there came a new demand from the west. The ivory had long been carried by the slaves to the coast or down the Nile, and then instead of the bearers being returned, they were sold. Most of the ivory in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries went to Arabia, Persia, and India, and the slaves to the same parts of the world as soldiers and servants. The trade was small, and while the slave trade was a disrupting influence it did not transfer any large number of persons.

Ivory from about 1840 became increasingly valuable. Its gathering called for fire-arms and transport. Europe and America furnished the arms in vast quantity. Negro porters bore the white gold over vast distances on their heads, and the traders doubled their profit by selling these Negroes into slavery in the Middle East and America. The result was an industry with huge profits, which called to service the

most vicious elements of the Nile Valley with its social disintegration of centuries, aided by the efforts of Mohammed Ali, the ally of white colonial aggression.

40-3-91

It also called white soldiers of fortune like Selous and Lugard, who slaughtered the herds of half-human elephants in cold blood. It called the explorers who followed the hunters and slave traders. After the explorers came the missionaries. Both pointed out that the ivory-slave business was killing the goose that might lay even more golden eggs, if instead of killing valuable labor, this labor and materials were subject to political control of Europe and the abundant capital seeking investment. The missionaries like Livingstone saw in this not only a means of saving bodies and souls of human beings, but als thrift and good business, which in the folklore of early capitalism were the inevitable elements divinely conjoined for modern civilization.

The rising demand in England and America for the suppression of the slave trade in East Africa was not pure philanthropy. It was that "philanthropy and 5 per cent" which was the transition from the century of human slavery in America to the century of the transfer of capital from sugar plantations to colonial imperialism in Africa and Asia. The main end of both enterprises was profit to the owner and exploiter, mainly at the expense of poverty, ignorance, and pain for the slave and native subject.

About the middle third of the nineteenth century the situation changed abruptly. The demand for ivory increased. In America, ivory working was an early industry, especially in New England on the banks of the Connecticut, where ivory has been cut since 1820. It was processed for carving, for cutlery, billiard balls, and miniatures, and for piano keys. At Deep River and Ivoryton and Buffalo the keyboards for all the pianos in America, Canada, and Australia were made. Because of increased demand, European and American traders set up establishments for buying ivory in Zanzibar; in the thirties and forties prices increased. Arabs began to ask for

40-3-92

arms in order to shoot elephants and coerce the natives. Increased exports of ivory to Europe and America and of slaves to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, called for increased imports of weapons and ammunition. The Germans sent thirteen thousand muskets in one year. The British and Portuguese sent thousands of the old Sepoy guns from India. The French supplied a single-barrel light weapon. American blasting powder came in ten- and twenty-five-pound kegs. German cavalry sabers came and cases of percussion caps. Arabs borrowed from Indian usurers at 60 to 80 per cent, and set out for the haunts of elephants.

Curiously enough it was this ivory trade that stimulated and guided travel and discovery in Central Africa. Explorers followed the ivory traders, who were the true discoverers. Burton, Speke, Livingstone, Stanley, and Cameron started from the Arab capital of Zanzibar. They followed the lines of traffic set by the Arab ivory traders. Petherick, the British ivory trader, preceded Schweinfurth, and the countries he explored were opened up by the ivory trade. Livingstone found the ivory traders on the Upper Congo. Cameron left Zanzibar in 1873 and was the first European to cross Africa from east to west along the ivory traders' routes. Stanley made his second expedition, 1874-1877, and was helped by Tippoo-Tib, the great Negro slave trader who had also helped Livingstone. The last of the great expeditions was Stanley's, in 1887-1889, when he rescued Emin Pasha and his Negro wife.

It was in this way that knowledge of the technique of the slave trade and its meaning came to Europe at a time when the slave trade from Africa to America had been largely suppressed. We had a series of first-hand descriptions of this trade.

Ivory became in the last half of the nineteenth century the scourge of Central Africa. The complete story of bloodshed and cruelty will never be known. Thousands of miles of fertile country were turned into wilderness and ruin. Hundreds of thousands of elephants were slain and thousands of human beings. It has been estimated that not more than one in five of the captives bearing the ivory ever reached

the ocean. Starved and weakened by disease and the strain of marching, they lined the long paths with their dead.

40-3-93

"Picture, if you can, a territory nearly as large as the whole of our United States east of the Mississippi River and Illinois, terrorized and overrun in all directions with hundreds of roving bands of plundering murderers armed with invincible weapons of oppression, a land of blood and might, the nights filled with flame and destruction, the days weary with the marching of the coffles and the blood of the despairing, hopeless slaves. And this for years, for decades.

Henry M. Stanley wrote: "Every tusk, piece, and scrap in the possession of an Arab trader has been steeped and dyed in blood. Every pound weight has cost the life of a man, woman, or child, for every five pounds a hut has been burned, for every two tusks a whole village has been destroyed, every twenty tusks have been obtained at the price of a district with all its people, villages, and plantations. It is simply incredible that, because ivory is required . . . populations, tribes, and nations should be utterly destroyed."

Hamed bin Muhammed, a Negro, better known as Tippoo-Tib, was one of the greatest of slave traders. He eventually became sultan and overlord of the country of Kassongo in the very middle of Central Africa, which he made a center of ivory collecting and slave hunting. He had a thousand muzzle-loading guns. And it was not until 1905 that he died.

The credit for suppressing the slave-ivory trade must go to Livingstone who inspired it, to Kirk of East Africa who helped carry it through, and to Bargarsh, the Negroid Arab, who actually suppressed the Zanzibar trade. But these three men represent the curious interests involved: Livingstone was a humanitarian who thought that trade and commerce was the best and natural way to improve the condition of man. He would be horrified to see South Africa and Rhodesia today and realize the plight into which the natives have been forced by European trade and industrialism. Kirk

40-3-94

was a British imperialist who foresaw the colonial era. He was no philanthropist desirous of the development and rise of the blacks. What he wanted was to expand the power of England, and he believed that could be done best by suppressing the slave trade and slave labor under the Arabs and increasing colonial ownership and serf labor under Great Britain. The Arab sultan Bargarsh was persuaded that colonial alliance with Great Britain would protect his future power and income.

The effect upon Europe was curious. European and American commerce was stimulated. The missionaries, still believing in the expanding trade of the eighteenth century, coupled commerce with missionary effort and did not see the inherent contradiction between them. The result was that the missionary and the merchant worked side by side and hand in hand. It was Livingstone who declared that he was bringing commerce and missionary effort to the natives.

Commercial companies, like the African Lakes Company, exploited and administered territories and equipped the elephant hunters. They supplied the rifles and sent the hunters, reserving the right to buy the ivory at a set price. It was thus that Sir Alfred Sharp and Lord Lugard began life as professional ivory hunters. The coming of American, British, French, German and Portuguese traders in the middle of the nineteenth century furnished the artillery for the worst period in this ivory-slave trade under the Arabs. At its height thirty thousand slaves were exported annually through Zanzibar, leaving more than a hundred thousand who had died on the way to the sea.

Then that extraordinary transformation took place in British public policy. The stopping of the expansion of the Arab slave trade in East and Central Africa became a means of building up the British Empire. All that Britain had done in establishing the new modern slavery in America was forgotten in her effort to suppress the ivory-slave trade in Africa, and that effort was only the other side of her building up of a great African colonial territory which she proposed to exploit

40-3-25

by the use of cheap native labor, the sale of African raw materials, and the opening of markets for her merchandise. Slavery and the slave trade became transformed into anti-slavery and colonialism, and all with the same determination and demand to increase the profit of investment.

It all became a characteristic drama of capitalistic exploitation, where the right hand knew nothing of what the left hand did, but rhymed its grip with uncanny timeliness; where the investor neither knew, nor inquired, nor greatly cared about the sources of his profits; where the enslaved or dead or half-paid worker never saw nor dreamed of the value of his work (now owned by others); where neither the society darling nor the great artist saw blood on the piano keys; where the clubman, boasting of great game hunting, heard above the click of his smooth, lovely, resilient billiard balls no echo of the wild shrieks of pain from kindly, half-human beasts as fifty to seventy-five thousand each year were slaughtered in cold, cruel, lingering horror of living death; sending their teeth to adorn civilization on the bowed heads and chained feet of thirty thousand black slaves, leaving behind more than a hundred thousand corpses in broken, flaming homes.

Quite naturally all this ivory trade centered in London. In Mincing Lane the ivory of the world was bought and sold from the time of the eighteen twenties, when the slave cotton kingdom began to pour profit from American plantations into New York and Manchester. The annual imports of ivory into London rose as follows:

1788-1798: 100 tons a year

1827: 60 tons

1845-1849: 294 tons

1870-1874: 627 tons

1880-1884: 514 tons

This meant the death of seventy-five thousand elephants a year in the heyday of the trade. An enthusiastic elephant hunter described the death of one elephant. They had killed her child. "She turned with a shriek of rage and made a furious charge. She charged three or four times. She often stood still and covered with blood faced the men as she received fresh wounds. At last with a short struggle she staggered around and sank down kneeling and dead." Far away over miles and years, on lovely keys chipped from her curving tusks, men played the Moonlight Sonata. Neither for the keys nor the music was the death of the elephant actually necessary.

It was this London market that supplied raw material to be made into billiard balls and piano keys and lovely little ornaments to Ivoryton, Connecticut, and also contrived through the veiled, devious ways of high finance banking to supply Arab and Negro slave raiders with powder and guns and to buy their ivory at prices which were fabulous to them. Behind the slave raiders came the explorers, who pointed out the vast resources of Africa and the possibilities of African labor; behind the explorers came the missionaries, who cried out bitterly against slavery but said nothing and knew less of the white sources of their power in London and Buffalo.

Gradually the picture changed: the captains of industry saw new opportunity for capital. They could wrench the profits of ivory from the Arabs and Negroes; they could wheel England and world religion back of imperial seizure of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, with not only petty profit from ivory, but vaster profits from spices, gold, diamonds, and copper; they could replace wasteful slavery with local black labor paid at wages from one-half to nine-tenths cheaper than white labor in Europe and America and make white labor like it because all this could be done to the glory of God and the superiority of the white race. And it was done.

So colonial imperialism was born. And so some of its leaders illustrated in their own individual lives its development; there was Frederick C. Selous, who began

as an elephant hunter and then annexed the peoples and minerals of Mashonaland to the British Empire; there was Frederick D. Lugard, who first fought in India, Burma, and the Sudan; then as a big game hunter in East Africa, where, armed by the African Lakes Company, he murdered elephants in great numbers and became a part of the ivory-slave trade complex. Next he appeared in East Africa as a free-lance fighter against Arabs and Mohammedans and in defense of Christian missions; he reappeared as agent of the British East Africa Company and annexed Uganda to Britain. Thereupon he was recognized as a great champion of imperial England and went to West Africa to help subdue the falling remnants of Sudanese culture. Here he shrewdly realized that conquest of these peoples could most easily be accomplished if their tribal government were left undisturbed, while Britain controlled trade and foreign relations. Having thus invented "indirect rule," he became a British governor in West Africa. Eventually he retired, lived in England on a pension paid by black West Africa, was regarded as the greatest authority on Africa, and died in honor as a noble British lord.

What effect did all this have upon the dark natives of Africa? In the past we have dwelt upon physical suffering, the loss of live, and the devastation of the land, but we have not thought of the larger and deeper social disintegration. First of all, not only was the way opened from the Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope for marauding masses of Bantu warriors, but this great and long-continued movement became organized for aggression and conquest. We hear of the fierce onslaughts of wild tribes like the Yaggas, but we must also remember that there came a new sort of organization. Negro life could not settle down for political organization and empire building. It could not wait for the development of herdsmen and agriculture. It must hurry on to safer places and sheltered land and loot. "It was sorrowfully recognized that the degradation of the Negro peoples of the nearer African interior was the direct result

of European slave-dealing. The savagery of Dahomey and Benin was the survival of the ferocity by which native chiefs, a century earlier, had supplied the demands of English and Dutch traders for victims for the plantations."

40-354

This movement culminated in the magnificent and utterly ruthless army of a Chaka in the nineteenth century, which almost successfully battled machine guns with assagais. Then too on the West Coast came transformation: the city-states with their intricate social organization and carefully planned industry and beautiful art were pushed back and overwhelmed by newer, stronger military states, like that of Dahomey in the seventeenth century; and the Ashanti earlier had never gained in the line of peaceful industry and art as much as the new gains which they made as intermediaries of the slave traders.

The East African slave trade under Negroes like Tippoo-Tib became organized. The commercial ends and profits sought by Europe were subtly introduced into and shared by an Africa that had been foreign to this kind of life. The mild domestic slavery of the African tribes and of the Arabs and Persians, which did not preclude the sons of slave becoming a king, a statesman, or a poet, was changed into chattel slavery with hard labor and cruel tasks. The continued development of African civilization, forecast in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by that in the Sudan, was prevented and turned backward into chaos, flight, and death.

Decadence could be seen on the West Coast, in the shadow of fabled Atlantis, where there emerged in curious juxtaposition the blood sacrifice of the Benin juju together with the beautiful bronzes of the Benin sculptors. The great kingdoms and empires of the Sudan which fell at the battle of Tenkadibou not only suffered the incubus of a horde of Berber invaders as they moved east and became the Sudanese kingdoms of Kanem and Bornu and the realm of the Fung; they approached the valley of the Nile and came into fierce combat with some of the worst manifestations of Mohammedanism.

40-3-55

Pushing farther south, the Bantu herdsmen threw themselves upon the Congo and Zimbabwe. There came to Africa an end of industry, especially industry guided by taste and art. Cheap European goods pushed in and threw the native products out of competition. Rum and gin displaced the milder native drinks. The beautiful patterned cloth, brocades, and velvets disappeared before their cheap imitations in Manchester calicos. Methods of work were lost and forgotten.

With all this went the fall and disruption of the family, the deliberate attack upon the ancient African clan by missionaries. The invading investors who wanted cheap labor at the gold mines, the diamond mines, the copper and tin mines, the oil forests and cocoa fileds, followed the missionaries. The authority of the family was broken up; the authority and tradition of the clan disappeared; the power of the chief was transmuted into the rule of the white district commissioner. The old religion was held up to ridicule, the old culture and ethical standards were degraded or disappeared, and gradually all over Africa spread the inferiority complex, the fear of color, the worship of white skin, the imitation of white ways of doing and thinking, whether good, bad, or indifferent. By the end of the nineteenth century the degradation of Africa was as complete as organized human means could make it. Chieftains, representing a thousand years of striving human culture, were decked out in second-hand London top-hats, while Europe snickered.

Frobenius says in his Civilisation Africaine: "When they [the first European navigators of the end of the Middle Ages] arrived in the Gulf of Guinea and landed at Vaida, the captains were astonished to find streets well cared for, bordered for several leagues in length by two rows of trees; for many days they passed through a country of magnificent fields, a country inhabited by men clad in brilliant costumes, the stuff of which they had woven themselves! More to the South in the Kingdom of Congo, a swarming crowd dressed in silk and velvet; great states well

ordered, and even to the smallest details, powerful sovereigns, rich industries -- civilised to the marrow of their bones. And the condition of the countries on the eastern coast -- Mozambique, for example -- was quite the same.

40-3-56

"What was revealed by the navigators of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries furnishes an absolute proof that Negro Africa, which extended south of the desert zone of the Sahara, was in full efflorescence, in all the splendour of harmonious and well-formed civilisations, an efflorescence which the European conquistadors annihilated as far as they progressed. For the new country of America needed slaves, and Africa had them to offer, hundreds, thousands, whole cargoes of slaves. However, the slave trade was never an affair which meant a perfectly easy conscience, and it exacted a justification; hence one made of the Negro a half-animal, an article of merchandise. And in the same way the notion of fetish (Portuguese feticeiro) was invented as a symbol of African religion. As for me, I have seen in no part of Africa the Negroes worship a fetish. The idea of the 'barbarous Negro' is a European invention which has consequently prevailed in Europe until the beginning of this century."

92 = 1

pp. ~~160 — 165~~ The Self Worship of Europe

It has long been the belief of modern men that the history of Europe covers the essential history of civilisation, with unimportant exceptions; that the progress of the white race has been along the one natural, normal path to the highest possible human culture. Even in its collapse today, the dominant opinion is that this is but an unfortunate halting on the way; the same march must and will be resumed after a breathing space for recovery.

40-3-47

On the other hand, we know that the history of modern Europe is very short; scarcely a moment of time as compared with that of eternal Egypt. The British Empire is not more than two hundred and fifty years old; France in her present stature dates back three hundred years; the United States was born only a hundred and seventy years ago; and Germany less than one hundred years. When, therefore, we compare modern Europe with the great empires which have died, it is not far different in length of days from the empires of Persia, Assyria, the Hittites, and Babylon. Ethiopia led the world longer than England has.

It is surely a wider world of infinitely more peoples that Europe has ruled; but does this reveal eternal length of rule and inherent superiority in European manhood, or merely the temporary possession of a miraculously greater brute force? Mechanical power, not deep human emotion nor creative genius nor ethical concepts of justice, has made Europe ruler of the world. Man for man, the modern world marks no advance over the ancient; but man for gun, hand for electricity, muscle for atomic fission, these show what our culture means and how the machine has conquered and holds modern mankind in thrall. What in our civilisation is distinctly British or American? Nothing. Science was built on Africa and Religion on Asia.

Was there no other way for the advance of mankind? Were there no other cultural patterns, ways of action, goals of progress, which might and may lead man to something finer and higher? Africa saw the stars of God; Asia saw the soul of man; Europe saw and sees only man's body, which it feeds and polishes until it is fat, gross, and cruel.

40-3-22

Let us turn to West Africa, where man tried a different way for a thousand years. First we face the query: how do we know what man did in West Africa, since black Africa has no written history? This brings the curious assumption that lack of written record means lack of matter and deed worth recording. The deeds of men that have been clearly and accurately written down are as pinpoints to the oceans of human experience. To recall that experience we must rely on written record, varying from direct narrative to indirect allusion and confirmation; we must rely also on memory -- the memory of contemporary onlookers, of those who heard their word, of those who over a lapse of years interpreted it and handed it on; we must rely on the mute but powerful testimony of habits, customs, and ideals, which echo and reflect vast stretches of past time. Finally, we agree upon as true history and actual fact any interpretation of past action which we today believe and want to belive is true. The relation of this last historical truth to real truth may vary from fact to falsehood.

Climate, with sun and ice, gave Europe opportunity to expand vastly the Asiatic and African invention of written records. Heat and rain made written record in West Africa almost impossible, and forced that land to rely on the memories of men, developed over the centuries to a marvelous system of folklore and tradition. But back of both methods lay real human history recorded in cultural patterns, industry, religion, and art.

One of the extraordinary developments of civilization in Africa was on the West Coast around the great Gulf of Guinea. Frobenius has fancifully called this "Atlantis" and regards it as possibly a development of the culture of that fabled island in the Atlantic. Whatever its origin, there grew up on the West Coast of Africa a peculiarly African state. How far back its development extends, no man knows. We have a fairly authentic history from the seventeenth century on, creditable but discontinuous reports in the sixteenth and fifteenth, and before that only customs, tradition, and legend.

40-3-37

On a coast protected from inland by mountain, forest, and desert, and on the west by the ocean, there grew up an agricultural culture centering in the village. On this was developed in time, industry and art. Industry discovered division of labor between cities; each town had its own peculiar industry and then traded its surplus with the other towns. The towns were united in a loose confederacy with councils and chiefs.

Six hundred years before Christ, Phoenicians traded on the West Coast of Africa and a century later the Carthaginians. From prehistoric times this coast was peopled by the black West African type of Negro. The center of their culture lay above the Bight of Benin, along the slave coast, and reached east and north. It can be traced in stone monuments, architecture, works of art, and especially patterns of culture.

The fabrication of cloth and tools was widespread and leisurely, as befitted a tropical sun. For there was here the fierce fight with the mosquito, just as in the Congo, and east there was the duel with the tsetse fly; and this battle with malaria, sleeping-sickness, and a dozen enemies of man was as much a part of the struggle for life and happiness as any of man's activities. Despite this, not only the making of cloth, the fashioning of garments, and the welding of iron reached a high development but there grew up also art, primitive but of exceptional power, which has influenced the modern world and deserves to be called one of the three or four original art forms of this earth. Agriculture and fishing, manufacturing and pottery, the welding and processing of metal, the development of painting and art, characterize this Negro culture.

In Ashanti weaving was done with simple tools, calling for great skill, and resulted in cloth artistically beautiful. There was wood-carving, divided into many separate branches; carvers made fetishes and drums and figures which were individual and original. "Regarded in the light of certain modern aesthetic tendencies, they possess an individuality and peculiar merit which astonish many people who see them

40-3-38

for the first time. Love and appreciation of what is artistic and beautiful are attributes which cannot be said to be the prerogative of all of us. In Ashanti, however, such traits seem to be possessed by what we should call 'the uneducated masses.' There is hardly any object capable of artistic treatment which is not made the medium for some ornamental design which gives aesthetic delight to the African's mind and eye; such as stools, spoons, combs, wooden plates, calabashes, doors, sticks, staves of office, canoes, mari boards, knives, mortars, drums, ivory tusks, pots, pipes, weights and scales, metal work of every description, walls of temples and dwellings, and textiles of every kind. Even the tools and appliances used to obtain these effects, the forge itself, the shuttle, the mesher used for making nets, are ornamental, being decorated with artistic effects, which, however crude, are never vulgar and inartistic."

The true West African showed great skill in plastic art; he carved ivory and wood, and the bronzes of Benin are among the most noteworthy remains of artistic effort in the world. When the state was seized by the British in 1897, they found carved elephant tusks, bronzes cast by the cire-perdue process, including the well-known bronze head of a Negress, now in the British Museum, a masterpiece of art.

A bronze head was discovered by Frobenius in Nigeria in 1910-1912. In this remarkable figure we have what is perhaps the finest known example of African achievement in the realm of the plastic arts. In the words of its discoverer, "the setting of the lips, the shape of the ears, the contour of the face, all prove, if separately examined, the perfection of a work of true art which the whole of it obviously is.... It is cast in what we call the 'cire perdue', or the hollow cast, and is very finely chased, indeed like the best Roman examples."

Considerations growing out of the study of this and terra-cotta specimens, supplemented by many other findings reported by previous investigators, led Frobenius to the daring conclusion that this art belongs to the old order of Central African civilization whose beginnings go back perhaps to the second millennium before Christ.

He was also of the opinion that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the assumption that there were important links between this ancient culture and some of those famous and widely heralded civilisations which flourished along the banks of the Nile and in the Mediterranean Basin in the Classical and pre-Classical Ages.

40-3-39

The oldest art is that of pottery, of which there are endless remains in West Africa. Traces of pottery-making go back certainly five hundred years and possibly a thousand years on the West Coast. It is done chiefly by women and is a hereditary craft handed down from mother to daughter.

It may well be that the West Coast Negroes first gave to civilisation the art of welding iron which spread over all Africa and then eventually into Europe and Asia. It is of course possible that iron welding was discovered on other continents independently of Africa, but no continent had so wide a use of iron in earliest times.

According to Boas: "It seems likely that at times when the European was still satisfied with rude stone tools, the African had invented or adopted the art of smelting iron. Consider for a moment what this invention has meant for the advance of the human race. As long as the hammer, knife, drill, the spade, and the hoe had to be chipped out of stone, or had to be made of shell or hard wood, effective industrial work was not impossible, but difficult. A great progress was made when copper found in large nuggets was hammered out into tools and later on shaped by melting; and when Bronze was introduced; but the true advancement of industrial life did not begin until the hard iron was discovered. It seems not unlikely that the people who made the marvelous discovery of reducing iron ores by smelting were the African Negroes. Neither ancient Europe, nor ancient western Asia, nor ancient China knew iron, and everything points to its introduction from Africa. At the time of the great African discoveries toward the end of the past century, blacksmiths were found all over Africa from north to south and from east to west. With his simple bellows and a charcoal fire he reduced

the ore that is found in many parts of the continent and forged implements of great usefulness and beauty."

40-3-40

Terday [redacted] argued: "I feel convinced by certain arguments that seem to prove to my satisfaction that we are indebted to the Negro for the very keystone of our modern civilization and that we owe him the discovery of iron." Togoland is perhaps the oldest and most famous iron-working area in Africa.

According to Reclus, "The smelting and working of iron, most useful of all metallurgic discoveries, has been attributed to the Negroes as well as to the Chalybes of Asia Minor; and the Bongos of the White Nile, as well as some other African tribes, have constructed furnaces of a very ingenious type. Their smelters and forgers are, for the most part, satisfied with rude and primitive implements, in the use of which they, however, display marvellous skill. The Fangs of the Ogowe basin produce excellent iron, whose quality is scarcely equalled by Europeans themselves. In most of the native tribes the smiths constitute a special caste, much respected and even dreaded for their reputed knowledge of the magic arts."

Concerning West African art in general, Sir Michael Sadler said: "West Africa has made its own characteristic contribution to the artistic treasures of the world." Sir William Rothenstein added: "I know nothing of the culture which produced these noble pieces, nor what influences, native or alien, inspired them. I know only that they are superb works of art, worthy to be set beside the best examples of sculpture of any period." According to J.J. Sweeney, the American critic: "As a sculptural tradition, African art has had no rival."

Professor Roger Fry, distinguished British art critic, said: "We have the habit of thinking that the power to create expressive plastic form is one of the greatest of human achievements, and the names of great sculptures are handed down from generation to generation, so that it seems unfair to be forced to admit that certain nameless

savages have possessed this power not only in a higher degree than we at this moment, but than we as a nation have ever possessed it. And yet that is where I find myself. I have to admit that some of these things are great sculpture, greater, I think, than anything we produced even in the Middle Ages. Certainly they have the special qualities of sculpture in a higher degree. They have indeed complete plastic freedom; that is to say, these African artists really conceive form in three dimensions. Now this is rare in sculpture."

40-3-41

In drum and strings African music reached a high degree of originality and perfection. The development of the drum language by intricate rhythms enabled the natives not only to lead in dance and ceremony, but to telegraph all over the continent with a swiftness and precision hardly rivaled by the electric telegraph. Von Hornbostel said of African music, particularly in Togo: "The African Negroes are uncommonly gifted for music, probably, on an average, more so than the white race. This is clear not only from the high development of African music, especially as regards polyphony and rhythm, but a very curious fact, unparalleled, perhaps, in history, makes it even more evident; namely, the fact that Negro slaves in America and their descendants, abandoning their original music style, have adapted themselves to that of their white masters and produced a new kind of folk music in that style. Presumably no other people would have accomplished this. In fact, the plantation songs and spirituals and also the blues and ragtimes which have launched or helped to launch our modern dance music, are the only remarkable kinds of music brought forth in America by immigrants."

Professor von Luschan considered the craftsmanship of Benin workers equal to the best that was ever produced by Cellini. Yet at the time they were creating, "in 1550, not a single peasant's house in Scandinavia had a window; and as late as 1773 Dr. Johnson and Boswell entered during their tour of the Hebrides, hovel which 'for a window had only a small hole, which was stopped with a piece of turf, that was taken

40-3-6

out occasionally to let in light.' In Berlin at the time of the Great Elector (1681), many houses in the capital had pigsties immediately below the front windows."

Frobenius wrote of West African cultures: "What these old captains recounted, these chiefs of expeditions -- Delbes, Marchais, Pigafetta, and all the others, what they recounted is true. It can be verified. In the old Royal Kunstkammer of Dresden, in the Weydemann collection of Ulm, in many another 'cabinet of curiosities' of Europe, we still find West African collections dating from this epoch. Marvellous plush velvets of an extreme softness, made of the tenderest leaves of a certain kind of banana plant; stuffs soft and supple, brilliant and delicate, like silks, woven with the fibre of a raffia, well prepared; powerful javelins with points encrusted with copper in the most elegant fashion; bows so graceful in form and so beautifully ornamented that they would do honor to any museum of arms whatsoever; calabashes decorated with the greatest taste; sculpture in ivory and wood of which the work shows a very great deal of application and style.

"And all that came from the countries of the African periphery, delivered over after that to slave merchants. . . .

"But when the pioneers of the last century pierced this zone of 'European civilization' and the wall of protection which had, for the time being raised behind it -- the wall of protection of the Negro still 'intact' -- they found everywhere the same marvels which the captains had found on the coast.

"In 1906 when I penetrated into the territory of Kassai-Sankuru, I found still, villages of which the principal streets were bordered on each side, for leagues with rows of palm trees, and of which the houses, decorated each one in charming fashion, were works of art as well.

"No man who did not carry sumptuous arms of iron ore or of copper, with inlaid blades and handles covered with serpent skin. Everywhere velvets and silken stuffs.

Each cup, each pipe, each spoon was an object of art perfectly worthy to be compared to the creations of the Roman European style. But all this was only the particularly tender and iridescent bloom which adorns a ripe and marvellous fruit; the gestures, the manners, the moral code of the entire people, from the little child to the old man, although they remained within absolutely natural limits, were imprinted with dignity and grace, in the families of the princes and the rich as in the vassals and slaves. I know of no northern people who can be compared with these primitives for unity of civilisation. Alas these last 'Happy Isles'! They, also, were submerged by the tidal wave of European civilisation. And the peaceful beauty was carried away by the floods.

45-3-7

"But many men had this experience: the explorers who life the savage and warrior plateau of the East and the South and the North to descend into the plains of the Congo, of Lake Victoria, of the Ubangi: men such as Speke and Grant, Livingstone, Cameron, Stanley, Schweinfurth, Junker, de Brazza -- all of them -- made the same statements: they came from countries dominated by the rigid laws of the African Ares, and from then on they penetrated into the countries where peace reigned, and joy in adornment and beauty; countries of old civilisations, of ancient styles, of harmonious styles."

All this industry in West Africa was developed around the Africans' ideas of religion: the worship of souls of trees and plants of animals; the use of the fetish; the belief in fairies and monsters. Along with this went training for medicine men and chiefs, and careful rules for birth, marriages, and funerals.

Of religion Frobenius said: "There is, among the deities possessed by all the other dark-skinned African nations combined, not one who can equal Shango, the West African Yoruban God of Thunder, in significance. This country's first royal ruler sprang, as its people believe, from his loins. His posterity still have the right to give the country its kings.

40-3-9

"Myth relates that Shango was born of the All-Mother, Yemaya. Powerful, warlike, and mighty, he was as great a God as was ever created in the minds of a nation striving for self-expression. He was the Hurler of Thunderbolts, Lord of the Storm; a God who burns down cities and rends trees. He is cruel and savage, yet splendid and beneficent.

"The floods which he pours give life to the soil and gladden the fields. Mankind fears him, yet loves him. Terrified by his wrath, they pray for his presence. They picture him riding a ram. They represent him with his hands full of thunderbolts, surrounded by his wives, the Lakes and the Rivers. He lives in a palace of brass, which is dazzlingly bright, and whence lightning shoots forth. He has a mighty 'medicine' which he takes through his mouth, and fire comes out when he opens it."

The architecture of the West Coast was strikingly integrated with climate, physiography, and culture. The lovely buildings of Benin and Ashanti have been described. A traveler in 1855 described the palace of a chief in Togoland: "Glele's palace was enormous -- it had housed in its time more than two thousand people -- but the greater part is falling into ruins. . . . This palace is by far the largest and most elaborate piece of Negro architecture I have seen; it was with that of Great Benin I imagine the most important in West Africa."

In 1787 the Chevalier de Boufflers, writing to the Comtesse de Sabran, spoke of his enthusiastic admiration of the beauty and cleanness of the townships in the Senegal.

The climate and physical surroundings conditioned much of this human development. There was lacking here the stone and dry climate which made it easy to preserve records in the Nile valley. Material on the West Coast disappeared before the dampness and the hosts of insects. This made the art of memory recording, of tradition handed down, of unusual importance, and here it was developed to an astonishing extent. The population invented systems of writing of which at least two on the Guinea Coast and the Cameroons have come down to our day. There were probably others. Thus alphabets which were never invented in Europe came to the world through Asia and Africa.

40-3-11

The whole culture complex of the African West Coast is native and original. It is a picture of the development of human institutions unique in the history of mankind, and we can only lament that we know so little of it and have studied it so imperfectly. This body of culture grew up strong and self-contained upon the West Coast and met in time the sudden impact of two outer forces: Islam from the north and Christianity from the west.

"West Africans are still today in the period of integral collectivism, known to our ancestors before the Middle Ages, while we have arrived at individualism. The question which presents itself is to know whether indeed we have made definitive progress in this line, since many of our thinkers, of the so-called advance guard, demand, as a benefit, the return to collectivism, although of a somewhat different form. This proves that the peoples of Negro Africa have not marched at the same rate of speed as the peoples of Europe, but in nowise proves that the former are inferior to the latter. Who knows, indeed, whether the latter have not gone too fast?"

Among the groups which showed striking intellectual development were the Abron, whose state dates from the fifteenth century; the Akan people, including the Ashanti, whose known history goes back beyond 1600. In addition there were the Ewe, Yoruba, people of Benin, Dahomey, and Nubia. Benin was among the oldest of the states and has a legendary history going back to A.D. 880 or perhaps earlier. It was a carefully organized state with a remarkable native culture. It was with Benin that the Portuguese made contact in the fifteenth century and traded in slaves and other produce. The people of Yoruba, with a notable culture, moved westward as the kingdoms of the Sudan began to expand, and attacked Dahomey.

Dahomey has a known history that dates from before the sixteenth century; it had a well-organized state with farmers and artisans, but they became middlemen in the slave trade. In the nineteenth century they made a treaty with the French, but finally war broke out and the country became a French protectorate.

46-3-12

The Ashanti played a notable part in West Africa. They conquered the Fanti people and fought six wars with England between 1803 and 1874; they were finally subdued in 1894. Their king, Osai Tutu Quamina, was a man of intelligense and character who would have made advantageous contact between whites and Negroes if he had been treated fairly. But the English during these days were wavering between two ideas: between the suppression of the slave trade to America and emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, and the newer idea of reducing West Africa to colonial status. For a time they hesitated, even setting up the Negro state of Sierra Leone to be ruled by free slaves, and co-operating with the similar American experiment in Liberia. Finally, however, when the clear meaning of colonial imperialism began to be understood, they turned to definite conquest. The Fanti people who had helped the English conquer the Ashanti attempted to organize their relation to England by a federation, but the constitution that they adopted was regarded as treasonable and those who drafted it were put in jail, although afterward released by the Home Secretary.

The whole European situation was changing in the late nineteenth century. The Franco-Prussian war had been fought, Germany was a great power, and England was consolidating a wide colonial empire. The native culture on the West Coast underwent various consecutive changes. The powerful states of earlier days had been pressed back by the developments in the Sudan and even in the Nile valley. They found prosperity and encouragement in the new trade to the West, which developed and degenerated into man-hunting; most of the black kingdoms on the coast became intermediaries. The slaves and prisoners captured during the internal wars became no longer incidents of these wars, but the wars became deliberate efforts to gather slaves for trade and export.

The character of culture on the slave coasts slowly changed; an element of cruelty crept into states like Benin and Dahomey, although other states, like that

48-3-14

of the Yoruba, seem to have resisted to some extent. But the ancient culture of the Atlantic coast was ruined by the trade in slaves, by the importation of gin, and by the European trade; European goods drove out native art and artistic industry.

Of all this West African cultural development our knowledge is fragmentary and incomplete, jumbled up with the African slave trade. There has been no systematic, general study of the history of humanity on this coast. Nearly all has disappeared in the frantic effort to paint Negroes as apes fit only for slavery and then to forget the whole discreditable episode, wipe it out of history, and emphasise the glory and philanthropy of Europe. The invaluable art treasure which Britain stole from Benin has never been properly classified or exhibited, but lies in the British Museum.

Yet on the West Coast was perhaps the greatest attempt in human history before the twentieth century to build a culture based on peace and beauty, to establish a communism of industry and of distribution of goods and services according to human need. It was crucified by greed, and its very memory blasphemed by the modern historical method.

There can be no doubt but that the level of culture among the masses of Negroes in West Africa in the fifteenth century was higher than that of northern Europe, by any standard of measurement -- homes, clothes, artistic creation and appreciation, political organization and religious consistency. "Throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, West Africa had a more solid politico-social organization, attained a greater degree of internal cohesion and was more conscious of the social function of science than Europe." What stopped and degraded this development? The slave trade; that modern change from regarding wealth as being for the benefit of human beings, to that of regarding human beings as wealth. This utter reversal of attitude which marked the day of a new barter in human flesh did not die with the slave, but persists and dominates the thought of Europe today and during the fatal era when Europe by force ruled mankind.

40-3-27

There were a few startling incidents. I remember with what puzzled attention we heard Felix von Luschan, the great anthropologist of the University of Berlin, annihilate the thesis of race inferiority and then in the same breath end his paper with these words: "Nations will come and go, but racial and national antagonism will remain; and this is well, for mankind would become like a herd of sheep if we were to lose our national ambition and cease to look with pride and delight, not only on our industries and science, but also on our splendid soldiers and our glorious ironclads. Let small-minded people whine about the horrid cost of dreadnoughts; as long as every nation in Europe spends, year after year, much more money on wine, beer, and brandy than on her army and navy, there is no reason to dread our impoverishment by militarism. Si vis pacem, para bellum; and in reality there is no doubt that we shall be the better able to avoid war, the better we care for our armor. A nation is free only in so far as her own internal affairs are concerned. She has to respect the right of other nations as well as to defend her own, and her vital interests she will, if necessary, defend with blood and iron."

We were aghast. Did German science defend war? We were hardly reassured when in printing this speech the editor appended the following note: "To prevent the last few paragraphs from being misinterpreted, Professor von Luschan authorizes us to state that he regards the desire for a war between Germany and England as 'insane or dastardly.'

But it was in vain. In 1914 came World War I; in 1929 came the depression; in 1939 came World War II. The cost of these wars and crises in property and human life is almost beyond belief; the cost in the destruction of youth and of faith in the world and mankind is incalculable. Why did these things happen?

We may begin with the fact that in 1888 there came to the throne of Germany a young, vigorous German emperor of British descent. Wilhelm II had utter faith in the future of Germany. As a student I used to see him often on the Unter den Linden.

40-3-28

Time and again we students swung to the curb, and through the central arch of the Brandenburg Gate came the tossing of plumes and the prancing of horses, and splendid with shining armor and blare of trumpet there rode Wilhelm, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia and German Emperor.

Back of Wilhelm's faith in Germany lay deep envy of the power of Britain. In his soul strove unceasingly the ambition of Bismarck of Prussia and the aristocratic imperialism of his mother, a daughter of Queen Victoria. The French-British Entente Cordiale of the new century was faced by a German demand for "a place in the sun," a right to extract from colonial and semicolonial areas a share of the wealth which was going to Britain. When Germany invaded Belgium, and with that invasion brought war with England, it must be remembered that by that same token Germany was invading the Belgian Congo and laying claim to the ownership of Central Africa.

World War I then was a war over spheres of influence in Asia and colonies in Africa, and in that war, curiously enough, both Asia and Africa were called upon to support Europe. Senegalese troops, for example, saved France and Europe from the first armed German onslaught. They were the shock troops brought to be slaughtered in thousands by the climate and cannon of Europe. The man who brought the African troops to the succor of France was Blaise Diagne. He was a tall, thin Negro, nervous with energy, more patriotic in his devotion to France than many of the French. He was deputy from Senegal in the French Parliament and had been selected as the man to whom the chiefs of French West Africa would render implicit obedience. Raised to cabinet rank, he was made the official representative of the French in West Africa. The white governor who found himself subordinated to this Negro resigned in disgust, but Diagne went down the West Coast in triumph and sent a hundred thousand black soldiers to France at this critical time.

One must not forget that incident on the fields of Flanders which has been so quickly forgotten. Against the banked artillery of the magnificent German Army were sent untrained and poorly armed Senegalese. They marched at command in unwavering

40-3-29

ranks, raising the war cry in a dozen different Sudanese tongues. When the artillery belched they shivered, but never faltered. They marched straight into death; the war cries became fainter and fainter and dropped into silence as not a single black man was left living on that field.

I was in Paris just after the armistice in 1918, and it was to Diagne that I went to ask for the privilege of calling a Pan-African Congress in Paris during the Versailles Peace Conference.

The idea of one Africa to unite the thought and ideals of all native peoples of the dark continent belongs to the twentieth century and stems naturally from the West Indies and the United States. Here various groups of Africans, quite separate in origin, became so united in experience and so exposed to the impact of new cultures that they began to think of Africa as one idea and one land. Thus late in the eighteenth century when a separate Negro Church was formed in Philadelphia it called itself "African"; and there were various "African" societies in many parts of the United States.

It was not however, until 1900 that a black West Indian barrister, practicing in London, called together a Pan-African Conference. This meeting attracted attention, put the word "Pan-African" in the dictionaries for the first time, and has some thirty delegates, mainly from England and the West Indies, with a few colored North Americans. The conference was welcomed by the Lord Bishop of London and a promise was obtained from Queen Victoria, through Joseph Chamberlain, not to "overlook the interests and welfare of the native races."

This meeting had no deep roots in Africa itself, and the movement and the idea died for a generation. Then came World War I, and among North American Negroes at its close there was determined agitation for the rights of Negroes throughout the world, and particularly in Africa. Meetings were held and a petition was sent to President Wilson. By indirection I secured passage on the Creel press boat, the

40-3-30

Orizaba, and landed in France in December 1918. I went with the idea of calling a Pan-African Congress, and to try to impress upon the members of the Peace Conference sitting at Versailles the importance of Africa in the future world. I was without credentials or influence. I tried to get a conference with President Wilson but got only as far as Colonel House, who was sympathetic, but noncommittal. The Chicago Tribune of January 19, 1919, in a dispatch from Paris dated December 30, 1918, said:

> An Ethiopian Utopia, to be fashioned out of the German colonies, is the latest dream of leaders of the Negro race who are here at the invitation of the United States government as part of the extensive entourage of the American peace delegation. ...
>
> The Negro leaders are not agreed upon any definite plan, but Dr. DuBois has mapped out a scheme which he has presented in the form of a memorandum to President Wilson. It is quite Utopian, and it has less than a Chinaman's chance of getting anywhere in the Peace Conference, but it is nevertheless interesting. As "self-determination" is one of the words to conjure with in Paris nowadays, the Negro leaders are seeking to have it applied, if possible, in a measure to their race in Africa.
>
> Dr. DuBois sets forth that while the principle of self-determination cannot be applied to uncivilized peoples, yet the educated blacks should have some voice in the disposition of the German colonies. He maintains that in settling what is to be done with the German colonies the Peace Conference might consider the wishes of the intelligent Negroes in the colonies themselves, the Negroes of the United States, and South Africa, and the West Indies, the Negro governments of Abyssinia, Liberia, and Haiti, the educated Negroes in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa and in British Uganda, Nigeria, Basutoland, Swaziland, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia, and Bechuanaland, and in the Union of South Africa.

40-3-31

Dr. DuBois' dream is that the Peace Conference could form an internationalised Africa, to have as its basis the former German colonies, with their 1,000,000 square miles and 12,500,000 population.

"To this," his plan reads, "could be added by negotiation the 800,000 square miles and 9,000,000 inhabitants of Portuguese Africa. It is not impossible that Belgium could be persuaded to add to such a state the 900,000 square miles and 9,000,000 natives of the Congo, making an international Africa with over 2,500,000 square miles of land and over 20,000,000 people.

"This Africa for the Africans could be under the guidance of international organisation. The governing international commission should represent not simply governments, but modern culture, science, commerce, social reform, and religious philanthropy. It must represent not simply the white world, but the civilised Negro world.

"We can, if we will, inaugurate on the dark continent a last great crusade for humanity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant."

Members of the American delegation and associated experts assured me that no congress on this matter could be held in Paris because France was still under martial law; but the ace that I had up my sleeve was Blaise Diagne, the black deputy from Senegal and Commissaire-Général in charge of recruiting native African troops. I went to Diagne and sold him the idea of a Pan-African Congress. He consulted Clemenceau, and the matter was held up two wet, discouraging months. Finally we received permission to hold the Congress in Paris. "Don't advertise it," said Clemenceau, "but go ahead." Walter Lippmann wrote me in his crabbed hand, February 20, 1919: "I am very much interested in your organization of the Pan-African conference, and glad that Clemenceau has made it possible. Will you send me whatever reports you may have on the work?"

40-3-32

American newspaper correspondents wrote home: "Officials here are puzzled by the news from Paris that plans are going forward there for a Pan-African conference. Acting Secretary Polk said today the State Department had been officially advised by the French government that no such conference would be held. It was announced recently that no passports would be issued for American delegates desiring to attend the meeting." But at the very time that Polk was assuring American Negroes that no Congress would be held, the Congress actually assembled in Paris.

This Congress represented Africa partially. Of the fifty-seven delegates from fifteen countries, nine were African countries with twelve delegates. Of the remaining delegates, sixteen were from the United States, and twenty-one from the West Indies. Most of these delegates did not come to France for this meeting but happened to be residing there, mainly for reasons connected with the war. America and the colonial powers had refused to issue special visas.

The Congress influenced the Peace Conference. The New York Evening Globe of February 22, 1919, described it as "the first assembly of the kind in history, and has for its object the drafting of an appeal to the Peace Conference to give the Negro race of Africa a chance to develop unhindered by other races. Seated at long green tables in the council room today, were Negroes in the trim uniform of American Army officers, other American colored men in frock coats or business suits, polished French Negroes who hold public office, Senegalese who sit in the French Chamber of Deputies. . . ."

The Congress specifically asked that the German colonies be turned over to an international organization instead of being handled by the various colonial powers. Out of this idea came the Mandates Commission.

The resolutions of the Congress asked in part:

A. That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to the proposed international code for labor.

40-3-33

B. That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social, and economic welfare of the natives.

C. The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:

1. The land: the land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

2. Capital: the investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives.

3. Labor: slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labor except in punishment for crime; and the general conditions of labor shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

4. Education: it shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

5. The State: the natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government, according to ancient usage, and this

40-3-34

> participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of State; to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans. . . .Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the notice of the civilized World.

The New York Herald of February 24, 1919, said: "There is nothing unreasonable in the program drafted at the Pan-African Congress which was held in Paris last week. It calls upon the Allied and Associated Powers to draw up an international code of law for the protection of the nations of Africa, and to create, as a section of the League of Nations, a permanent bureau to insure observance of such laws and thus further the racial, political, and economic interests of the natives."

We were, of course, but weak and ineffective amateurs chipping at a hard conglomeration of problems about to explode in chaos. At least we were groping for light.

Not only Africa but Asia took active part in World War I on the side of the Allies. India saw for the first time a prospect of autonomy within the British Empire. Japan wanted to be recognized as the equal of white European nations, and the Chinese Republic started on its new path to modern civilization. Peace dawned, and the war came to be known as "the War to End War." But in vain, for this war had not ended the idea of European world domination. Rather it had loosened the seams of imperialism.

In Africa, Negro troops had conquered German colonies, and now British West Africa demanded a share in government. In the very midst of war came labor revolt in Russia, which Europe and North America tried to repress, but they did not succeed.

40-3-67

The First Pan-African Congress stirred the Africans. Especially the intelligentsia of West Africa began to organise and state their demands. They did not want to appear as a part of the Pan-African Congress or even as following up what it had done. Nevertheless, their inspiration came from the meeting. A national congress of British West Africa met in 1920 and made a statement of democratic aims which deserves wider knowledge than it had has. I quote parts of the statement:

MEMORANDUM of the case of the National Congress of British West Africa for a Memorial based upon the Resolutions to be presented to His Majesty the King Emperor in Council through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 1920.

"In presenting the case for the franchise for the different colonies composing British West Africa, namely, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, it is important to remember that each of these colonies is at present governed under the Crown Colony System. By that is meant that the power of selecting members for the legislative councils is in the Governor of each colony and not dependable upon the will of the people through an elective system.

"For a long time in the history of each of these colonies the anomaly of the nomination of members of the legislative council by the Governors and not by the people electing their own representatives has struck the inhabitants of each community, and now and again representations have been made with a view to remedying the disability... Before the rise of the Conference it resolved itself into the National Congress of British West Africa as a permanent official body for the purpose of representing constitutionally British West African need, political and otherwise. At each of the sessions an opportunity was given for the full discussion of the particular subjects under consideration, and upon the same being fully debated, resolutions arising out of the discussions were passes...

"The first submission with respect to this particular resolution is that in the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils

and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions, every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of of the heads of the several families. Similarly, in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns, and so with the Provincial Council until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief.

40-3-68

"Again, according to the African System no Headman, Chief, or Paramount Ruler has any inherent right to exercise jurisdiction unless he is duly elected by the people to so represent them. This, coupled with the facts in the preceding paragraph stated, makes the African system essentially a democratic one, and the appointment to political office depends entirely upon the election and the will of the people.

From the foregoing it is obvious that a system by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whm he thinks proper to represent the people is considered by them as a great anomaly and constitutes a grievance and a disability which they now request should be remedied. Hence the constitutiona' agitation in the past, as in the present, for a change in the constitution of British West Africa so as to enable the people in the future to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Councils of the different colonies...

"...Legislation to be effectual, must be with the Chiefs in a representative legislative assembly. Any important measure affecting the people must be passed with the consent and the direct co-operation of the Chiefs themselves.

If the policy of the Government had been based upon this principle there would be no need today for this work. What the country requires most urgently today is a National Assembly wherein all sections of the community will be adequately represented. That is the fundamental element of progress, the reform at which all right-thinking men must directly aim."...

Britain after delay yielded to this demand in characteristic fashion: it gave

Negroes partial elective representation in the governor, who retained large power of legislation. British industry sat directly on the Council and in England continued to name West African governors and dictate colonial policies.

40-3-69

40-3-36

nation with visions of vengeance to be achieved through a new state ruled by German supermen. Simultaneously, Japan, having been rebuffed by England and America in her plea for racial equality before the League of Nations, saw an opportunity in this new order to displace Europe in the control of Asia.

Then came rumblings of World War II. The Axis wooed first England and France and then Russia. Britain made every offer of appeasement. Ethiopia was thrown to the dogs of a new Italian imperialism in Africa. Everything was offered to Hitler but the balance of power in Europe and the surrender of colonies. America, hesitating, was ready to fight for private industry against Nazism and to defend Anglo-American investment in colonies and quasi-colonial areas.

Hitler would not be appeased. So war began. Hell broke loose. Six million Jews were murdered in Germany through a propaganda which tied the small shopkeepers back of Hitler and placed unreasoning race prejudice back of war. France feared to trust colonial Africa. De Gaulle and the black Governor Eboué, with co-operation from England and France, could have established a new black France in Africa and shortened the war; but France yielded to Germany. England resisted doggedly. Russia yielded and joined hands with Germany, but not for long.

The real battle then began; the battle of the Nazi-Fascist oligarchy against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Germany determined first to crush Russia and then with Russian resources to destroy the British Empire. Japan aroused Asia, and by attacking America thus furnished the one reason, based on race prejudice, which brought America immediately into the war. India protested, China starved and struggled, the horrible world war with uncounted cost in property, life, and youth came to an end, and with it came the discovery of the use of atomic energy.

It was significant that the man who invented the phrase "White Man's Burden" and who was its most persistent propagandist, also wrote its epitaph:

40-3-13

In such a case, what we need above all is calm appraisal of the situation, the application of cold common sense. What in reality is the nature of the catastrophe? To what pattern of human culture does it apply? And, finally, why did it happen? In this search for reasons we must seek not simply current facts or facts within the memory of living men, but we must also, and especially in this case, seek lessons from history. It is perhaps the greatest indictment that can be brought against history as a science and against its teachers that we are usually indisposed to refer to history for the settlement of pressing problems. We realize that history is too often what we want it to be and what we are determined men shall believe rather than a grim record of what has taken place in the past.

Manifestly the present plight of the world is a direct outgrowth of the past, and I have made bold to add to the many books on the subject of our present problems because I believe that certain suppressions in the historical record current in our day will lead to a tragic failure in assessing causes. More particularly, I believe that the habit, long fostered, of forgetting and detracting from the thought and acts of the people of Africa, is not only a direct cause of our present plight, but will continue to cause trouble until we face the facts. I shall try not to exaggerate this thread of African history in the world development, but I shall insist equally that it be not ignored.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when I was but ten years out of college, I visited the Paris Exposition of 1900. It was one of the finest, perhaps the very finest, of world expositions, and it typified what the European world wanted to think of itself and its future. Wealth and Science were the outstanding matters of emphasis: there was the new and splendid Pont Alexandre crossing the Seine, named for the Czar of Russia; there was an amazing exhibit of Russian industry at Jaroslav; and I had brought with me, as excuse for coming, a little display

duction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror -- in a word, a veritable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes."

The moral humiliation forced on proud black people was illustrated in the British conquest of Ashanti. The reigning Asantahene had never been conquered. His armies had repeatedly driven back the British, but the British finally triumphed after five wars by breaking their word and overwhelming him by numbers and superior weapons. They promised him peace and honor, but they demanded a public act of submission.

40-3-59

"The scene was a most striking one. The heavy masses of foliage, that solid square of red coats and glistening bayonets, the artillery drawn up ready for any emergency, the black bodies of the Native Levies, resting on their long guns in the background, while inside the square the Ashantis sat as if turned to stone, as Mother and Son, whose word was a matter of life and death, and whose slightest move constituted a command which all obeyed, were thus forced to humble themselves in sight of the assembled thousands."

Perhaps the worst thing about the colonial system was the contradiction which arose and had to arise in Europe with regard to the whole situation. Extreme poverty in colonies was a main cause of wealth and luxury in Europe. The results of this poverty were disease, ignorance, and crime. Yet these had to be represented as natural characteristics of backward peoples. Education for colonial people must inevitably mean unrest and revolt; education, therefore, had to be limited and used to inculcate obedience and servility lest the whole colonial system be overthrown.

Ability, self-assertion, resentment, among colonial peoples must be represented as irrational efforts of "agitators" -- folk trying to attain that for which they were not by nature fitted. To prove the unfitness of most human beings for self-rule and self-expression, every device of science was used: evolution was made to prove that Negroes and Asiatics were less developed human beings than whites; history was so written as to make all civilization the development of white people; economics

was so taught as to make all wealth due mainly to the technical accomplishment of white folks supplemented only by the brute toil of colored peoples; brain weights and intelligence tests were used and distorted to prove the superiority of white folk. The result was complete domination of the world by Europe and North America and a culmination and tempo of civilization singularly satisfactory to the majority of writers and thinkers at the beginning of the twentieth century. But it was a result that was hollow, contradictory, and fatal, as the next few years quickly showed.

40-3-48

The proof of this came first from the colonial peoples themselves. Almost unnoticed, certainly unlistened to, there came from the colonial world reiterated protest, prayers, and appeals against the suppression of human beings, against the exclusion of the majority of mankind from the vaunted progress of the world. The world knows of such protests from the National Congress of India, but little has been written of the protests of Africa. For instance, on the Gold Coast, British West Africa, in 1871, some of the kings and chiefs and a number of educated natives met at Mankesim and drew up a constitution for self-government.

This was the so-called Fanti Federation, and in punishment for daring to propose such a movement for the government of an African British colony, the participants were promptly thrown in jail and charged with treason.

This attitude toward native rights and initiative has continued right down to our day. In 1945 the colored people of South Africa, speaking for eight million Negroes, Indians, and mixed groups, sent out this declaration to the proposed United Nations:

The non-European is debarred from education. He is denied access to the professions and skilled trades; he is denied the right to buy land and property; he is denied the right to trade or to serve in the army -- except as a stretcher-bearer or servant; he is prohibited from entering places of entertainment and culture. But still more, he is not allowed to live in the towns. And if it was a crime in Nazi Germany for an "Aryan" to mix with or marry a non-Aryan, it is equally a criminal offence in South Africa for a member of the Herrenvolk to mix with or marry with the slave race

. . . . In the majority of instances there is a separate law for Europeans and a separate law for non-Europeans; in those rare cases where one Act legislates for both, there are separate clauses discriminating against the non-Europeans. While it is true that there are no Buchenwald concentration camps in South Africa, it is equally true that the prisons of South Africa are full to overflowing with non-Europeans whose criminality lies solely in the fact that they are unable to pay the poll-tax, a special, racial tax imposed upon them. But this law does not apply to the Aryan; for him there is a different law which makes the nonpayment of taxes not a criminal, but a civil, offense for which he cannot be imprisoned.

XD-3-49

This does not say that all European civilization is oppression, theft, and hypocrisy; there has been evidence of selfless religious faith; of philanthropic effort for social uplift; of individual honesty and sacrifice. But this, far from answering the indictment I have made, shows even more clearly the moral plight of present European culture and what capitalistic investment and imperialism have done to it.

Because of the stretch in time and space between the deed and the result, between the work and the product, it is not only usually impossible for the worker to know the consumer; or the investor, the source of his profit, but also it is often made impossible by law to inquire into the facts. Moral judgment of the industrial process is therefore difficult, and the crime is more often a matter of ignorance rather than of deliberate murder and theft; but ignorance is a colossal crime in itself. When a culture consents to any economic result, no matter how monstrous its cause, rather than demand the facts concerning work, wages, and the conditions of life whose results make the life of the consumer comfortable, pleasant, and even luxurious, it is an indication of a collapsing civilization.

. . . . In the majority of instances there is a separate law for Europeans and a separate law for non-Europeans; in those rare cases where one Act legislates for both, there are separate clauses discriminating against the non-Europeans. While it is true that there are no Buchenwald concentration camps in South Africa, it is equally true that the prisons of South Africa are full to overflowing with non-Europeans whose criminality lies solely in the fact that they are unable to pay the poll-tax, a special, racial tax imposed upon them. But this law does not apply to the Aryan; for him there is a different law which makes the nonpayment of taxes not a criminal, but a civil, offense for which he cannot be imprisoned.

This does not say that all European civilization is oppression, theft, and hypocrisy; there has been evidence of selfless religious faith; of philanthropic effort for social uplift; of individual honesty and sacrifice. But this, far from answering the indictment I have made, shows even more clearly the moral plight of present European culture and what capitalistic investment and imperialism have done to it.

Because of the stretch in time and space between the deed and the result, between the work and the product, it is not only usually impossible for the worker to know the consumer; or the investor, the source of his profit, but also it is often made impossible by law to inquire into the facts. Moral judgment of the industrial process is therefore difficult, and the crime is more often a matter of ignorance rather than of deliberate murder and theft; but ignorance is a colossal crime in itself. When a culture consents to any economic result, no matter how monstrous its cause, rather than demand the facts concerning work, wages, and the conditions of life whose results make the life of the consumer comfortable, pleasant, and even luxurious, it is an indication of a collapsing civilization.

In 1945 Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, who had once declared that every white man in South Africa believes in the suppression of the Negro except those who are "mad, quite mad," stood before the assembled peoples of the world and pleaded for an article on "human rights" in the United Nations Charter. Nothing so vividly illustrates the twisted contradiction of thought in the minds of white men. What brought it about? What caused this paradox? I believe that the trade in human beings between Africa and America, which flourished between the Renaissance and the American Civil War, is the prime and effective cause of the contradictions in European civilization and the illogic in modern thought and the collapse of human culture.

40-3-50

pp. 226 - 280

In Greek mythology Andromeda was the black daughter of Cepheus, King of Ethiopa and of Cassiopeia.

> That starr'd Ethiop Queen that strove
> To set her beauty's praise
> Above the sea nymphs and their powers offended.

It is said that Poseidon, angry at this black woman's affront to the Nereids, threatened to flood the land and send a sea monster. The Egyptian oracle of Ammon foretold that only the sacrifice of Andromeda to the monster could stay destruction. Thus Andromeda was chained and exposed on a headland facing the sea; Perseus, forefather of the Asiatic Persians of Iran, returning from the slaying of Gorgon, freed Andromeda and married her. After her death she reigned among the stars, her arms extended and chained, together with Cassiopeia and Perseus; and anyone may see them shining upon a beautiful night.

It might be asked what he this or any fairy tale to do with a world stricken, starving, and half-insane; or with the relations of Africa to Europe and America? Very little perhaps; and yet we must remember that this folk tale was part of the culture complex of the Mediterranean area where there was no color bar and no name for race; and where, at least in theory, the world was a fight between civilization and barbarism. Perhaps then in some way this legend may guide us in the present and the future. What in truth is going to be the future of black folk? Are they going to die out gradually, with only traces ot their blood to remind the world of their former existence? Are they going to be permanently segregated from the world in [redacted] or elsewhere, leaving the white world free of its fear and repulsion? Or in some slow or fast intermingling of peoples will all colors of mankind merge into some indistinguishable unity? None of these solutions seems practicable or imminent for many a long day. And, after all, none would really solve the basic problem of the relations of peoples; for even if extremes of human differences vanish, there will always remain differences, and around them the problems of human living-together.

40-3-71

Facing then the present problem, may we not frankly ask: Does the world need Africa? What has Africa to offer Europe, Asia, and America? Does Africa need the world? Certainly in the past the world has needed and used the Negro race: in Egypt and Ethiopia, and even in Asia; in the first building of the Christian Church and in the encouragement and transmission of thought and science from the East to the West that is known as the Renaissance; and especially in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the Negro race has been the foundation upon which the capitalist system has been reared, the Industrial Revolution carried through, and imperial colonialism established.

If we confine ourselves to America we cannot forget that America was built on Africa. From being a mere stopping place between Europe and Asia or a chance treasure house of gold, America became through African labor the center of the sugar empire and the cotton kingdom and an integral part of that world industry and trade which caused the Industrial Revolution and the reign of capitalism.

Through the nineteenth century America, on the strength of its black labor as well as white, grew in wealth and importance. It became the greatest experiment in modern democracy, seeking to embrace eventually not simply the white but the black worker. Today not only is the Negro an important part of the world of labor and art in all the Americas, but beyond this the trade of America is built in large degree upon the products raised by Africans and their children the world over.

But beyond America and in the main states of the modern world the cold economic fact is that Africa, its labor and products, are of prime importance. Of the typical products of Africa, cotton, one of the oldest there, is still valuable, and cotton cloth was exported from Africa long before it was woven in England. Sisal, hemp, and other fiber plants and flax are indigenous to Africa. The vast demand for vegetable oil has resulted in the oil industry, especially in West Africa. Palm oil is used for margarine, soap, lubrication, "olive oil," and for other industrial purposes. Thus the oil palm of West Africa is a valuable product and supplies palm kernels which are

exported from the whole West Coast. The ground nut and cocoa-nut also produce oils. The coconut palm is found all over the continent north of the Tropic of Capricorn and also south of the date-palm line.

40-3-72

The shea-nut tree grows where the oil palm does not, and its fat is used for food, soap-making, and butter. The cocoa industry of West Africa now supplies two-thirds of the cocoa of the world. Kola nuts are also exported. In the Mediterranean area practically all grains cultivated in Europe can be grown. Coffee is native to Africa and is named after the province of Kaffa, Abyssinia. It grows also in Liberia. The greater part of tropical Africa produces some kind of rubber. Nearly all the cloves are gotten from Zanzibar and Pemba. Fruits are grown and exported from nearly every part of Africa, from the bananas and mangoes in the tropics to the wine grapes of the north and south. The date palm flourishes throughout North Africa. Large areas of the continent are suitable for cattle and sheep raising, although flies and diseases keep them out of other districts.

Gold is widely distributed in Africa and has been worked from prehistoric ages on the West Coast, the Nubian desert, Central and South Africa. A third of the world's supply of gold in the world today is mined on the Witwatersrand. Diamonds are found in three districts of South Africa and in the Belgian Congo. They are of immense value. There are coal-bearing areas in South Africa. Iron has been worked from an early age, and on the Gold Coast, manganese is being developed.

There are four great copper-producing areas, principally in Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo, and also in the Northern Transvaal. Lead, graphite, and zinc are widely distributed. Phosphates occur in the North. Mineral oil has been discovered in Egypt near the Red Sea. Soda is largely an African product. Maize is cultivated in many regions. Tobacco is a crop of South Africa. Sugar is grown in Egypt, Mozambique, and Natal. And there is much valuable timber all over the continent.

40-3-73

Besides supplying these materials Africa is one of the largest reservoirs of human labor, not only of common labor, but of semi-skilled and increasing numbers of skilled laborers. For the most part these laborers are unorganized and without political power, and consequently they form the cheapest labor available, save in Asia.

On account of this wealth of labor and material, not only in the past but between the two world wars, capital has poured into Africa. In addition to primary sources of wealth -- mining, agriculture, timber -- industrialization has begun, and in the post-war period larger and larger investments of the accumulated profits of industry will seek new investments in this industrial paradise, where there are few laws to limit labor, even of women or children, and where profits are lightly taxed.

It has been argued with regard to this matter of profit in colonial regions that the profit has not been large and therefore is not the main object of colonial enterprise. This is especially the carefully worked out thesis of Lord Hailey's "African Survey." The survey follows an old pattern of British imperialism. A colonial official with the facts of the situation under his control writes a history of the condition and past of his region. It is usually done judiciously, and with much historical research, but it is, and in the nature of the case, has to be, a special plea for the defense of imperialism. And it omits consistently the point of view of the native and any body of fact which weighs against European aggression. Sometimes, as in Claridge's History of Ashanti, frank criticism of Great Britain creeps in; but for the most part, as in the works by Johnston, Lugard, and others the story is heavily weighted on the side of the imperialists.

It is of especial importance that the assertion of huge profits from cheap and half-slave labor and low price of materials should be answered. Consequently, Lord Hailey's co-workers point out that the "average" rate of profit from investment in Africa during the last century has amounted to little more than 4 per cent. Why is it, one asks on reading this, that profits are always reckoned as a percentage of some fixed sum while wages and salaries are counted in bulk?

10-3-44

It is, of course, as all men know, because the rate of income depends entirely upon the capital sum fixed as its base, and the fixing of the estimated amount of this capital sum is practically always in the hands and the control of the investors. Practically, then, the investors can fix their rate of profit at any sum simply by estimating at their own figure the amount of capital invested.

What is "investment" and how can we measure it? If ten dollars' worth of poisonous synthetic gin is exported to Africa, as it has been by the tens of thousands of gallons, and if there it buys labor and materials, which, when processed, are worth a hundred dollars, what is the value of the investment on which the rate of profit is based? If in the days of Cecil Rhodes lands stolen from the natives were mined with cheap half-slave labor and brought gold and diamonds worth a million dollars to London, at figure should this mine be "capitalized"? At the figure paid for its acquisition and cost of carrying on, or the figure the shares sold for in the stock market? In the great centers of capital investment, the legal right to determine the value of capital is today to some extent limited, but it was not limited in the wild gambling which accompanied the development of gold and diamond mining in South Africa, nor in the returns to trade in West Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. No matter, then, how vast a profit is made in Africa, and that it has been vast there cannot be the slightest doubt; it can be always made to look modest by watering the actual investment or putting a high estimate on good will. The only reason back of colonial imperialism is a rate of profit which the spread of democracy and trade unions has curtailed in Europe and North America.

The actual value of capital goods at the time of their investment in Africa, as compared with the realised value of the labor and material taken from Africa by investors and other claimants, legal and illegal, would if known, without shadow of doubt prove the enormous theft which Europe has perpetrated on peoples deliberately made helpless before greed and aggression. In the face of fact, statements like that of Lord Hailey as to the meager profits of African exploitation must be reinterpreted.

40-3-24

We went to work in 1921 to assemble a more authentic Pan-African Congress and movement. We corresponded with Negroes in all parts of Africa and in other parts of the world and finally arranged for a congress to meet in London, Brussels, and Paris in August and September. Of the one hundred and thirteen delegates to this Congress, forty-one were from Africa, thirty-five from the United States, twenty-four represented Negroes living in Europe, and seven were from the West Indies. They came for the most part, but not in all cases, as individuals and more seldom as the representatives of organizations or groups.

The Pan-African movement thus began to represent a growth and development; but it immediately ran into difficulties. First of all, there was the natural reaction to war and the determination on the part of certain elements in England, Belgium, and elsewhere, to recoup their war losses by intensified colonial exploitation. They were suspicious of native movements of any sort.

Then, too, there came simultaneously another movement, stemming from the West Indies. This was a peoples' movement rather than a movement of the intellectuals. It was led by Marcus Garvey and it represented a poorly conceived but intensely earnest determination to unite the Negroes of the world, especially in commercial enterprise. It used all of the nationalist and racial paraphernalia of popular agitation, and its strength lay in its backing by the masses of West Indians and by increasing numbers of American Negroes. Its weakness lay in its demagogic leadership, poor finance, intemperate propaganda, and the natural apprehension it aroused among the colonial powers.

The London meetings of the Congress of 1921 were preceded by a conference with the International Department of the English Labor party, where the question of the relation of white and colored labor was discussed. Beatrice Webb, Leonard Woolf, Mr. Gillies, Norman Leyes, and others were present. Otlet and La Fontaine, the Belgian leaders of internationalism, welcomed the Congress warmly to Belgium, but strong opposition was encountered. The movement was confounded by the press and others as a part of, if

40-3-80

not the real "Garvey Movement." The Brussels Neptune wrote June 14:

> Announcement has been made ...of a Pan-African Congress organized at the instigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of New York. It is interesting to note that this association is directed by personages who it is said in the United States have received remuneration from Moscow (Bolsheviks). The association has already organized its propaganda in the lower Congo, and we must not be astonished if some day it causes grave difficulties in the Negro village of Kinshasa composed of all the ne'er-do-wells of the various tribes of the Colony aside from some hundreds of laborers.

Nevertheless, meetings of interest and enthusiasm were held. The Congress assembled in the marvelous Palais Mondial. There were many more white than colored people, and it was not long before we realised that their interest was deeper, more immediately significant than that of the white people we had found elsewhere. Many of Belgium's economic and material interests center in Africa in the Belgian Congo. Any interference with the natives might result in an interference with the sources from which so many Belgian capitalists draw their prosperity.

Resolutions passed without dissent at the meeting in London contained a statement concerning Belgium, criticising her colonial regime, although giving her credit for plans of reform for the future. This aroused bitter opposition in Brussels, and an attempt was made to substitute an innocuous statement concerning good will and investigation, which Diagne of France, as the presiding officer, declared adopted in the face of a clear majority in opposition.

At the Paris meeting the original London resolutions, with some minor corrections, were adopted. They were in part:

To the World: The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of

gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion, and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed, and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty; rather it fulfills it. And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified, that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic....

The beginning of wisdom in interracial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempts to prove that its practice is the secret and divine gift of the few, no habit is more natural or more widely spread among primitive people, or more easily capable of development among masses. Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, in Africa, America, and the isles of the sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance, but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

Surely in the twentieth century of the Prince of Peace, in the millennium of Mohammed, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning, and benevolence to develop native institutions, whose one aim is not profit and power for the few....

What then do those demand who see these evils of the color line and racial discrimination, and who believe in the divine right of suppressed and backward people to

learn and aspire and be free? The Negro race through their thinking intelligentsia demands:

I. The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race or color.

II. Local self-government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to complete self-government under the limitation of a self-governed world.

III. Education in self-knowledge, in scientific truth, and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.

IV. Freedom in their own religion and social customs and with the right to be different and nonconformist.

V. Co-operation with the rest of the world in government, industry, and art on the bases of Justice, Freedom, and Peace.

VI. The return to Negroes of their land and its natural fruits and defense against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

VII. The establishment under the League of Nations of an international institution for study of the Negro problems.

VIII. The establishment of an international section of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labor. . . .

In some such words and thoughts as these we seek to express our will and ideal, and the end of our untiring effort. To our aid we call all men of the earth who love justice and mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world. Out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls. The answer is written in the stars.

The whole press of Europe took notice of these meetings and more especially of the ideas behind the meeting. Gradually they began to distinguish between the Pan-African Movement and the Garvey agitation. They praised and criticised. Sir Harry Johnston wrote: "This is the weakness of all the otherwise grand efforts

of the Coloured People in the United States to pass on their own elevation and education and political significance to the Coloured Peoples of Africa: they know so little about real Africa."

4/0-3-83

Even Punch gibed good-naturedly: " 'A PAN-AFRICAN MANIFESTO' 'NO ETERNALLY INFERIOR RACES' (headlines in The Times) No, but in the opinion of our coloured brothers, some infernally superior ones!"

The Second Pan-African Congress sent me with a committee to interview the officials of the League of Nations in Geneva. I talked with Lappard who headed the Mandates Commission; I saw the first meeting of the Assembly, and I had an interview

40-3-65

THE WAR OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

The Second World War miraculously brought the darker world to life. First, in order to settle the rivalry as to who was to own and rule the darker peoples. Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union were fighting against Germany and Italy. There was at first apparently no question, certainly in Great Britain and the United States, but that dark labor in the future as in the past was to be used for the benefit of white folk from the simple fact that the dark people had no other reason for being. But the darker peoples themselves had to be brought in to settle the question, and subtly the basic reasoning changed. India, after a long struggle that began before the war became a free and independent country and this broke the back of the British Empire. Africa was sued by the Allies: in the attack on North Africa; in conquering and retaining German Africa; in cooperation for the holding of West Africa; and in the use of African troops in Asia. Especially in the case of the Soviet Union the war was fought on a tremendous scale which never for a moment conceived its end to be the use or domination of colored labor.

There met in Paris in 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions, and at this meeting for the first time the colored unions of Africa came face to face with the white union members of western Europe. There was immediately voiced an unexpected demand for equality which took the West by surprise. The British unions had always spoken for the African unions and regarded the African unions as under their control. Indeed they knew that the relatively high British wage depended on low African wage and on general African submission and white control. The American unions, in large part, had excluded Negroes from membership, and highly skilled Americans shared in the profits of exploited black serfs. Now black unions from Africa and from the West Indies especially, spoke up independently and even truculently for themselves.

BLACK AFRICAN UNIONS

A battle ensued which with the help and insistence of the socialist unions of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe recognized the independence of the black union leaders, and immediately the ground was laid for the great division of the unions of the world into the socialist labor unions and the capitalist labor unions.

40-3-66

Meantime the African and West Indian unions united in a call to reassemble the Pan-African Congresses. The fourth Congress had been held in London and in Lisbon in 1924. The second world war prevented any further meetings. Now at the request of colored men in London, Lanchasire, Liverpool and Manchester, there came a spontaneous call for the assembling of another Pan-African Congress in 1945 when the World Federation of Trade Unions would hold their meeting in Paris.

After consultation and correspondence with trade union, co-operative, and other progressive organizations in the West Indies, West Africa, South and East Africa, a formal invitation for the conference was issued. Most of these bodies not only approved and endorsed the agenda, but pledged themselves to send delegates. In cases where either the time was too short or the difficulties of transport too great to be overcome at such short notice, the organizations gave mandates to the natives of the territories concerned who were traveling to Paris to attend the World Trade Union Conference. George Padmore invited Dr. Du Bois to summon a fifth Pan-African Congress. It was hard to find a time or place for meeting in Paris or London, but finally a group of colored men including Africans, and with the cooperation of the city government, invited the fifth Pan-African Congress to meet in Manchester, England, in 1945.

FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

The Fifth Pan-African Congress met October 15 to 21 in Manchester, England, with some two hundred delegates representing East and South Africa and the West Indies. Its significance lay in the fact that it took a step toward a broader movement and a real effort of the peoples of Africa and the descendants of Africa the world over to start a great march toward democracy for black folk.

This meeting proved of world-wide importance. George Padmore organized it; its secretaries were Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, and in attendance were Wallace Johnson from Liberia and some 200 labor union leaders from Africa; and even Asiatics like Subasinghe of Ceylon. Here a new Africa was born.

THIS AFRICA: HOW IT AROSE, WHITHER IT GOES

Fragments

FOREWORD

Since the glory of the West Indian Sugar Empire and the rule of the Cotton Kingdom, there has been consistent effort to rationalize Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history, so that today it is almost universally assumed that history can be ~~truly~~ written without reference to Negroid peoples. I believe this to be scientifically unsound and also dangerous for logical social conclusions. Therefore I am seeking in this book to remind readers in this crisis of civilization, of how critical a part Africa has played in human history, past and present, and how impossible it is to forget this and rightly explain the present plight of mankind.

I feel now as though I were ~~approaching~~ addressing a crowd of friends and enemies, who ask a bit breathlessly, whose and whence is the testimony on which I rely for something that even resembles Authority? To which I return two answers: I am challenging Authority -- even Maspero, Sayce, Reisner, Breasted, and hundreds of other men of highest respectability, who did not attack but studiously ignored the Negro on the Nile and in the world and talked as though black folk were nonexistent and unimportant. They are part of the herd of writers of modern history who ~~never heard of Africa or~~ declare with Guernier "Seule de tous les continents l'Afrique n'a pas d' histoire!"

In fine, I have done in this book the sort of thing at which every scholar shudders. With meager preparation and all too general background of learning, I have essayed a task, which, to be adequate and complete, should be based upon the research of a lifetime! But I am faced with the dilemma, that either I do this now or leave it for others who have not had the tragedy of life which I have, forcing me to face a task for which they may have small stomach and little encouragement from the world round about. If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issue -- that black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow Asiatics, and that history can easily prove this -- then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work.

The bulk of this work was published in 1946 under the title: The World and Africa. In this edition the contents have been rearranged, to some extent rewritten, and certain recent matter added.

40-3-46

FOREWORD

Since the glory of the West Indian Sugar Empire and the rule of the Cotton Kingdom, there has been consistent effort to rationalise Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history, so that today it is almost universally assumed that history can be truly written without reference to Negroid peoples. I believe this to be scientifically unsound and also dangerous for logical social conclusions. Therefore I am seeking in this book to remind readers in this crisis of civilisation, of how critical a part Africa has played in human history, past and present, and how impossible it is to forget this and rightly explain the present plight of mankind.

I feel now as though I were approaching a crowd of friends and enemies, who ask a bit breathlessly, whose and whence is the testimony on which I rely for something that even resembles Authority? To which I return two answers: I am challenging Authority -- even Maspero, Sayce, Reisner, Breasted, and hundreds of other men of highest respectability, who did not attack but studiously ignored the Negro on the Nile and in the world and talked as though black folk were nonexistent and unimportant. They are part of the herd of writers of modern history who never heard of Africa or declare with Guernier "Seule de tous les continents l'Afrique n'a pas d' histoire!"

In fine, I have done in this book the sort of thing at which every scholar shudders. With meager preparation and all too general background of learning, I have essayed a task, which, to be adequate and complete, should be based upon the research of a lifetime! But I am faced with the dilemma, that either I do this now or leave it for others who have not had the tragedy of life which I have, forcing me to face a task for which they may have small stomach and little encouragement from the world round about. If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issue -- that Black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow Asiatics, and that history can easily prove this -- then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work.

The bulk of this work was published in 1946 under the title: The World and Africa. In this edition the contents have been rearranged, to some extent rewritten, and certain recent matter added.

nonexistent and unimportant. They are part of the herd of writers of modern history who never head of Africa or declare with Guernier "Seule de tous les continents l'Afrique n'a pas d'histoire!"

pp. xi, xii

In fine, I have done in this book the sort of thing at which every scholar shudders. With meager preparation and all too general background of learning, I have essayed a task, which, to be adequate and complete, should be based upon the research of a lifetime! But I am faced with the dilemma, that either I do this now or leave it for others who have not had the tragedy of life which I have, forcing me to face a task for which they may have small stomach and little encouragement from the world round about. If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issue -- that black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow Asiatics, and that history can easily prove this -- then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work.

40-2-2

40-3-85

Here we are then, today, in the United Nations with 70 or more black and colored countries facing their former white masters of the world. Can Great Britain and America persuade them still to yield leadership to the white world or to follow Cuba in its recognition of the vast Communist world of the Soviet Union and China, and turn this union of the people of the world into new directions? Meantime, the white world because of their disunity, can no longer present a united front. Great Britain is losing her grip in Asia and knows it. The United States is making vain gestures to maintain it and is failing day by day. In the midst of the United States, a tenth of its citizens of African descent are demanding with increasing insistence their full rights as American citizens and while the southern South is fighting a barbaric and bloody battle agasint this they are slowly failing day by day. Even granting American Negroes civil rights can only temporarily bribe them to desert the rightful demands of their African brethen.

The bulk of the this work was published in 1946 under the title: The World and Africa. In this edition the contents have been rearranged, to some extent rewritten, and certain recent matter added.

SUB-TITLES - THIS AFRICA

1. Physical Africa
2. Animal Africa
3. The Great Apes
4. The Human Ape
5. Human Culture
6. The Negro Race
7. The People of Africa
8. The Nile Valley
9. The Egyptians
10. Ethiopia
11. Egypt Returns to Ethiopia
12. The Hebrews and Ethiopia
13. Taharqa Rules the World
14. Asia Invades Africa
15. Greece Invades Africa
16. Europe and Africa
17. Asia and Africa
18. The Susians
19. The Arabs
20. Islam
21. Negroes in Spain
22. Renaissance in Europe
23. America
24. The Slave Trade in Europe
25. The Slave Trade and Africa
26. The British Slave Trade
27. Cromwell the Slave Trader
28. The Assiento
29. The Struggle for India
30. Karl Marx Explains
31. England Fattens on Slavery
32. Slave Revolt and Revolution
33. The American Revolution
34. The French Revolution
35. Abolition of the Slave Trade
36. The New Capitalism
37. Ivory
38. Exploration and Discovery in Africa
39. The New British Conscience
40. The British Colonial Imperialism in Africa
41. Cultural Clash in Africa
42. Europe as Master of the World
43. West Africa
44. Iron
45. Art
46. Cloth
47. Religion
48. The Art of Memory
49. Notable States
50. Changes in West Africa
51. The Paris Exposition of 1900
52. The Races Congress
53. Germany and Wilhelm II
54. World War I

40/3/5

40-3-103

55. Pan-Africa

56. First Pan-African Congress

57. Between Wars

58. Collapse of Europe

59. Democracy

60. Negro Slavery

61. The word "Negro"

62. History

63. Labor vs. Slavery

64. A Gracious Culture

65. The Superior Race

66. Sex

67. Europe

68. White People

69. The Cape of Good Hope

70. The Rise of Africa

71. Africa and America

72. Investment

73. Second Pan-African Congress

74. The War of African Liberation

75. Black African Unions

76. Fifth Pan-African Congress

77. African Changes

78. Black French Africa

79. The United States

80. Present Unrest

81. West Indies, South American

MEMORANDUM of the case of the National Congress of British West Africa for a Memorial based upon the Resolutions to be presented to His Majesty the King Emperor in Council through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 1920.

40-3-124 A

139

3

40-3-125

"In presenting the case for the franchise for the different colonies composing British West Africa, namely, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, it is important to remember that each of these colonies is at present governed under the Crown Colony System. By that is meant that the power of selecting members for the legislative councils is in the Governor of each colony and not dependable upon the will of the people through an elective system.

"For a long time in the history of each of these colonies the anomaly of the nomination of members of the legislative council by the Governors and not by the people electing their own representatives has struck the inhabitants of each community, and now and again representations have been made with a view to remedying the disability...

"Up to the beginning of the present year (1920), there had been no improvement in the situation, with the result that in March 1920 a Conference of Africans of British West Africa was held at Accra, the Capital of the Gold Coast Colony, at which were present the representatives of each of the four colonies composing British West Africa. . . . A reference to the programme of the subjects discussed will show the various topics of importance that came under the consideration of the Congress. Before the rise of the Conference it resolved itself into the National Congress of British West Africa as a permanent official body for the purpose of representing constitutionally British West African need, political and otherwise. At each of the sessions an opportunity was given for the full discussion of the particular subjects under consideration, and upon the same being fully debated, resolutions arising out of the discussions were passed. . . . It will be noticed that the first resolutions deal with legislative (including municipal) reforms and the granting of the franchise and administrative reforms with particular reference to equal rights and opportunities....

"The first submission with respect to this particular resolution is that in the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the con-

40-3-126

D

trary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions, every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of the heads of the several families. Similarly, in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns, and so with the Provincial Council until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief.

"Again, according to the African System no Headman, Chief, or Paramount Ruler has any inherent right to exercise jurisdiction unless he is duly elected by the people to so represent them. This, coupled with the facts in the preceding paragraph stated, makes the African system essentially a democratic one, and the appointment to political office depends entirely upon the election and the will of the people.

From the foregoing ti is obvious that a system by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whom he thinks proper to represent the people is considered by them as a great anomaly and constitutes a grievance and a disability which they now request should be remedied. Hence the constitutional agitation in the past, as in the present, for a change in the constitution of British West Africa so as to enable the people in the future to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Councils of the different colonies.

"It will be observed in paragraph 2 of the resolutions under consideration that it is not proposed to disturb the Executive Council as at present composed. As regards the Legislative Council, however, a radical change is desired so that one-half of its members shall be nominated by the Crown and the other half elected by the people to deal with legislation generally. A further radical reform is the institution of a

House of Assembly, composed of the members of the Legislative Council together with six other financial representatives elected by the people, who shall have the power of imposing taxes and discussing freely and without reserve the items on the Annual Estimates of revenue and expenditure prepared by the Governor in the Executive Council and of approving them. The unofficial elective reform herein proposed includes both European and African representation.

"Before leaving the point under consideration, attention may be drawn to what is stated in Gold Coast Native Institutions on page 164:

> Legislation to be effectual, must be with the Chiefs in a representative legislative assembly. Any important measure affecting the people must be passed with the consent and the direct co-operation of the Chiefs themselves.

If the policy of the Government had been based upon this principle there would be no need today for this work. What the country requires most urgently today is a National Assembly wherein all sections of the community will be adequately represented. That is the fundamental element of progress, the reform at which all right-thinking men must directly aim." This was written more than seventeen years ago; and as has been explained above, by the African system of representation even the Chiefs are the mere representatives of the people in a democratic system.

Britain after delay yielded to this demand in characteristic fashion: it gave Negroes partial elective representation in the governor, who retained large power of legislation. British industry sat directly on the Council and in England continued to name West African governors and dictate colonial policies.

403-75

For these reasons there is ferment in Africa today to which the world must pay more and more attention. Only yesterday a general strike in Nigeria affected nearly forty thousand workers. But this hardly makes headlines in the news, and few people who read daily about Argentina realize that Nigeria is twice as populous.

The effort to make peace in the world today finds one of its stumbling blocks in Italy's former African colonies -- Eritrea, Libya, and Somaliland. Two of these are claimed by Ethiopia, whose conquest was one cause of World War II, and whose reconstruction is attracting capital from America. Native congresses in South and East Africa recently appealed to the world for the application of the Atlantic Charter to them. Their voices fell on silent cables, but they were strong enough and passionate in logic. At the recent Trades Union meeting in Paris black African unions were for the first time in history represented by a dozen delegates, telling the world that black labor is labor. Egypt is straining at British control, and the Pan-Arab League is demanding Libya. In Kenya has arisen the problem of forced labor, and all over Africa, the plight of returning black soldiers who fought in Asia and the South Seas. Political change looms in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa, while the Belgian Congo simmers in uneasy consciousness of the anomaly of being fourteen times the size of Belgium istelf with none of that democracy for which Belgium fought. Africa is quiet today, but may not be tomorrow.

Perhaps one of the most striking protests against conditions that has come out of Africa is that of the National Congress of British West Africa which met in 1920. As a statement of democratic aims it deserves wider circulation than it has had. I venture to quote parts of it.

MEMORANDUM <u>of the case of the National Congress of British West Africa for a Memorial based upon the Resolutions to be presented to His Majesty the King Emperor in Council through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 1920.</u>

40-3-76

"In presenting the case for the franchise for the different colonies composing British West Africa, namely, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, it is important to remember that each of these colonies is at present governed under the Crown Colony System. By that is meant that the power of selecting members for the legislative councils is in the Governor of each colony and not dependable upon the will of the people through an elective system.

"For a long time in the history of each of these colonies the anomaly of the nomination of members of the legislative council by the Governors and not by the people electing their own representatives has struck the inhabitants of each community, and now and again representations have been made with a view to remedying the disability.

"Up to the beginning of the present year (1920), there had been no improvement in the situation, with the result that in March 1920 a Conference of Africans of British West Africa was held at Accra, the Capital of the Gold Coast Colony, at which were present the representatives of each of the four colonies composing British West Africa. . . . A reference to the programme of the subjects discussed will show the various topics of importance that came under the consideration of the Congress. Before the rise of the Conference it resolved itself into the National Congress of British West Africa as a permanent official body for the purpose of representing constitutionally British West African need, political and otherwise. At each of the sessions an opportunity was given for the full discussion of the particular subjects under consideration, and upon the same being fully debated, resolutions arising out of the discussions were passed. . . . It will be noticed that the first resolutions deal with legislative (including municipal) reforms and the granting of the franchise and administrative reforms with particular reference to equal rights and opportunities....

"The first submission with respect to this particular resolution is that in the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the con-

40-3-77

trary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions, every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of the heads of the several families. Similarly, in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns, and so with the Provincial Council until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief.

"Again, according to the African System no Headman, Chief, or Paramount Ruler has any inherent right to exercise jurisdiction unless he is duly elected by the people to so represent them. This, coupled with the facts in the preceding paragraph stated, makes the African system essentially a democratic one, and the appointment to political office depends entirely upon the election and the will of the people.

From the foregoing ti is obvious that a system by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whom he thinks proper to represent the people is considered by them as a great anomaly and constitutes a grievance and a disability which they now request should be remedied. Hence the constitutional agitation in the past, as in the present, for a change in the constitution of British West Africa so as to enable the people in the future to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Councils of the different colonies.

"It will be observed in paragraph 2 of the resolutions under consideration that it is not proposed to disturb the Executive Council as at present composed. As regards the Legislative Council, however, a radical change is desired so that one-half of its members shall be nominated by the Crown and the other half elected by the people to deal with legislation generally. A further radical reform is the institution of a

House of Assembly, composed of the members of the Legislative Council together with six other financial representatives elected by the people, who shall have the power of imposing taxes and discussing freely and without reserve the items on the Annual Estimates of revenue and expenditure prepared by the Governor in the Executive Council and of approving them. The unofficial elective reform herein proposed includes both European and African representation.

"Before leaving the point under consideration, attention may be drawn to what is stated in Gold Coast Native Institutions on page 164:

> Legislation to be effectual, must be with the Chiefs in a representative legislative assembly. Any important measure affecting the people must be passed with the consent and the direct co-operation of the Chiefs themselves.

If the policy of the Government had been based upon this principle there would be no need today for this work. What the country requires most urgently today is a National Assembly wherein all sections of the community will be adequately represented. That is the fundamental element of progress, the reform at which all right-thinking men must directly aim." This was written more than seventeen years ago; and as has been explained above, by the African system of representation even the Chiefs are the mere representatives of the people in a democratic system.

Britain after delay yielded to this demand in characteristic fashion: it gave Negroes partial elective representation in the governor, who retained large power of legislation. British industry sat directly on the Council and in England continued to name West African governors and dictate colonial policies.

In the first chapter I have told of the Pan-African Congress which met in Paris after World War I. Similar efforts of Africans and peoples of African descent to unite in mutual exchange of culture and co-operation for social betterment have been made since the idea was established in 1919.

George Padmore, Dr. Du Bois [illegible] to summon a fifth Pan-African Congress. It was hard to find a time or place for meeting in Paris or London, but finally a group of colored men including Africans, and with the cooperation of the city government, invited the fifth Pan-African Congress to meet in Manchester, England, in 1945.

621-E-94 FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

40-3-130

The Fifth Pan-African Congress met October 15 to 21 in Manchester, England, with some two hundred delegates representing East and South Africa and the West Indies. Its significane lay in the fact that it took a step toward a broader movement and a real effort of the peoples of Africa and the descendants of Africa the world over to start a great march toward democracy for black folk.

40-3-131

167

and immediately the ground was laid for the great division of the unions of the world into the socialist labor unions and the capitalist labor unions.

Meantime the African and West Indian unions united in a call to reassemble the Pan-African Congresses. The fourth Congress had been held in London and in Lisbon in 1924. The second world war prevented any further meetings. Now, at the request of

40-3-132

-14- 110

There came from the colonies in Africa and Asia insistent demand for freedom and democracy. It was in 1920 that the Congress of West Africa appealed to Great Britain in these words:

In the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa, it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa.

For these reasons there is ferment in Africa today to which the world must pay more and more attention. Only yesterday a general strike in Nigeria affected nearly forty thousand workers. But this hardly makes headlines in the news, and few people who read daily about Argentina realize that Nigeria is twice as populous.

The effort to make peace in the world today finds one of its stumbling blocks in Italy's former African colonies -- Eritrea, Libya, and Somaliland. Two of these are claimed by Ethiopia, whose conquest was one cause of World War II, and whose reconstruction is attracting capital from America. Native congresses in South and East Africa recently appealed to the world for the application of the Atlantic Charter to them. Their voices fell on silent cables, but they were strong enough and passionate in logic. At the recent Trades Union meeting in Paris black African unions were for the first time in history represented by a dozen delegates, telling the world that black labor is labor. Egypt is straining at British control, and the Pan-Arab League is demanding Libya. In Kenya has arisen the problem of forced labor, and all over Africa, the plight of returning black soldiers who fought in Asia and the South Seas. Political change looms in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa, while the Belgian Congo simmers in uneasy consciousness of the anomaly of being fourteen times the size of Belgium istelf with none of that democracy for which Belgium fought. Africa is quiet today, but may not be tomorrow.

40-3-135

81. SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS - 81

139

In the first chapter I have told of the Pan-African Congress which met in Paris after World War I. Similar efforts of Africans and peoples of African descent to unite in mutual exchange of culture and co-operation for social betterment have been made since the idea was established in 1919.

40-3-139

Lanchashire, Liverpool, and Manchester, there came a spontaneous call for the assembling of another Pan-African Congress in 1945 when the World Federation of Trade Unions would hold their meeting in Paris.

After consultation and correspondence with trade union, cooperative, and other progressive organizations in the West Indies, West Africa, South and East Africa, a formal invitation for the conference was issued. Most of these bodies not only approved and endorsed the agenda, but pledged themselves to send delegates. In cases where either the time was too short or the difficulties of transport too great to be overcome at such short notice, the organizations gave madates to the natives of the territories concerned who were traveling to Paris to attend the World Trade Union Conference.

40-2-1

AFRICA CHANGES

40-3-137

All Africa began to change. In Uganda fundamental changes began revolving about the question as to whether the leading state of Buganda, under its kings and chiefs, should be the sole power or whether the whole state should be independent under a new constitution under bourgeois rule. In Kenya, where the best land had been monopolized by the British under outrageous conditions and the mass of the people crowded into swamps, a bloody revolution under the Mau-Mau organization was started and suppressed with wide imprisonment and executions. Jomo Kenyatta was arrested as being its chief instigator. Today the slow but sure political triumph of the Negro population is developing under Tom Mboya and other leaders.

Nkrumah returned to Africa, where, after repudiation at the hands of leaders of his own people and imprisonment by the British, he became in 1948 the recognized head of an independent province of the British Commonwealth. The British, seeing the inevitable, soon admitted Nigeria as a province of the Commonwealth and under terms which left them a chance to wield great influence in this the largest colony of the British Empire.

40-3-138

THE WAR OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

The Second World War miraculously brought the darker world to life. First, in order to settle the rivalry as to who was to own and rule the darker peoples. Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union were fighting against Germany and Italy. There was at first apparently no question, certainly in Great Britain and the United States but that dark labor in the future as in the past was to be used for the benefit of white folk from the simple fact that the dark people had no other reason for being. But the darker peoples themselves had to be brought in to settle the question, and subtly the basic reasoning changed. India, after a long struggle that began before the war became a free and independent country and this broke the back of the British Empire. Africa was sued by the Allies; in the attack on North Africa; in conquering and retaining German Africa; in cooperation for the holding of West Africa; and in the use of African troops in Asia. Especially in the case of the Soviet Union the war was fought on a tremendous scale which never for a moment conceived its end to be the use or domination of colored labor.

40-3-133

40-3-134

Then the war ended there met in Paris in 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions, and at this meeting for the first time the colored unions of Africa came face to face with the white union members of western Europe. There was immediately voiced an unexpected demand for equality which took the West by surprise. The British unions had always spoken for the African unions and regarded the African unions as under their control. Indeed they knew that the relatively high British wage depended on low African wage and on general African submission and white control. The American unions, in large part, had excluded Negroes from membership, and highly skilled American shared in the profits of exploited black serfs. Now black unions from Africa and from the West Indies especially, spoke up independently and even truculently for themselves.

BLACK AFRICAN UNIONS

A battle ensued which with the help and insistence of the socialist unions of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe recognized the independence of the black union leaders,

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe.
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the Law --

. . .

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And, guarding, calls not Thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word --
Thy Mercy on Thy People, Lord!

40-3-136

THE WAR OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

The Second World War miraculously brought the darker world to life. First, in order to settle the rivalry as to who was to own and rule the darker peoples. Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union were fighting against Germany and Italy. There was at first apparently no question, certainly in Great Britain and the United States but that dark labor in the future as in the past was to be used for the benefit of white folk from the simple fact that the dark people had no other reason for being. But the darker peoples themselves had to be brought in to settle the question, and subtly the basic reasoning changed. India, after a long struggle that began before the war became a free and independent country and this broke the back of the British Empire. Africa was sued by the Allies; in the attack on North Africa; in conquering and retaining German Africa; in cooperation for the holding of West Africa; and in the use of African troops in Asia. Especially in the case of the Soviet Union the war was fought on a tremendous scale which never for a moment conceived its end to be the use or domination of colored labor.

40-3-43

Then the war ended there met in Paris in 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions, and at this meeting for the first time the colored unions of Africa came face to face with the white union members of western Europe. There was immediately voiced an unexpected demand for equality which took the West by surprise. The British unions had always spoken for the African unions and regarded the African unions as under their control. Indeed they knew that the relatively high British wage depended on low African wage and on general African submission and white control. The American unions, in large part, had excluded Negroes from membership, and highly skilled American shared in the profits of exploited black serfs. Now black unions from Africa and from the West Indies especially, spoke up independently and even truculently for themselves.

BLACK AFRICAN UNIONS

A battle ensued which with the help and insistence of the socialist unions of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe recognized the independence of the black union leaders

and immediately the ground was laid for the great division of the unions of the world into the socialist labor unions and the capitalist labor unions.

Meantime the African and West Indian unions united in a call to reassemble the Pan-African Congresses. The fourth Congress had been held in London and in Lisbon in 1924. The second world war prevented any further meetings. Now, at the request of George Padmore, Dr. Du Bois was asked to summon a fifth Pan-African Congress. It was hard to find a time or place for meeting in Paris or London, but finally a group of colored men including Africans, and with the cooperation of the city government, invited the fifth Pan-African Congress to meet in Manchester, England, in 1945.

40-3-142

FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

This meeting proved of world-wide importance. George Padmore organized it; its secretaries were Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, and in attendance were Wallace Johnson from Liberia and some 200 labor union leaders from Africa; and even Asiatics like Subasinghe of Ceylon. Here a new Africa was born. Nkrumah returned to Africa, where, after repudiation at the hands of leaders of his own people and imprisonment by the British, he became in 1948 the recognized head of an independent province of the British Commonwealth. The British, seeing the inevitable, soon admitted Nigeria as a province of the Commonwealth and under terms which left them a chance to wield great influence in this the largest colony of the British Empire.

AFRICA CHANGES

All Africa began to change. In Uganda fundamental changes began revolving about the question as to whether the leading state of Buganda, under its kings and chiefs, should be the sole power or whether the whole state should be independent under a new constitution rulerule. In Kenya, where the best land had been monopolized by the British under outrageous conditions and the mass of the people crowded into swamps, a bloody revolution under the Mau-Mau organization was started and suppressed with wide imprisonment and executions. Jomo Kenyatta was arrested as being its chief instigator. Today the slow but sure political triumph of the Negro population is developing under Tom Mboya and other leaders.

40-3-110

The Second World War miraculously brought the dark world to life. First, in order to settle the question as to who was to own and rule the darker peoples, these peoples themselves had to be drawn into the fight. There was at first no question but that dark labor was to be used for the benefit of white labor simply because the darker peoples had no other reason for being. But when the darker peoples themselves were brought in to settle the question, India became a free and independent country which broke the back of the British Empire, and Africa arose to its feet which suddenly astonished the world. First came a meeting of trade unions in Paris in 1945 where the African members of trade unions appeared and asserted their right to speak not as appendages of the white British and American unions, but as independent organizations. They won this fight to the disgust of the white trade unionists and then they demanded a meeting of the Pan-African Congress. On account of the war no meeting of this Congress had been held since 1924 in Lisbon. It was hard now to find a time and place for it in Paris or London but a group of colored men including Africans invited the fifth Pan-African Congress to meet in Manchester, England. At the meeting were Kwame Nkrumah, as secretary, George Padmore, as organizer, Komo Kenyatta from Kenya, Central Africa, Wallace Johnson from Liberia, and even Asiatics like Subasinghe of Ceylon. There, singularly enough, the new Africa was born. Nkrumah returned to Africa, where, after he had endured repudiation at the hands of his own people and a period in jail by the British, in 1948 he became the recognized head of an independent province of the British Empire. The British recognized the change of fate and admitted Nigeria as a province of the British Commonwealth under terms which left them a chance to wield great influence in the largest of British colonies. Revolution began in Uganda and Kenya; where in Uganda the country was divided against itself and has not yet decided what it wants but eventual independence is certain; in Kenya where shameless land monopoly was followed by the start of bloody revolution and then [illegible] with slow but sure political triumph with the Negro in growing control. In the Union of South Africa

and the Rhodesias the vast and inevitable change has just begun heralded by the unexpected exclusion of South Africa from the British Commonwealth and their determination to make three million white people the absolute masters of eleven million colored people, an utterly unthinkable possiblity which means surrender or revolution. The Rhodesia, South and North, are endeavoring to force Nyasaland along the same path and are due for the same failure despite their economic power. With the independence of Morocco Spain has practically faded from the African picture, leaving the French empire in North Africa and the Arab domination in the east. The Arabs have made their affinity with the mass of Africans clear. Egypt meets and works with the Africans. Morocco is African. Tunis is in clear sympathy. Arabia is being drawn in by strong religious ties. France hesitated, declaring dogmatically that Algeria was French, then yielding to say that Algeria might decide as to whether it would be French or not, but which she was deciding with armed resistance, when there came the unanswerable question of the state of the rest of French Africa. Suddenly there arose in French Africa the independent state of Guinea which refused to negotiate with France, then independent Senegal, High Volta, Ivory Coast, Niger, Chad, Gabon, and the Federation of Mali. These states have been granted semi-independence by France with the promise of help and economic privilege which would assure their prosperity. But meantime, can France, without being able to exercise in these countries the economic tyranny which formerly was the basis of her wealth, secure the funds by which she can rescue their futures. On the other hand, can Ghana and Guinea persuade the new French territories that the increasing socialism will not be best for French Africa as it is proving for British Africa. Then, too, there comes the disaster of the Congo. Belgium, backed by the United States, Great Britain and France was going to avoid the mistakes made in British West Africa. They were going to train no intelligentsia, while they reaped vast profit on uranium and copper. They failed. Patrice Lumumba demanded complete independence. They murdered him in cold blood but he arose from the dead and his spirit still fights for an independent black Congo.

40-3-123

40-3-104

The Second World War miraculously brought the darker world to life. First, in order to settle the rivalry as to who was to own and rule the darker peoples, Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union were fighting against Germany and Italy. There was at first apparently no question, certainly in Great Britain and the United States but that dark labor in the future as in the past was to be used for the benefit of white folk from the simple fact that the dark people had no other reason for being. But the darker peoples themselves had to be brought in to settle the question, and subtly the basic reasoning changed. India, after a long struggle that began before the war became a free and independent country and this broke the back of the British Empire. Africa was used by the Allies: in the attack on North Africa; in conquering and retaining German Africa; in cooperation for the holding of West Africa; and in the use of African troops in Asia. Especially in the case of the Soviet Union the war fought on a tremendous scale which never for a moment conceived its end to be the use or domination of colored labor.

When the war ended there was called in Paris a World Conference of Trade Unions and for the first time the colored unions of Africa came face to face with the white union members of western Europe. There was immediately voiced an unexpected demand for equality which took the West by surprise. The British unions had always spoken for the African unions and regarded the African unions as under their control. The American unions, in large part, had excluded Negroes from membership. Now black unions from Africa and from the West Indies especially spoke up independently and even truculently for themselves. A battle ensued which with the help and insistence of the Socialist unions of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe recognized the independence of the black union leaders and immediately the ground was laid for the great division of the unions of the world into the socialist labor unions and the capitalist labor unions. Meantime the African and West Indian unions united in a call to reassemble the Pan-African Congresses. The fourth Congress had been held in Lisbon in 1924. The second world war prevented any further meetings. Now, at the request of George Padmore, Dr. Du Bois was

asked to summon a fifth Pan-African Congress. It was hard to find a time or place for meeting in Paris or London, but finally a group of colored men including Africans, and with the cooperation of the city government, invited the fifth Pan-African Congress to meet in Manchester, England.

This meeting proved of world-wide importance. George Padmore organized it, its secretaries were Kwame Nkrumah and Komo Kenyatta, and in attendance were Wallace Johnson from Liberia and some 200 labor union leaders from Africa, and even Asiatics like Subasinghe of Ceylon. Here a new Africa was born. Nkrumah returned to Africa where, after repudiation at the hands of leaders of his own people and imprisonment by the British, he became in 1948 the recognized head of an independent province of the British Commonwealth. The British, seeing the inevitable, soon admitted Nigeria as a province of the Commonwealth and under terms which left them a chance to wield great influence in this the largest colony of the British Empire.

In Uganda fundamental changes began revolving about the question as to whether the leading state of Buganda should be the sole power or whether the whole ~~government~~ state should be independent under a new constitution. In Kenya, where the best land had been monopolized under outrageous conditions and the mass of the people crowded into swamps, a bloody revolution under the Mau-Mau organization was started and suppressed with imprisonment and executions. Komo Kenyatta was arrested as being its chief instigator. ~~Finally~~ Today the slow but sure political triumph of the Negro population can be foreseen.

In the Union of South Africa three million white people determined to be the absolute masters of eleven million colored people. This outrageous program of apartheid resulted ~~first~~ in the exclusion of South Africa from the British Commonwealth, and ~~now~~ in growing unrest and revolt. In North and South Rhodesia an attempt was made to establish a central African state including Nyasaland in which 220,000 Europeans would attempt to make 6,600,000 Africans their bond-servants. The ensuing struggle is being carried out with increasing bitterness.

With the independence of Morocco, Spain has practically faded from the African picture leaving the French Empire in North Africa and the Arab and Mohammedan domination in the east. Both Morocco and the Arabs have assured their affinity with the mass of black Africans firmer ~~and clearer~~. Egypt, under Nasser, meets and cooperates with Black Africa. Morocco has been a center for the meeting of all African states. Tunis, while not as closely allied, is in clear sympathy and Mohammedan Asia is being drawn in by strong religious ties.

~~Black French Africa~~ Black French Africa

For a time France wavered. At first she declared dogmatically that Algeria was and would remain a part of France. Then with the growing revolt of the Algerians it was proposed that they should decide as to whether would be French or not, but that meantime they were to stop armed resistance and consider the advantages of close ties with France. This today is under consideration despite the revolt of the French army in Algiers and the resulting determination of the mass of ~~French~~ workers in France to oppose them.

While decision on Algiers was being made there came the unavoidable question of the future of the rest of French Africa. French Africa had been the seat of long and intense exploitation of black labor by French agricultural and industrial organizations. They were now offered partial independence and industrial help from France but this help would have to come from the same kind of industrial corporations which had oppressed French Africa. The black Africans hesitated. One small country, Guinea, refused further alliance with France and demanded complete independence. Under great difficulties and with the help of socialist Europe she has finally managed the beginning of such independence. Meantime, other French colonies, Senegal, High Volta, the Ivory Coast, Niger, Chad, Gabon and the Federation of Mali have become independent states, but the exact nature of their future relation to France is still to be worked out.

Finally came the disaster of the Congo. Western industry in the name of Belgium but backed by the United States, Great Britain and France strove to avoid the mistakes which had been made especially in British West Africa. They would train artisans. They would pay and protect the power of the chiefs, but they would allow no intelligentsia to be educated either in the Congo or in Europe, while they reaped increasing profit on copper and uranium. They allowed primary education for the children largely

40-3-107

under the Catholic Church. Then, to their great surprise, came threat and failure. Patrice Lumumba became head of a party which demanded complete independence for a black Congo republic. The Belgians and their friends rallied and strove to stop this, but despite their efforts Lumumba became Prime Minister and the Belgians were hardly able to secure the election of Kasavubu as president. Thereupon ~~the mood shifted.~~ They murdered Lumumba in cold blood and a number of his leading officials, and tried to make Kasavubu head of the state. This they were not able to force through and today Lumumba's legal heir to power holds a larger part of the Congo territory. A parliament hurriedly called in the recently freed colony of Madagascar tried to settle matters by allowing Tshombe to secede with the copper-rich province of Katanga and to divide the rest of the Congo into helpless provinces. This has been halted ~~today~~. The Congo awaits re-unification under a ~~new~~ parliament controlled by Kasavubu, or a newly-elected parliament presided over by Gizenga, the heir of Lumumba.

Here we are then, today, in the United Nations with 70 or more black and colored countries facing their former white masters of the world. Can Great Britain and America persuade them still to yield leadership to the white world or to follow Cuba in ~~its~~ recognition of the vast ~~Communist~~ world ~~of~~ the Soviet Union and China, and turn this union of the people of the world into ~~drastically new~~ directions? Meantime, the white world can no longer present a united front. Great Britain is losing her grip in Asia and knows it. The United States is making vain gestures to maintain it and is failing day by day.

The United States itself represents a curious and menacing ~~condition~~. One-fifth of its population is of acknowledged African descent and a larger number of unacknowledged or unknown descendants from African slaves. Despite 3 centuries of struggle including a frightful civil war in which the slaves took a decisive part the mass of the Negroes and descendants of Africa are still second-rate citizens. In most of the former slave states they are not allowed to vote and suffer illegal, but customary, disabilities. In the whole nation, almost without exception, they are regarded as inferior people liable to insult and discrimination. Despite this, despite limits on their education, legal and customary, and difficulty of getting decent well-paid

work, they have made remarkable progress. There is scarcely a part of human endeavor in which American Negros have not distinguished themselves. The further they progress the more prejudice and discrimination yield, and yet this yielding is so slow that the pressure of prejudice is increasingly felt. To counteract this the nation is trying to make concessions. It has even declared in 1954 that the chief legal forms of discrimination are unconstitutional but at the same time it has openly admitted that the court decisions will not be enforced until the people affected permit them to be. Thereupon the nation has resorted to bribery. Fearing especially the lure of socialism and communism they have made every effort to see that successful Negroes and Negroes of ability get special consideration and position provided of course, they attack communism and indulge in red-baiting. The Department of State has paid Negroes expenses of travel so long as they testify vehemently to satisfactory conditions in the United States. The Negro college on the one hand is threatened by loss of state income if they teach socialism or complain of their conditions. On the other hand, the State Department offers outstanding students jobs and preferment if they accept the kind of position which they are being offered.

The result is naturally curious and complicated. The natural leaders of the Negro people are losing their contact with the suffering masses and the masses are turning to that lunatic fringe, which is all the more dangerous because it is based on reason. Negroes have long refused to be called by a name which implies inferiority and contempt. They are beginning to reject the theoretical humility of Christianity as contrasted with the practical equality of Mohammedanism, and above all, and much more serious, they are beginning to say flatly, we do not want integration, we want separation and we are going to going to begin to call on people to fight, kill, destroy, even if we lose "how can man die better than by facing fearful odds for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods!"

In the meantime the mass of the American people sit silent and do nothing. They will not allow Negroes to live beside them; they will not allow them to work beside them; they avoid as much as possible letting their children be educated with them

or meet them on terms of equality; and they keep themselves respectable and secure by avoiding the "Negro" problem. How long will this last? How long can it last?

40-3-109

Meantime south from the United States is a world of people, argely of Negro and Indian descent, mixed with poor Spaniards and Portuguese dominated for good or evil by the Catholic church. For centuries they ha have been ruthlessly exploited; that is the work of the great mass of their labor has been used for the support and comfort of those strong enough to control them; and regardless of the health, happiness or des ire of the people. Spain, Portugal, Germany, Britain and especially the United States have amassed wealth, power and luxury from these poor, i ignorant, diseased peoples, and then climbing on the backs of their unha ppy fellows, have risen rulers of their own blood to share the spoil.

After repeaded and futile effort to escape this slavery, today at last in Cuba, a sizable group seems to be achieving freedom and self-rule; That the Cuban revolution will extend to South America is the hope of all good men and the fear of the slave drivers

Copy h 26 1

40-3-174

Reader of dead words who would live deeds, this is the flowering of my logic: I dream of a world of infinite and invaluable variety; not in the laws of gravity or atomic weights, but in human variety in height and weight, color and skin, hair and nose and lip. But more especially and far above and beyond this, in a realm of true freedom; in thought and dream, fantasy and imagination; in gift, aptitude, and genius -- all possible manner of difference, topped with freedom of soul to do and be, and freedom of thought to give to a world and build into it, all wealth of inborn individuality. Each effort to stop this freedom of being is a blow at democracy -- that real democracy which is reservoir and opportunity and the fight against which is murdering civilization and promising a day when neither

... star nor sun shall waken,
Nor any change of light:
Nor sound of waters shaken
Nor any sound or sight;
Nor wintry leaves nor vernal,
Nor days nor things diurnal;
Only the sleep eternal
In an eternal night.

There can be no perfect democracy curtailed by color, race, or poverty. But with all we accomplish all, even Peace.

This is this book of mine and yours.

In the Union of South Africa three million white people are determined to be the asolute masters of eleven million colored people. This outrageous program of apartheid resulted in the exclusion of South Africa from the British Commonwealth, in the growing friend/ship of West Africa and in growing unrest and revolt. In [illegible] and South Rhodesia an attempt was made to establish a central African state including Nyasaland in which 220,000 Europeans would attempt to make 6,600,000 Africans their bond-servants. The ensuing struggle is being carried out with increasing bitterness.

40-3-141

With the independence of Morocco, Spain has practically faded from the African picture leaving the French Empire in North Africa and the Arab and Mohammedan domination in the east. Both Morocco and the Arabs have asserted their affinity with the mass of black Africans [illegible] firmly. Egypt, under Nasser, meets and cooperates with black Africa. Morocco has been a center for the meeting of all African states. Tunis, while not as closely allied, is in clear sympathy and Mohammedan Asia is being drawn in by strong religious ties.

BLACK FRENCH AFRICA

For a time France wavered. At first she declared dogmatically that Algeria was and would remain a part of France, and back of this were French settlers and French . Then with the growing revolt of the Algerians it was proposed that they should decide as to whether they would be French or not, but that meantime they were to stop armed resistance and consider the advantages of close ties with France. Today this is under consideration despite the revolt of the French army in Algiers and the resulting determination of the mass of workers in France to oppose them.

While decision on Algiers was being made there came the unavoidable question of the future of the rest of French Africa. French Africa had been the seat of long and intense exploitation of black labor by French agricultural and industrial organizations. They were now offered partial independence and industrial help from France but this help would have to come from the same kind of industrial corporations which had oppressed French Africa. The Black Africans hesitated.

America persuade them still to yield leadership to the white world, or will they follow Cuba in the recognition of the vast socialist world led by the Soviet Union and China and turn this union of the people of the world into communal directions?

40-3-64

Meantime, the white world can no longer present a united front. Great Britain is losing her grip in Asia and knows it. The United States is making vain gestures to maintain it and failing day by day. The United States itself represents a curious and menacing situation. Alonzo, "il Negro" piloted one of Columbus' ships. One-fifth of its population is of acknowledged African descent and a larger number are unacknowledged or unknown descendants from African slaves. Despite 3 centuries of struggle including a frightful civil war in which the slaves took a decisive part the mass of the Negroes and descendants of Africa are still second-rate citizens. In most of the former slave states they are not allowed to vote and suffer illegal, but customary, disabilities. In the whole nation almost without exception, they are regarded as inferior people liable to insult and discrimination. Despite this, despite limits on their education, legal and customary, and difficulty of getting decent well-paid employment, they have made remarkable progress. There is scarcely an area of human endeavor in which American Negroes have not distinguished themselves: in literature, music, art, in science and artisanship, the and hard labor. The further they progress the more prejudice and discrimination yield, and yet this yielding is so slow that the pressure of prejudice is increasingly felt.

To counteract this the nation is trying to make concessions. It has even declared in 1954 that the chief legal forms of discrimination in education and travel are unconstitutional, but at the same time it has openly admitted that the court decisions will not be enforced until the people cruelly affected permit them to be.

Thereupon the nation has resorted to bribery. Fearing especially the lure of socialism and communism they have made every effort to see that successful Negroes and Negroes of ability get special consideration and position provided of course, they attack communism and indulge in red-baiting. The universities have led in this effort.

effort. The Department of State has paid Negroes expenses of travel abroad, so long as they testify to satisfactory conditions in the United States and

The Negro college on the one hand is threatened by loss of state income if they teach socialism or complain of their conditions. On the other hand, the outstanding students are offered jobs and preferment if they accept the present without complaint.

40-3-62

PRESENT UNREST

The result is naturally complicated. The more successful leaders of the Negro people are losing their contact with the poorer and more ignored masses are seeking new leaders. Those offering leadership may resemble at first a

but below this is reason. Negroes, for instance, have long resented being called by a name which implies inferiority and contempt. They are beginning to reject the theoretical humility of Christianity as contrasted with the practical equality of Mohammedanism; and above all, and much more serious, they are beginning to say flatly, we do not want integration, we want separation and we are going to begin to call on our people to fight, kill, destroy; for even if we lose "how can man die better than by facing fearful odds, for the ashes of his fathers, and the temples of his gods!"

In the meantime the mass of the American people sit silent and do nothing. They will not allow Negroes to live beside them; they will not allow them to work beside them; they avoid as much as possible letting their children be educated with them or meet them on terms of equality; and they keep themselves respectable and secure by avoiding the "Negro" problem. How long will this last? How long can it last?

Meantime south from the United States is a world of people, largely of Negro and Indian descent, mixed with poor Spaniards and Portuguese dominated for good or evil by the Catholic church. The first native Catholic bishop in America was Xavier de luna Victoria, son of a Negro charcoal burner. For centuries they have been ruthlessly exploited; that is, the work of the great mass of their labor has been used for the support and comfort of those strong enough to control them; and regardless of the health, happiness or desire of the people. Spain, Portugal, Germany, Britain and

and especially the United States have amassed wealth, power and luxury from these poor, ignorant, diseased peoples. Then, climbing on the backs of their unhappy fellows themselves, have risen rulers of their own blood to share the spoil.

40-3-63

After repeated and futile efforts to escape this slavery, at last in Cuba, a sizable group seems to be achieving freedom and self-rule; that the Cuban revolution will extend to South America is the hope of all good men and the fear of all the slave drivers.

40-3-24

showing the development of Negroes in the United States, which gained a Grand Prize. All about me was an extraordinary display of wealth, luxury, and industrial technique, striking evidence of a Europe triumphant over the world and the center of science and art, power and human freedom.

It was easy to see what the great countries of Europe thought of themselves: France stood pre-eminently for art, for taste in building, technique, and pure expression; Germany stood for science and government; England for wealth and power with a high level of comfort; and America for freedom of human initiative.

There was even in this French exposition a certain dominance of the British Empire idea. The British paper promise-to-pay was actually worth more to the traveler than gold. British industry was unrivaled in efficient technique. British investments were the safest; and Great Britain was the widest and most successful administrator of colonies. Every kind of tribute was paid to her; she was the acknowledged leader in such various things as men's cloth and clothing, public manners, the rate of public expenditure -- and all this showed in the deference a British subject could demand everywhere throughout the world.

Then came five crashing events in quick succession. First, in 1905, at Saint Petersburg, the shooting down in cold blood of Russian workingmen in the first organized attempt of the twentieth century to achieve relief; and by that murderous volley the Czar killed the faith of working Russia in the Little White Father. He revealed that Russian industry was paying 50 per cent and more in profits to Germans and other investors, while the workers starved. The Czar himself thus sowed the seeds of revolution.

Second, in 1911 a German warship sailed into Agadir, North Africa, and demanded in the name of the Emperor that the German Reich be consulted concerning the future of Morocco. I remember how the incident startled London. I was there at the time, attending the First Races Congress. It is a meeting now forgotten,

40-3-26

but it might have been of world significance. Its advice might have changed the course of history had not World War I followed so fast. Meeting at the University of London was probably the largest representation of the groups of the world known as races and subraces; they were consulting together under the leadership of science and ethics for a future world which would be peaceful, without race prejudice; and which would be cooperative, especially in the social sciences. Among the speakers were world leaders -- Giuseppe Sergi, Franz Boas, John A. Hobson, Felix Adler, Sir Sidney Olivier, and Wu Ting-fang. A hymn to the peoples was read:

So sit we all as one
So, gloomed in tall and stone-swathed groves,
The Buddha walks with Christ;
And Al-Koran and Bible both be holy!

Almighty Word!
In this Thine awful sanctuary,
First and flame-haunted City of the Widened World,
Assoil us, Lord of Lands and Seas!

We are but weak and wayward men,
Distraught alike with hatred and vainglory;
Prone to despise the Soul that breathes within --
High-visioned hordes that lie and steal and kill,
Sinning the sin each separate heart disclaims,
Clambering upon our riven, writhing selves,
Besieging Heaven by trampling men to Hell!

We be blood-guilty! Lo, our hands be red!
Let no man blame the other in this sin!
But here - here in the white Silence of the Dawn,
Before the Womb of Time,
With bowed hearts all flame and shame,
We face the birth-pangs of a world:
We hear the stifled cry of Nations all but born --
The wail of women ravished of their stunted brood!
We see the nakedness of Toil, the poverty of Wealth,
We know the Anarchy of Empire, and doleful Death of Life!
And hearing, seeing, knowing all, we cry:

Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!

40-3-35

There came from the colonies in Africa and Asia insistent demand for freedom and democracy. It was in 1920 that the Congress of West Africa appealed to Great Britain in these words:

> In the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa, it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa.

In the interval between World War I and World War II, India's determined opposition to British rule increased under the leadership of Gandhi, who sought to substitute peaceful non-co-operation for war. The answer was the massacre of Amritsar. In America organized industry rose in its might to realize fantastic profits through domination of world industry. It fought labor unions and tried to nullify democracy by the power of wealth and capital. In the very midst of this, the magnificent structure of capitalistic industry collapsed in every part of the world. Make no mistake, war did not cause the Great Depression; it was the reasons behind the depression that caused war and will cause it again.

The world tried to meet depression and unemployment and to compose differences between capital and labor. Faced by the threat of Russian Communism, Italy, which with Spain was the most poverty-stricken country in Western Europe, seized control of the nation and of industry with the object of ruling it through an oligarchy, eliminating all democratic control. This was the answer of capitalists to the growing and threatening political power of the workers. Hitler followed, opposing the Socialist state of Weimar, with its unemployment and political chaos, with a new state and a new nationalism. The industrial leaders surrendered their power into his hands; the army followed suit; unemployment disappeared, and Hitler diverted the

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
  Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
  Or lesser breeds without the Law --

. . .

For heathen heart that puts her trust
  In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
  And, guarding, calls not Thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word --
  Thy Mercy on Thy People, Lord!